Vigiliae Christianae

A Review of Early Christian Life and Language

VOL. LX NO. 1 2006

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PUBLISHER: Brill Academic Publishers

PUBLISHED: Four times a year: February, May, August and November

SUBSCRIPTIONS: The subscription price of Volume 60 (2006) is EUR 229.– (US$ 286.–) for institutions, and EUR 71.– (US$ 89.–) for individuals, *inclusive of postage and handling charges*. All prices are exclusive of VAT in EU-countries (VAT not applicable outside the EU).

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Once the issue is published the actual dates of dispatch can be found on our website: www.brill.nl.

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WHY DOES ORIGEN REFER TO THE TRINITARIAN AUTHORSHIP OF SCRIPTURE IN BOOK 4 OF *PERI ARCHON*?[1]

BY

P. MARTENS

ABSTRACT: There are only two passages in *Peri Archon* where Origen refers to the trinitarian authorship of Scripture. Both of these passages have, however, elicited either little or misleading commentary from the literature. In this article I will show how these two trinitarian expressions play a decisive role in Origen's larger polemic against his main exegetical adversaries, the Jews and the Gnostics. At stake is the identification of the authorship of Scripture and, thus also, its resulting message.

I. *Introduction*

In the eleventh century *Codex Venetus Marcianus*, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Greek text for Origen's *Peri Archon* (PA), there is a marginal gloss which reads: περὶ τριάδος.[2] This keen annotation was inserted in the margin at PA 4.2.2 where Origen had written that the Scriptures "were composed and have come down to us from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit by the will of the Father of the universe through Jesus Christ."[3] A similar expression, evidently not detected by the scribe, occurred later at PA 4.2.7

[1] Abbreviations: PA = *Peri Archon*; GK = Origen, *Vier Bücher von den Prinzipien*, ed. by H. Görgemanns and H. Karpp, 3rd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).

[2] The marginal gloss occurs at lines 13ff of MS B (Codex Venetus Marcianus, 47) (P. Koetschau, *Origenes. Werke. Fünfter Band. De Principiis* [ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ], GCS 22/OW 5, apparatus on 308). For a description of this manuscript, cf. P. Koetschau, *Die Textüberlieferung der Bücher des Origenes gegen Celsus in den Handschriften dieses Werkes und der Philokalia. Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Ausgabe* (TU 6.1) (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1889): 117-121; J. A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen* (Cambridge: CUP, 1893) xiii-xvii.

[3] ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι (PA 4.2.2/GK 700, 308.12-14).

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where Origen again referred to "the aim of the Spirit who, by the providence of God through the Word who was 'in the beginning with God,' (cf. Jn 1:2) enlightened the servants of the truth."[4] Both of these passages are certainly intriguing since trinitarian expressions, which ultimately could have come only *from* Scripture, are here relied upon by Origen to aid him in his account *of* Scripture.[5] Yet while scholars such as A. Zöllig, R. P. C. Hanson, R. Gögler, and K. J. Torjesen[6] have also detected these two texts, they have offered little or no comment on them. Very little insight is offered in the notes of the Simonetti/Crouzel edition of *Peri Archon* where we read: "Toute la Trinité coopère dans l'inspiration de l'Écriture comme dans toutes les oeuvres divines: le Père est l'origine, le Fils le ministre dont l'action s'opère par l'inspiration de l'Esprit Saint dans l'hagiographe."[7] More recently, H. Ziebritzki has written somewhat dismissively of these texts: "Im Kontext der Inspirationsvorstellung fallen die Zuordnungen der drei göttlichen Personen nur vage und formelhaft aus."[8] In the commentary that follows it will be my contention that the literature has overlooked the significance of these two passages, and as such, has failed to appreciate one of the circumstances in which Origen could introduce a trinitarian expression into his writings.[9]

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[4] ὁ σκοπὸς τῷ φωτίζοντι πνεύματι προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λόγου τοὺς διακόνους τῆς ἀληθείας (PA 4.2.7/GK 720, 318.9-10).

[5] References to the "Trinity" or "trinitarian inspiration" of Scripture in this article will serve as a convenient shorthand for Origen's reference to the Father, Word (or Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit's role in Scripture's inspiration at PA 4.2.2 and 4.2.7. References to the "Trinity" (τριάς) are admittedly quite rare in his extant (Greek) corpus: cf. Comm Matt 15.31/GCS 40/OW 10, 443.3; Comm Jn 6.166/GCS 10/OW 4, 142.30; 10.270/GCS 10/OW 4, 216.31.

[6] A. Zöllig, *Die Inspirationslehre des Origenes: Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902): 62; R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (Richmond: John Knox, 1959): 187; R. Gögler, *Zur Theologie des biblischen Wortes bei Origenes* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963): 286; K. J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986): 124.

[7] H. Crouzel and M. Simonetti, *Origène: Traité des Principes*, vol. 4, SC 269 (Paris: Cerf, 1980): 174, note 10.

[8] H. Ziebritzki, *Heiliger Geist und Weltseele: das Problem der dritten Hypostase bei Origenes, Plotin und ihren Vorläufern* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1994): 227. And a little later: "Aus diesen formelhaften Wendungen ist nicht mehr zu erkennen, als daß Origenes eine gewisse Rangfolge der trinitarischen Personen beim Vorgang der Inspiration angenommen hat . . ." (227).

[9] It is certainly piquant to note how so many accounts of Origen on the Trinity, when drawing upon PA, do not take these two Greek passages into consideration, preferring

II. *Commentary*

While it is notoriously difficult to plot *Peri Archon* on the map of the early church's confession of the Trinity, largely because this book survives in a late fourth century Latin translation, both of the aforementioned passages survive in the Greek—they cannot be dismissed as "Rufinisms."[10] Yet Ziebritzki's claim, that these two authentic references to the persons of the Trinity are formulaic, is misleading. If we are dealing with two *formulaic* trinitarian expressions, then we would expect such references to be widespread. But this is precisely what they are not since nowhere else in *Peri Archon* does the Greek or Latin Origen speak of the trinitarian authorship of Scripture.[11] There is, moreover, compelling evidence that Origen actually inserted the trinitarian reference purposely at PA 4.2.2. In this passage he makes two stipulations of would-be readers of Scripture, that they assent to the "κανών of the heavenly church," as well as, somewhat conspicuously, to the trinitarian inspiration of Scripture. What is striking about this additional second request is that the κανών, the ecclesiastical rule of faith,[12]

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instead passages from Rufinus' translation, a good number of which on this point are almost certainly not original. For example, cf. M. Simonetti, "Note sulla teologia trinitaria di Origene," *Vetera Christianorum* 8 (1971): 273-307; H. Crouzel, *Origen*, trans. by A. S. Worrall (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989): 181-204. The same holds for the major textbook accounts of the emergence of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity: cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 1978): 128-132; F. Courth, *Trinität: in der Schrift und Patristik*, Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte II.1a (Freiburg: Herder, 1988): 93-109; B. Studer, *Trinity and Incarnation: The Faith of the Early Church*, trans. by M. Westerhoff, ed. by A. Louth (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1993), 77-87, esp. 83 where reference is only made to the role of the Holy Spirit in inspiration.

[10] Were only Rufinus' Latin translations of PA 4.2.2 and 4.2.7 to have survived (in which the trinitarian expressions are also preserved [Cf. GK 700, 308.31-32 and GK 720, 318.20-23]), they would almost certainly have aroused suspicion, given the translator's self-acknowledged penchant for translating Origen as a trinitarian theologian (cf. Rufinus, PA pref 3/GK 78, 5.11-15). However both these passages are extant in the Greek from the first chapter of the *Philocalia*, a fourth century anthology of (mostly) Origen's writings. There is little reason to suggest that these editors have tampered with Origen's text, since in the section which immediately precedes the first of our two passages and which also survives in the *Philocalia*, Origen argues at length for the inspiration of Scripture (PA 4.1.1-7) and nowhere is a reference to the trinitarian agency in inspiration to be found. It would be highly unusual for the editors to have interpolated only at PA 4.2.2 and 4.2.7.

[11] Nor am I aware of a passage anywhere else in his extant corpus where the trinitarian inspiration of Scripture is invoked.

[12] There has, admittedly, been a good deal of debate on the meaning of κανών in this passage. Whereas some scholars have in the past taken it as a reference to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, I understand it as a reference to the rule of faith. One of

already contained an article on Scripture's inspiration in which the "Holy Spirit" alone was identified as the inspirer.[13] When Origen, then, explicitly asks this would-be exegete *also* to assent to the trinitarian authorship of Scripture, this second request bears the marks of a deliberate supplement to the rule's article on Scripture. It is as if Origen wants to leave the unmistakable impression that the Trinity, and not just the Holy Spirit as in the rule, has inspired this book. There is, in short, little commonplace about these two references to trinitarian inspiration in book 4 of *Peri Archon.*

The question, then, must be raised: what is the most plausible explanation for why Origen, amidst one of his most extended and important reflections on biblical interpretation, referred on two distinct occasions to the concurrent agency of Father, Word or Jesus Christ, and Spirit in the illumination of Scripture's authors? In the analysis that follows I will contend that his polemic against both his exegetical adversaries, the Jews and Gnostics, played a decisive role in the emergence of these two expressions.[14]

Both passages occur within a section of book 4 (beginning at PA 4.2.1 and extending to 4.3.15) in which Origen lays out some of the leading principles for the correct interpretation of Scripture, particularly of the Old Testament. This tract on biblical exegesis is also strongly colored by his critique of his exegetical adversaries—Origen opens it with a survey of how

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the strongest arguments for such an interpretation is that PA 4.2.1-2 clearly echoes Origen's preface to PA. He opens the work acknowledging that there are disputes among those who profess to follow Christ about the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. What is needed, he posits, is the church's rule that can serve as a criterion for biblical exegesis, and he proceeds to lay out the main articles in this rule. In PA 4.2.1-2 Origen is once again coming to terms with competing interpretations of Scripture—he documents how the Jews, heretics, and *simpliciores* misread the OT. As in the preface, so here too the κανών is invoked. For an orientation to the literature and the various positions that have developed around the use of κανών in Origen's writings, this passage included, cf. H. Ohme, *Kanon ekklesiastikos: Die Bedeutung des altkirchlichen Kanonbegriffs* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998): 181-218.

[13] The relevant section of the article runs as follows: Tum deinde quod per spiritum dei scripturae conscriptae sint et sensum habeant non eum solum, qui in manifesto est, sed et alium quendam latentem quam plurimos (PA, preface 8/GK 94, 14.6-8). Also note that the article on the Holy Spirit also does not refer to the Father or Word's role in inspiration (PA, preface 4).

[14] Such a reading of PA 4.2.2 and 4.2.7 is in keeping with the polemical quality of the work as a whole. On this matter, cf. A. De Boulluec, "La place de la polémique antignostique dans le *Peri Archôn*," in *Origeniana: Premier colloque international des études origéniennes,* ed. by H. Crouzel, G. Lomiento, J. Rius-Camps (Bari: Instituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica, 1975): 47-61, esp. 49.

three groups of readers, the Jews, those whom he calls the "heretics,"[15] and the *simpliciores*, misread Scripture. After completing this survey of his three main exegetical opponents in PA 4.2.1, Origen begins at PA 4.2.2 to offer his account of how one ought to read Scripture properly and avoid the erroneous interpretations of these groups. Here the first of his two references to the trinitarian inspiration of Scripture surfaces:

> Therefore we must show to those who believe that the sacred books are writings not from men, but that they were written and have come down to us from the inspiration of the Holy Spirit by the will of the Father of the universe through Jesus Christ, what are the apparent ways [of interpretation] for those who hold to the rule of the heavenly church of Jesus Christ in accordance with the teaching transmitted by the apostles.[16]

There are several indications that Origen's reference to the trinitarian inspiration of Scripture is motivated by polemical concerns. First, it is not "God" who inspires, but rather the "Father of the universe." This statement is pointedly directed against the Gnostics. For Origen, Scripture was an instrument in the divine plan of salvation, as he explicitly says at PA 4.2.4: "Scripture has been prepared by God to be given for man's salvation."[17] But the Gnostics, as he understood them, could not attribute salvific agency to the Creator, the "Father of the universe,"[18] and thus by identifying this Father as the author of a saving document, Origen is making a claim about

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[15] Οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων (GK 698, 307.4). In this article I am referring to these readers in less-charged language as "Gnostics," though this is not an entirely suitable term. Origen never uses the word γνωστικοί in this manner (cf. CC 5.61/SC 147, 166.22-24 for the only reference to "Gnostics" in his extant corpus). The term "Gnostics," applied to members of second-century dualistic religious groups, some of which professed to be Christians, is a modern coinage, traceable to the beginning of the 18th century (cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. γνωστικός II.B). The "Gnostics" Origen has in mind are, customarily, the trio Marcion, Valentinus, and Basilides (they are often referred to together: PA 2.9.5; Hom Jer 10.5.1; Comm Matt 12.12, etc.). It should, however, be noted that their teaching can indeed be described with terms like γνῶσις (cf. Comm Jn 5.8; PA 4.2.3, etc.) and γνωστικός (cf. Comm Jn 13.98).

[16] διόπερ τοῖς πειθομένοις μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι, τὰς φαινομένας ὁδοὺς ὑποδεικτέον, ἐχομένοις τοῦ κανόνος τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας (PA 4.2.2/GK 700, 308.11-16).

[17] ἡ οἰκονομηθεῖσα ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν δοθῆναι γραφή (GK 710, 313.3-4).

[18] This critique of Gnosticism is repeatedly found in PA. Cf. PA 2.4.1; 2.5.1-2; 3.1.16; 4.2.1.

the Creator that a Gnostic would not accept. Furthermore, Origen's reference to inspiration by "Jesus Christ" is striking. While the Jews may admit that the OT was inspired by the "Word," they will certainly not entertain authorship of the OT "through Jesus Christ." Finally, the κανών of the heavenly church, understood as the "ecclesiastical rule," customarily serves in Origen's theology to demarcate heretical from ecclesial exegesis,[19] and this further confirms the contention that his reference to the trinitarian inspiration of Scripture emerges from within a polemical context.

The same polemic also characterizes the wording in our second passage (PA 4.2.7). Origen writes:

> But in the first place one must point out that the Spirit, who illumined the servants of the truth (the prophets and apostles) by the providence of God through the Word who was "in the beginning with God" (cf. Jn 1:2), had as his aim. . . .[20]

Not only does illumination by the Johannine Word-made-flesh exclude the Jews, but by insisting upon the one Spirit who illumines the authors of both testaments, the "prophets and apostles," Origen is also differentiating his view of Scripture's authorship from the Gnostic position.[21]

Both passages, then, bear an anti-Gnostic and anti-Jewish imprint and can hardly be classified as vague or conventional references to trinitarian inspiration. Origen has offered a trenchant articulation of Scripture's authorship to which neither of these two groups can assent. At the same time, it is important also to emphasize that there is more to this dispute with his exegetical adversaries here in book 4 of *Peri Archon* than simply making a competing claim about Scripture's authorship. For Origen, claims about Scripture's authorship are intimately associated with expectations about Scripture's message. Authorship is firmly tied to resulting message and this is why it is not enough for the reader to find *a* message in Scripture; the reader must find the author's message. Or expressed in Origen's own language: the interpreter must strive to discern the "aim" (σκοπός)[22] or "intent" (βούλημα)[23] of Scripture's authors.

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[19] For example, cf. Origen's preface to PA.

[20] καὶ πρῶτόν γε τοῦτο ὑποδεικτέον, ὅτι ὁ σκοπὸς τῷ φωτίζοντι πνεύματι προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ "ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λόγου" τοὺς διακόνους τῆς ἀληθείας, προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους . . . (PA 4.2.7/GK 720, 318.8-11).

[21] Also cf. the end of PA 4.2.9/GK 728, 322.11ff for a similar statement.

[22] Cf. PA 4.3.4/GK 740, 328.11ff. Cf. PA 4.2.7 below.

[23] Cf. Hom Jer 19.11/SC 238, 220.54; Comm Jn 10.286/GCS 10/OW 4, 219.9; CC 6.19/SC 147, 226.14; 7.29/SC 150, 80.14, etc.

This link between authorship and resulting message is explicitly made in book 4 of *Peri Archon*, indeed, in the second of our two passages. Citing PA 4.2.7 now more extensively:

> But in the first place one must point out that the Spirit, who illumined the servants of the truth (the prophets and apostles) by the providence of God through the Word who was "in the beginning with God" (cf. Jn 1:2), *had as his aim principally the unspeakable mysteries of human affairs* (by humans I now mean souls that use bodies), so that the one who can be taught, "by searching out" and giving himself "to the depths" of the meaning of the words, might become partaker of all the teachings of his counsel.[24]

Having connected the "aim" (σκοπός) of these divine authors with their saving message, Origen now elaborates the contents of this message. Given his polemical wording for Scripture's authors as already indicated above, it does not surprise that this message is not simply Christian, but also anti-Jewish and anti-Gnostic:

> And for what concerns souls, who cannot otherwise attain perfection except through the rich and wise truth concerning God, the teachings concerning God and his only-begotten Son are necessarily presented as presuppositions; of what nature the Son is, and how he is the Son of God, and what are the reasons for his descent to human flesh and his complete assumption of man. . . .[25]

The passage continues with Origen indicating how God, the Word and the Spirit addressed in Scripture the themes central to his dispute with the Gnostics: the nature of angels and demons, how differences arose between souls, a whole set of issues concerning the cosmos, including why evil is so widespread on earth.[26] "These and similar topics," Origen concludes, "were

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[24] καὶ πρῶτόν γε τοῦτο ὑποδεικτέον, ὅτι ὁ σκοπὸς τῷ φωτίζοντι πνεύματι προνοίᾳ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ "ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λόγου" τοὺς διακόνους τῆς ἀληθείας, προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, ἦν προηγουμένως μὲν ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστηρίων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων (ἀνρθώπους δὲ νῦν λέγω τὰς χρωμένας ψυχὰς σώμασιν), ἵν' ὁ δυνάμενος διδαχθῆναι "ἐρευνήσας" καὶ "τοῖς βάθεσι" τοῦ νοῦ τῶν λέξεων ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδούς, κοινωνὸς τῶν ὅλων τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ γένηται δογμάτων (PA 4.2.7/GK 720, 318.8-722, 319.3).

[25] εἰς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν, οὐκ ἄλλως δυναμένων τῆς τελειότητος τυχεῖν χωρὶς τῆς πλουσίας καὶ σοφῆς περὶ θεοῦ ἀληθείας, τὰ περὶ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίως ὡς προηγούμενα τέτακται καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ· ποίας ἐστὶ φύσεως, καὶ τίνα τρόπον υἱὸς τυγχάνει θεοῦ, καὶ τίνες αἱ αἰτίαι τοῦ μέχρι σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης αὐτὸν καταβεβηκέναι καὶ πάντη ἄνθρωπον ἀνειληφέναι. . . . (GK 722, 319.3-9).

[26] These topics surfaced earlier in PA in an explicitly anti-Gnostic context: cf. PA 1.4-5; 1.8; 2.9, etc.

proposed by the Spirit who enlightened the souls of the holy servants of the truth."[27] There is no more powerful way for Origen to criticize the interpretations of his exegetical adversaries than to insist that they are mistaken about Scripture's authorship, for if they are wrong about its authors, then they will surely be wrong about its message.

III. *Conclusion*

In this short article I have argued that these two lists of Scripture's inspiring agents, rare for their trinitarian formulations, emerge from a particular and noteworthy set of circumstances. Both passages contribute to Origen's larger polemic against his exegetical adversaries, the Jews and Gnostics in particular, and both do so not by criticizing the particular scriptural interpretations of his opponents, but rather by issuing a more fundamental challenge to their view of Scripture itself. A trinitarian authorship allows Origen clearly to distinguish not simply his view of Scripture's authorship from that of his opponents' views, but more pressingly, to demarcate his convictions about its resulting message from theirs. The emergence of these two trinitarian expressions in book 4 of *Peri Archon* is, thus, hardly inadvertent or conventional, but rather a crucial, and until now overlooked, piece of Origen's complex critique of Gnostic and Jewish scriptural exegesis.

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[27] Τούτων δὴ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων προκειμένων τῷ φωτίζοντι πνεύματι τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ὑπηρετῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ψυχάς (PA 4.2.8/GK 724, 320.1-2).

THE GNOSTIC SETHIANS AND MIDDLE PLATONISM: INTERPRETATIONS OF THE *TIMAEUS* AND *PARMENIDES*[1]

BY

JOHN D. TURNER

ABSTRACT: One may construe the Sethian Gnostic picture of the world and its origins as an interpretation of the biblical protology of the book of Genesis in the light of the Platonic distinction between an ideal, exemplary realm of eternal stable being and its more or less deficient earthly and changeable copy, in which the principal Platonic dialogues of reference are the *Timaeus* and the *Parmenides*. Various Sethian treatises offer us accounts of the origin and generation of both these realms; while their portrayal of the origin and deployment of the earthly realm is unmistakably influenced by their readings of Plato's *Timaeus*, their account of the origin and deployment of the ideal realm is noticeably influenced by readings of Plato's *Parmenides*. This article attempts to show that the shift from the *Timaeus* as the primary Platonic dialogue of reference for the Middle Platonic thought of the first two centuries to the *Parmenides* as the primary dialogue of reference for the emerging Neoplatonism of the third century is also visible in the Sethian treatises. In mid- to later second-century Sethian treatises, the cosmology of the *Timaeus* serves as an exegetical template to interpret the Genesis protology, but with the turn to the third century, the Sethian trestises that circulated in Plotinus' circle have abandoned all interest in the Genesis protology in favor of a theology of transcendental ascent.

No less than eleven of the fifty-three treatises comprising the Nag Hammadi Library fit the designation "Sethian Gnostic."[2] They reveal the existence and nature of a hitherto unrecognized religious competitor of

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[1] The present article stems from an oral presentation on the same topic delivered at the Villejuif Centre d'études des religions du Livre Conférence of June 10, 2004 organized by Jean-Daniel Dubois and Philippe Hoffmann, while portions of the section on the *Parmenides* stem from an oral presentation at the Collège de France on "The Sethian Platonizing Apocalypses and Neoplatonic Origins" on June 24, 2004 organized by Michel Tardieu; to these three colleagues I owe my lasting gratitude.

[2] See my *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section « Études » 6; Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval; Louvain-Paris: Éditions Peeters, 2001), 57-92.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 9-64

early Christianity. Sethian Gnosticism is presently the earliest form of Gnosticism for which we possess a great deal of textual evidence. It appears to antedate and form a partial source for another equally well-documented form of Gnosticism, the Christian school of Valentinus (120-160 CE) and his followers. It had its roots in a form of heterodox Jewish speculation on the biblical figure of Sophia, the wisdom by which God created, nourished, and enlightened the world. The Sethian Gnostics distributed these biblical functions of Sophia among a hierarchy of feminine principles. The two most important were 1) a transcendent divine Mother called Barbelo, the First Thought of their supreme deity, the Invisible Spirit; and 2) a lower Sophia ultimately responsible for both the creation of the physical world and the incarnation of portions of the supreme Mother's divine essence into human bodies, often by the instrumentality of her offspring, the world-creator Yaldabaoth-Saklas. Salvation was achieved by the supreme Mother's reintegration of her own dissipated essence into its original unity. These figures and events were linked together in a mythical narrative inspired by the two great protological texts of the period, the biblical book of Genesis and Plato's dialogue the *Timaeus*. In fact one might say that the Sethian picture of the world and its origins resulted from the interpretation of the biblical protology of the book of Genesis in the light of the Platonic distinction between an ideal, exemplary realm of eternal stable being and its more or less deficient earthly and changeable copy. The Sethian treatises offer us accounts of the origin and generation of both these realms; while their portrayal of the origin and deployment of the earthly realm is unmistakably influenced by their readings of Plato's *Timaeus*, their account of the origin and deployment of the ideal realm is noticeably influenced by readings of Plato's *Parmenides*. In what follows, I would like to explore these influences, first those of the *Timaeus*, and second, those of the *Parmenides*.

I. *Gnostic Readings of the* Timaeus

It is well-known that the cosmogony and anthropogony of many gnostic texts is based on a creative reading of the text of Genesis in the light of the Platonic doctrine of models and copies, as a means of explaining how the deficiency of this world could have been derived from the perfection of the divine world. In the gnostic view, as in that of a Hellenistic Jew like Philo of Alexandria, the protology of Genesis occurs on two planes, the heavenly (the creation according to Gen 1:1-2:3) and earthly (the cre-

ation according to Gen 2:4 ff.). The first creation story tells of the creation of an intelligible world whose contents form the prototypes for the creation of its perceptible counterpart in the second account.

For the Gnostics, there are two creative figures, the supreme deity who spontaneously gives rise to the divine heavenly world, and his lowly counterpart, the creator Archon who aggressively fabricates a lower psychic and material world as a dim and defective copy of the heavenly one. Likewise, gnostic sources often distinguish two maternal figures, the Mother on high, the providential instrument of the supreme deity, and a lower and somewhat errant mother—usually called Sophia—who mistakenly gives birth to this creator Archon, but later becomes active in the lower world to assist in restoring the deficiency she had thereby produced.[3]

In his *Tree of Gnosis*, Ioan Culianu[4] concluded that "Gnostic exegesis of Genesis admits a definition strikingly similar to Philonic exegesis: It is an interpretation of a Jewish text according to a set of rules derived from Platonism." Thus in Middle Platonic fashion, Philo of Alexandria identified the Biblical creator God with a supreme Monad who generates and presides *over* the Logos—the paradigmatic model of the *Timaeus* conceived as an intelligible world of ideas identified as God's thoughts—whose powers create and govern the sensible world. But the Gnostic reading of scripture revised this ranking by identifying the supreme God of Genesis with Plato's Demiurge, whose supremacy—on a *literal reading* of the *Timaeus*—appeared to be compromised by having to consult a divine paradigm *above* him as the model for his creation. This suggests that there must be a God presiding

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[3] In the Sethian interpretation of Gen 2:4 ff., one can postulate two son figures, the heavenly Adam of Genesis 1 (called Adamas or Pigeradamas or Autogenes) and his earthly copy, the Adam of Genesis 2, shaped by the Archon in the garden. One can further discern two more mother figures, a heavenly Eve, called Zoë or the Epinoia of light, and the earthly Eve produced from Adam's side by the Archon, as well as two more sons, a heavenly Seth ("the great Seth"), whose earthly image was born as the son of the earthly Adam and Eve once they had been enlightened by the Mother on high. In fact, Gen 1:26 ("let us create Adam in our image, according to our likeness") could be construed to mean that: 1) on the transcendent plane, the high deity must be the absolute Human ("Man"); his offspring, the heavenly Adamas, would be the Son of Man, and Adamas' son Seth would be "the son of the Son of Man" (as in *Eugnostos the Blessed* V 13,12-13) or the like; and 2) on the earthly plane the plural "we" refers to the archontic fashioners of Adam's body.

[4] Ioan P. Culianu, *Les gnoses dualistes d'Occident : histoire et mythes* (Paris: Plon, 1990), Engl. trans. by H. S. Weiser, *The Tree of Gnosis: Gnostic Mythology from Early Christianity to Modern Nihilism*, (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), 123-5.

over the ideal realm who is superior to the God of Genesis. In addition, the biblical stress on the sole godhead of a creator who jealously asserts his sole supremacy, would cause Platonist exegetes to raise serious questions about a god who boasts in his supremacy ("I am God and there is none other beside me"), but who is now recognized *not* to be supreme. The implication is that this creator god must be a faulty being, vainly boastful and ignorant of the God beyond him.[5]

As the link between the supreme God and the lower creator, the Gnostics followed Middle Platonic precedent by positing an intermediate divine figure as the realm of the divine thoughts or Ideas, who may be conceived either as the supreme deity's masculine Child or Intellect or as his feminine consort or First Thought. The multiplicity of God's thoughts is expressed as a Pleroma of male and female ideal aeonic entities, the last of which, usually named Sophia, becomes the mother of the actual creator of the perceptible universe.

Although culpability for the deficiencies of the earthly realm must be assigned to the world creator, he must also maintain an essential relation to the divine intelligence of which he is indeed a distant product. This dilemma was resolved by construing the world creator as an *unintended* product of an element of the divine intelligible realm that has sufficiently distanced itself from its source as to become unaware of its proper subordination

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[5] For M. Waldstein ("The Primal Triad in the *Apocryphon of John*," in *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration* [ed. J. D. Turner and A. McGuire; Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 44; Leiden, New York, & Köln: E. J. Brill, 1997], 154, the *Apocryphon of John* splits the Jewish creator god into an upper God of pure goodness, who is personally identified as the transcendent God of Middle-Platonic theology who retained some central features of the God of Israel, and an evil lower God, Yaldabaoth, who was personally identified as the God of Israel, but is portrayed as a parody of the Demiurge in Plato's *Timaeus*. Yaldabaoth, mistakenly begotten by his mother Sophia by means of her own productive power and wisdom and without either the consent of the supreme deity or the cooperation of her appointed male consort, is clearly identified with the creator God of Genesis. He turns out to be even more self-willed than his mother, whose spiritual power he literally steals in order to begin creating a world of his own that he can control however he pleases. Aware only of his mother Sophia who bore him, but completely unaware of the divine realm above her, his mother's stolen power moves him to unwittingly create a counterfeit world as a poor imitation of the higher divine realm which he can at best only imagine. Thereupon he immediately brings into being a gang of angelic subordinates as fellow archons (rulers) to help him control the realm of darkness below the luminescent divine world. And he does this thinking that *he*, Yaldabaoth, is *the* only god.

to the supreme God. In turn, this element—usually named Sophia—becomes an ambiguous figure: it not only gives unwitting rise to the creator of a world that was not intended to be as it is, but also serves as the channel for a portion of the divine intelligence that—either unintentionally or by actual theft—comes to reside in the created order, specifically in the protoplastic human.[6] In turn, the supreme paradigm of the *Timaeus* becomes the ideal aeonic world generated by a deity superior both to it and to the demiurge, whose original role is further subdivided between two distinct figures, both defective and ignorant: the demiurgical desire to further express the fullness of the ideal world is reassigned to a new parental figure such as Sophia or the Logos, while the actual creative implementation is assigned to an even lower offspring and his divine assistants. In these ways, it appears that the *Timaeus*—with certain readjustments[7]—offered a basic template for gnostic solutions to the exegetical enigmas of the Genesis creation account.

II. *Sethian Interpretations of the* Timaeus

With the exception of the reversed episodes of the fall of the angels and the flood, it is the narrative sequence of Genesis 1-9 that governs the episodic sequence of the anthropogonical and soteriological drama of the second part of the *Apocryphon of John* (II 13,14-30,11), while the hierarchical interrelationship between its main actors and their respective roles seems to be governed by the reinterpretation of the *Timaeus*' cosmogony that I have described. On the other hand, the influence of Genesis is far less

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[6] The Sethian Gnostics in fact postulated a double Sophia. On a higher level and under a different name, she functions as a creator and savior figure, the divine Thought and Providence, the very self-reflection of the high deity, the Mother Barbelo who both originally projects and finally saves the image of true humanity for the benefit of earthly human beings. But she also functions on a lower level in the form of her lower double Sophia, the mother of the ignorant creator. Thus the ambiguity: Wisdom can be understood as both good and bad; she brings enlightenment, but she is also responsible for the creation of the material world whose luxury and delights are obstacles to enlightenment. If one conceives the world as an evil and seductive trap, then the wisdom that informs it is bad; but as the revealer of a higher existence, wisdom is good. Therefore it is logical to suppose two kinds of wisdom, a higher enlightening manifestation of wisdom such as is represented in the figure of Barbelo and who is in some sense the Mother of the Living, and a lower, fallen form of wisdom.

[7] Mainly the interposition of a misguided Sophia-Logos figure between the creator and rest of the aeonic paradigms.

apparent in the theogony and cosmogony of its first part (II 2,26-13,14), limited perhaps to the origin of light, darkness, and the primeval chaos narrated in its first eight verses. These are articulated along typically Middle Platonic lines: the nature of the first principles, the divine intelligence and its contents, and the question of what originates and governs the cosmos. And it is mainly the *Timaeus*—sometimes fancifully interpreted—that guided their articulation.

1. *The Supreme Principles and the Pleroma*

The most prominent of the Sethian texts, the *Apocryphon of John*, features a supreme divine triad called Father, Mother and Child. In earlier work I have suggested that the nomenclature and metaphysics of this Father-Mother-Child triad was likely derived from an interpretation of the second main section of Plato's *Timaeus* (48e-52d),[8] where Plato enumerates a triad of principles (the forms, the receptacle or nurse of becoming, and the images of the forms constituting the phenomenal world, but leaving aside the Demiurge, who would be a fourth):

> We must conceive of three kinds, that which comes to be, that *in* which it comes to be, and that *from* whose imitation what comes to be is born. We may fittingly compare the receptacle (τὸ δεχόμενον) to a mother, the

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[8] See my *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section « Études » 6. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval; Louvain-Paris: Éditions Peeters, 2001), 532; I have discussed this supreme triad elsewhere → "The Gnostic Threefold Path to Enlightenment: The Ascent of Mind and the Descent of Wisdom," *Novum Testamentum* 22 (1980), 324-351; "Sethian Gnosticism: A Literary History," in *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, ed. C. W. Hedrick and R. Hodgson (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986), 55-86; "Gnosticism and Platonism: The Platonizing Sethian Texts from Nag Hammadi in their Relation to Later Platonic Literature," in *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, ed. R. T. Wallis and J. Bregman (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 424-59; "Text, Translation and Notes" to *Allogenes* in *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, ed. C. W. Hedrick (Nag Hammadi Studies 28; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990); "Introduction" and "Commentaire," in C. Barry, W.-P. Funk, P.-H. Poirier, J. D. Turner, *Zostrien (NH VIII, 1)* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section « Textes » 24; Québec and Leuven-Paris: Presses de l'Université Laval and Éditions Peeters, 2000), 32-225; 483-662, "Introduction," in W.-P. Funk, P.-H. Poirier, J. D. Turner, *Marsanès (NH X,1)*. (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section « Textes » 27. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval; Louvain-Paris: Éditions Peeters, 2000), 1-248, and "Introduction," in W.-P. Funk, M. Scopello, P.-H. Poirier, and J. D. Turner, *L'Allogène (XI,3)* (Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi, section "Textes" 30; Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval; Louvain-Paris: Éditions Peeters, 2003), 14-210.

> source to a father, and the nature (φύσις) between them to a child (*Timaeus* 50cd).

The Father-Mother-Child triad of the *Apocryphon of John* exhibits some attributes similar to those that Plato applied to this triad of principles in the *Timaeus*: just as Plato conceived the Forms deriving from their paternal source, the radiant light that emanates from the supreme Invisible Spirit enters into his First Thought Barbelo, "the Womb of the All" or maternal receptacle in which the Self-generated Child (the Autogenes Christ) is generated as a luminous spark.[9]

Again, while the four Platonizing Sethian treatises—*Zostrianos*, *Allogenes*, the *Three Steles of Seth*, and *Marsanes*—basically portray Barbelo as a masculine divine intellect within which intelligible entities are generated, they also assign Barbelo characteristics echoing those of the maternal receptacle of Plato's *Timaeus*. According to *Zostrianos*, Barbelo serves as an "eternal receptacle" or "space" (χώρημα, VIII 82,8) in order that the intelligible entities that indwell her might have a stable and limited place, and that those who come forth from her might become purely simple individuals (VIII 88,16-22; 127,7-15).

Unlike the maternal receptacle of the *Timaeus*, however, Barbelo is not an ultimate principle independent from and coeval with the Invisible Spirit. Nevertheless, as the actualization of his thought, she is his direct image and the hypostatic manifestation of the pre-existent light which *is* coeval with the Father.

Another difference from the *Timaeus* is that Barbelo is never associated with the attribute of Necessity or the "wandering" cause, nor with the uneven swaying that Plato attributes to the Receptacle when it is filled with the disordered traces of precosmic potencies.[10] Instead, the *Apocryphon of John* assigns these characteristics to a lower mother figure, Sophia, who does indeed manifest characteristics of irrationality, intractability, instability and wandering. Together with the Four Luminaries in whom she originally resided, Sophia seems to occupy a level in Sethian cosmology roughly

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[9] The shorter version of the *Apocryphon of John* portrays this event in a manner more typical of Neoplatonic metaphysics by having Barbelo conceive the Son as a self-begotten spark in her act of turning toward the Invisible Spirit and contemplating him, while the longer version portrays a more procreative process in which the Invisible Spirit looks at Barbelo and begets in her a spark of light.

[10] Although *Zostrianos* 80,8-10 says that "[she began to] strive, since it was [im]possible to unite with his [image]."

equivalent to that of the cosmic soul in the *Timaeus*, with its circles of the Same and the Different.[11] As entities that contain the divine souls of the archetypal Adam, Seth, and his future offspring, the Luminaries are set in a rational and harmonious order by Barbelo's Child, the Autogenes-Christ, who thereby plays a positive role quite similar to that of the Demiurge in the *Timaeus*. But while the Luminaries are characterized by stability and sameness, Sophia is the author of unstable movement, wandering astray from her place in the fourth Luminary into the sphere of irrationality, difference, and otherness. Unlike Plato's world soul that eternally leads an intelligent life (*Timaeus* 36e), in the *Apocryphon of John*, Sophia—although she occupies an ontological level roughly equal to that of the *Timaeus*' world soul—resembles more the immortal part of individual souls buffeted about upon its initial incarnation in a physical body (*Timaeus* 43a).

As the source of such disorder and evil, Sophia is also conceived as the lower feminine principle unmastered by the masculine principle of order, in effect also playing the role of Necessity in the *Timaeus*. She takes on a notable characteristic of Plato's Receptacle when it is said that she became "agitated" when Yaldabaoth extracted some of her power from her, moving to and fro in the darkness of ignorance (BG 45,6-19; II 13,13-26). While Sethian sources never explicitly identify Sophia as an irrational soul, her fall into agitation and separation from the eternal stability of the divine Luminaries is essentially the act of an irrational soul.

2. *The Gnostic World Creator and Plato's Demiurge*

According to the *Timaeus*, the universe "has come about through divine providence" (30b8-9). Generously modeled by a good and intelligent

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[11] For Plato, the cosmic soul is certainly a rational entity; even the Circle of the Other "partakes of reason and harmony" (36E), contemplating every aspect of reality along with the Circle of the Same. On the other hand, the Soul's rationality is a derivative one, having been bestowed upon it by its maker, the Demiurge. In the *Statesman* 269c7 the Stranger describes the universe (τὸ πᾶν) as "a living thing which has been allotted reason by its framer" (ζῷον ὂν καὶ φρόνησιν εἰληχὸς ἐκ τοῦ συναρμόσαντος); although Plato does not use the word "soul," he surely implies its presence as something granted rationality by a principle external to it, as in the *Timaeus*, although its innate motion is due to Necessity (ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔμφυτον, 269d2), which suggests its essential irrationality. In addition, there is also the well-known passage concerning the existence of both a good and an evil cosmic soul in the *Laws* X 896DE, where the Athenian Stranger concludes: "let us assume not less than two—the beneficent soul and that which is capable of effecting results of the opposite kind."

Demiurge, the universe is exempt from destruction by the everlasting bond of his providence.

By contrast, the gnostic world creator is a jealous conniver who makes a counterfeit universe according to an archetype he cannot directly see. According to the *Apocryphon of John*:[12]

> **II 12** [33] Now he put [34] everything in order, in the likeness of the first [35] aeons that had come into being, so as to **13** [1] create them in an incorruptible pattern—not that [2] he himself had actually seen the incorruptible things—rather, it was the power [3] within him that he had received from [4] his Mother, since she had begotten within him the likeness of [5] the cosmos.

Thus the Sethian world creator Yaldabaoth—though never explicitly called 'demiurge'—is clearly a negative parody of Plato's Demiurge. In the *Apocryphon of John*, the two acts of Plato's demiurge—separating the elements and then shaping them into the world body—are divided between Sophia and Yaldabaoth.[13] Yaldabaoth—who is *himself* amorphous and chaotic—is no true demiurge. Even though he thinks he is copying an *image* of the eternal aeonic paradigm, he cannot directly see it and thus produces a chaotic copy with more similarity to his own being than to the image he copies. And his ability to copy what he does is due—not to his ungrudging intelligence or to his vision of the supreme realities—but to the power he stole from his mother Sophia, by which an unintended element of perfection has nevertheless come to dwell in his creation.

A slightly different and fuller version of the world creator's demiurgical activity is offered by the Sethian treatise *Zostrianos*:

> **VIII 9** [27] [He sows] [28] [from his] reason, since it [is im]possible [29] [for the archon] of [creation] to [30] see any of the eternal entities. **10** [1] He saw a reflection, and with reference to [2] the reflection that he [saw] [3] therein, he

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[12] According to the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 87,7-10 "Pistis Sophia established each of his (Yaldabaoth's) offspring in conformity with its power after the pattern (*tupos*) of the realms that are above . . ."; cf. *On the Origin of the World* 102,2-5: "they (Yaldabaoth's offspring) were born androgynous, consistent with the immortal pattern (*tupos*) that existed before them, according to the will of Pistis." In the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (III 68,5 ff. / IV 56,22 ff.) and *Trimorphic Protennoia* (39,13 ff.), it is the "Fourth Luminary" Eleleth, not Sophia, who is responsible for the creation of the world and the origin of Yaldabaoth.

[13] The acts described in *Timaeus* 39e: "Whatsoever forms intellect beholds the ideas resident in the truly living being in their kinds and numbers, such and so many as exist therein he planned (διενοήθη) that the universe should contain," are distributed between the Invisible Spirit and the pleroma as the truly living being, the Autogenes Child as the intellect, and Sophia as the discursive planner, as in Numenius, frg. 22 [des Places].

> created the world. [4] With a reflection of a reflection [5] he worked upon the world, [6] and then even the reflection of [7] the appearance was taken from him. But [8] Sophia was given a place of rest [9] in exchange for her repentance. [10] In consequence, because there was within her no [11] pure, original image, [12] either pre-existing in him or that had [13] already come to be through him, he [14] used his imagination and fashioned the remainder, [14] for the image belonging to Sophia [16] is always corrupt [and] [17] deceptive. But the Archon—[since he simulates] [18] and embodies by [pursuing the image] [19] because of the superabundance [that inclined downward]—looked [20] downward."

Like Plato's Demiurge, the Archon of creation here has the task of acting the role of "reason persuading necessity." He "[sows] [from his] reason," which turns out to be only his imagination. While Plato's Demiurge looks above to the paradigmatic living being and the forms therein (*Timaeus* 39e), the Archon can only look down; he is unable to see the transcendent, eternal ideas. In Platonic terms, he can only chase after fleeting and dim reflections of the *images* of whatever forms have been projected into the dark receptacle of matter, not the true forms themselves.

3. *Plato's "Lesser Deities" and the Creation of the First Human*

In effect, the Sethian accounts of the world creator constitute a kind of gnostic "creative misprision"[14] of the very Platonic exegetical template borrowed from the *Timaeus* in an attempt to solve protological enigmas raised not only by *Genesis*, but by the *Timaeus* itself! The gnostic re-reading of both Genesis and the *Timaeus* entailed parallel demotions: just as the Jewish creator God is subordinated to an even higher supreme deity, so also the generous, rational Demiurge of the *Timaeus* is interpreted in terms of his lower subordinates, the "younger gods," as a jealous agent of irrational necessity.

Pierre Boyancé and Roelof van den Broek have argued that the creative role of the planetary rulers in many gnostic systems is easily derivable from Plato's statements concerning the lesser, "younger deities" (νέοι θεοί, παῖδες) of the *Timaeus* (41a-42e). Having constructed the cosmic soul and body, the entirely good Demiurge fashions a slightly less pure mixture of divine and immortal substance left over from the ingredients of the cosmic Soul. After dividing this into single souls, each of which he transplants into a single star, he assigns the younger gods the task of enclosing these

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[14] The phrase is from H. Bloom, *Kabbalah and Criticism* (New York: Continuum, 1983), 62.

immortal and rational souls into human bodies (41a-42e).[15] Just as the Demiurge of the *Timaeus* commands the younger gods to fabricate the mortal human soul and body (42e-92c), in the *Apocryphon of John* (II 15,1-29), the lower creator assigns the task of creating Adam to his archontic authorities. When the image of the divine "First Human" is projected upon the chaotic sea of primordial matter, it is the equivalent of these younger gods, now conceived as Yaldabaoth's fellow archons who beckon one another (in the longer version it is Yaldabaoth himself who beckons): "Let us create a human after the image of God and after our likeness." In the *Apocryphon of John* (11,22-12,33), Yaldabaoth grants his seven authorities or "kings" certain "powers" to control the planetary spheres; they are derived, however, *not* from the pure and immortal luminous power he stole from his mother Sophia—the rough equivalent of the "indivisible and ever constant" (*Tim.* 35a) ingredient of Plato's cosmic soul—but from Yaldabaoth's own fire.

But even in the *Timaeus*, the altogether reasonable Demiurge's positive intentions are hindered by another negative element that Plato introduces in the second main section of the dialogue (47e-68d): the works of "Necessity" or the "errant cause" (47e-48a) as opposed to the "divine" cause (cf. 68e-69a). It is this element of irrational Necessity that especially enters into the work of the younger gods whom the Demiurge commissions to fashion the mortal bodies of humans and to append certain *necessary* mortal additions to the human soul (42de).

> [42a] And when, by virtue of *Necessity* (ἐξ ἀνάγκης) they (immortal human souls) should be implanted in bodies, and their bodies are subject to influx and efflux, these results would *necessarily* follow (ἀναγκαῖον εἴη): firstly, *sensation* that is innate and common to all proceeding from violent *passions*; secondly, *desire* mingled with *pleasure* and pain; and besides these, *fear* and *anger* [42b] and all such emotions as are naturally allied therewith, and all such as are of a different and opposite character.

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[15] P. Boyancé, "Dieu cosmique et dualisme: Les archontes et Platon," in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo*, 340-86. According to R. van den Broek ("The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* [NHMS 39; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 67-85, esp. 67 and note 1) G. Quispel ("The Demiurge in the *Apocryphon of John*," in *Nag Hammadi and Gnosis. Papers Read at the First International Congress on Coptology*, ed. R. McL. Wilson [NHS 14; Leiden: Brill 1978], 30), observing that Jewish heretics and later the Gnostics claimed "that the world was created by a lower demiurge," mistakenly claimed that in the *Apocryphon of John* the human body was fashioned directly by the demiurge.

According to the *Timaeus*, when the younger gods cast the immortal part of the soul into a material vessel comprised of the four elements, it becomes completely disordered and confused:

> *Timaeus* [42e5] So He, then, having given all these commands, resumed His accustomed state. Meanwhile his children heeded their Father's command and obeyed it. They took the immortal principle of the mortal living creature, and imitating their own Maker, they borrowed from the cosmos portions of fire and earth and water and air, [43a] as if meaning to pay them back, and the portions so taken they cemented together.... [43a6] Thus bound within a mighty river, the souls neither mastered it nor were mastered, but with violence they rolled along and were rolled along themselves, [43b] so that the whole of the living creature was moved, but in such a random way that its progress was *disorderly* and *irrational*. It became subject to all the six linear motions, straying in all six directions, forwards and backwards, right to left, and up and down. For while the flood which foamed in and streamed out to supply nourishment was immense, still greater was the tumult produced [43c] within each creature as a result of the colliding bodies, when the body of a creature happened to meet and collide with the fire of some external body, or with a solid lump of earth or liquid flow of water, or the sudden blast of driving winds. And the motions due to all these causes rushed through the body and impinged upon the Soul and for that reason were then as today termed Sensations. Moreover, since at that time they were causing constant and widespread motion, reinforced by the perpetually flowing stream, [43d] they violently upset the orbits of the (human) soul, totally blocking the orbit of the Same, and by flowing contrary to it robbed it of its control and orderly motion, and disordered the orbit of the Other so that... [43d7] they were twisted in every direction, causing [43e] every possible kind of fracture and disruption to their circles, which barely held together one with another, and although they moved, they moved irrationally, now in reverse, now sideways, now upside down.

On the other hand, in the *Apocryphon of John* (II 19,11-14), the psychic entity initially fitted together by the angels and demons remains completely motionless and inert (II 19,10-33, as in Gen 2:7); only after it has been vivified with the luminous power of Sophia does it undergo the material incarnation that results in this chaotic and uncoordinated motion.

In the third and final section of the *Timaeus* (68e-92c), Plato describes the addition of mortal psychic appendages to the immortal soul and its incarnation into a mortal physical body as a blending of divine and rational elements with certain necessary and irrational elements. This section begins (68b-72d) with the younger deities' construction of mortal psychic appendages to the immortal part of the human soul, in particular the passions that will comprise the mortal—the spirited and appetitive—parts of the human soul:

> *Timaeus* [69c] He himself (the demiurge) acted as the fashioner of things divine, but he commanded his own engendered sons to execute the structure of the mortal things. And receiving the immortal principle of soul, they, imitating him (the demiurge), encased it in a mortal, physical globe with the entire body as its vehicle. And they built on to it another mortal part [69d] containing *terrible* and *necessary passions*: first *pleasure*, the chief incitement evil; next, *pains* that recoil from the good; besides these, *rashness* and *fear*—both foolish counselors—and then obstinate *anger* and seductive *hope*. Blending these with *irrational sensation* and all-daring *lust*, they provided the mortal soul with its *necessary* equipment.

According to the lengthy citation from a certain *Book of Zoroaster* in the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John*, virtually the same set of passions—pain, pleasure, lust and fear—is supplied, not directly by the seven planetary powers, but by four demons:

> **II 18** [14] The four [15] chief demons are:
> Ephememphi who [16] belongs to *pleasure*;
> Yōkō the one who belongs to *lust*; [17]
> Nenentōphni is the one who belongs to *pain*;
> Blaomēn [18] is the one who belongs to *fear*;
> And the mother of all these is [19] Esthēnsis-ouch-epi-ptoē.
> Now from these four [20] demons, the passions came into being. [21] And from *pain*: envy, jealousy, [22] pain, trouble, strife, [23] callousness, anxiety, mourning, [24] and the rest. From *pleasure* comes [25] much evil and vain [26] conceit and similar things. [27] From *lust*: anger, wrath, [28] [bitterness], bitter passion and [29] unfulfilled desire, and similar things. [30] From *fear*: panic, [31] pleading, anguish, shame. All these [32] are like virtues and vices. [33] But the thought of their truth is Anaiō, [34] i.e., the head of the material soul. **19** [1] She exists with the seven senses Ouch-epi-ptoē.

A bit later in the *Timaeus* (73b-76e), Plato proceeds to discuss the actual physical construction of the human body, whose fundamental components are marrow (and brain, to which the soul is anchored), bones, sinews, flesh, skin, hair, nails, and finally (80d-81e)—under the topic of the irrigational and respiratory system—blood.[16] While the *Timaeus* regards these components as the *physical* constituents of the human body, the *Apocryphon of John* regards them as constituents of Adam's *psychic* body. With a few variations

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[16] Roelof van den Broek ("The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* [NHMS 39; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 67-85) has shown in detail how this section of the *Timaeus* underlies the *Apocryphon of John*'s account of the creation of the earthly Adam (BG 41,12-42,10 + 43,6-44,18 + 48,14-51,1; II 11,4-6.26-35 + 12,10-13,1 + 15,1-19,14).

in order, these psychic components are—except for the nails—the same as those in the *Timaeus*:[17]

> **II 15** [6] And [7] each one of the authorities contributed a feature to his (= the creature's) [8] psychical being [9] from the pattern of the image that <they> had seen. <They> created an entity [10] after the likeness of the First Perfect Human. [11] And they said, "Let us call him [12] 'Adam,' so that his name might be [13] for us a luminous power." And the powers began: [14]
> The first, Goodness (BG & III = Divinity), created [15] a bone-soul;
> the second, Providence (BG = *chrēstos*, Lordship), [16] created a sinew-soul;
> the third, [17] Divinity (BG = Fire, III = *chrēstos*) , created a flesh-soul; [18]
> the fourth is Lordship (BG & III = Providence); it created [19] a marrow-soul (BG adds: "and the entire foundation of the body"; for Plato marrow is the starting point, ἀρχή, of the human frame, *Timaeus* 73b; *On the Origin of the World* 114,33-35 has "brain and marrow");
> the fifth is Kingdom; [20] it created a blood-soul (Plato discusses blood later at *Timaeus* 80-81e);
> the sixth is [21] Jealousy (BG & III = Understanding); it created a skin-soul; [22]
> the seventh is Understanding (BG & III = Wisdom); it created [23] a <hair>-soul.

When the divine Mother causes the unwitting Yaldabaoth to inspire the completely lifeless body with the luminous power stolen from his mother Sophia, it suddenly moves and becomes luminous, with a greater intelligence than its creators. Out of jealousy the chief archon casts the psychic body out of Paradise into the lowest region of matter and entombs it in a material formation made out of the four elements fire, earth, water and air (conceived as flaming wind or spirit). At this point Adam becomes a mortal man, whose only hope of survival lay in propagating his kind through sexual intercourse.

> **II 20** [32] When they (the authorities) looked up, they saw [33] that his intellect was superior, and they devised [34] a plan with the entire archontic [35] and angelic company. They took fire and earth **21** [1] and water and mixed them together [2] with the four flaming winds, and beat them [3] together, and created a great [4] *disturbance.* And they brought him into the shadow [5] of death, so that they might remold him, [6] from the earth and water and fire [7] and

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[17] Van den Broek (*ibid.* 74) suggests that the application of Plato's melothesia of the physical human body to its psychic elements is due to Middle Platonic doctrines of the descent of the soul through the planetary spheres from each of which it receives a characteristic that comprises its a pneumatic vehicle or astral body, as in the Hermetic *Poimandres* 25 and Numenius (frg. 52 Leemans, *apud* Macrobius' *Commentary of the Dream of Scipio* I.11,12-12,18).

wind that are from matter—i.e., [8] the *ignorance* of darkness and *desire* [9] and their Counterfeit Spirit—which [10] is the cave of the remolding of the body [11] with which the robbers clothed the human, [12] the chain of forgetfulness. And he became a [13] mortal human.

4. *Providence and Fate*

Given the *Apocryphon of John*'s equation of the supreme divine Mother Barbelo with universal Providence, it is curious that it also identifies the first of the authorities contributing to Adam's psychic body as "providence" (πρόνοια). But a similar distinction occurs in the *Timaeus*. Near the beginning of the first main section of the *Timaeus* (29d-47e), it is said that "this universe came to be in very truth through God's Providence" (30bc), while toward its end, it is implied that the generation of the human soul and bodies in their discrete parts came about through the agency and *providence* of the (younger) gods (44c). There are thus two providences, one exercised by the Demiurge on behalf of the entire universe—the macrocosm—and another providence to be exercised by the younger gods on behalf of the construction of the mortal human soul and body—the microcosm. In addition to these, there are also the "decrees of Fate" (νόμους τε τοὺς εἱμαρμένους, 41e) and the works of Necessity (42a) that equitably govern their initial incarnation of human souls.

In the *Apocryphon of John*, primary Providence is none other than the supreme Mother Barbelo who, as the divine First Thought, contains the divine intelligence and manifests its Ideas as Aeons. In the *Apocryphon of John* II 28,5-32, the equivalent of secondary providence—"the changeable chain" of Fate—is a kind of negative providence begotten by these same seven "powers" through their adultery with Sophia as a prelude to the flood:

II 28 [11] He (Yaldabaoth) devised a plan [12] with his authorities who were his powers. And [13] together they committed adultery with Wisdom, and from them, like a wound, [14] Fate was begotten, [15] i.e., the final, changeable chain. [16] And it is because [17] they change into one another that (Fate) is diverse. And it is oppressive and [18] perverse, this with which [19] were mixed gods and angels and demons [20] and all the generations to this day. [21] For from that Fate [22] <appeared> every wickedness and [23] injustice and blasphemy and chain [24] of forgetfulness and ignorance and every [25] burdensome commandment, and burdensome sins [26] and great fears. And in this way, [27] the whole creation was blind, [28] so that they might not recognize the God who is [29] above them all. And because of the chain of forgetfulness, [30] their sins were hidden. For they were bound with [31] measures and times and seasons, [32] since (Fate) is master over all things.

While in the *Timaeus* secondary Providence is diligently exercised by the secondary gods by creating, governing, and preserving mortal affairs in an orderly fashion, in the *Apocryphon of John*, secondary providence is evil. It is the source of chaotic disorder and ignorance and ultimately assists in its own undoing by provoking salvific intervention of the higher Providence—Barbelo—into the realm of mortals to raise her offspring into the "honored place."

In these observations, I have tried to show that several features of the *Apocryphon of John* and related Sethian treatises are based upon a gnostic reading of the *Timaeus*, which serves as the master text for the cosmological section of the *Apocryphon of John* (II 6,33-19,10) and as an exegetical template that supplies the correct interpretation of the Genesis protology offered by Moses, the undiscerning prophet of the biblical creator God. Some constitute actual parodies of the *Timaeus*: the Sethian anthropogonic melothesia, the doctrine of a dual providence, a demiurgical world creator who fabricates according to a reflected divine paradigm which he cannot directly see. On the other hand, there are also positive appropriations of the *Timaeus*: the Sethian doctrine of the primal triad Father, Mother, Child trinity, as well as the association of the Mother Barbelo with certain positive features of the receptacle of becoming and of Sophia with certain of its enigmatic features, ultimately expressed in terms of dual Mother figures.

I now turn to consider a distinct group of Sethian texts that, except for their sporadic retention of such figures of the heavenly Adam, Seth, and the seed of Seth, display no interest in Jewish, Christian, or biblical themes—including the biblical protology—at all. And, while the influence of the *Timaeus* remains occasionally evident, the central dialogue of reference seems to have shifted to the *Parmenides* as a means of resolving the ancient dilemma of how multiplicity could have arisen from absolute unity. Given the various competing and universalizing monotheisms of the late second century, in which the most notable defining criterion of sectarian boundaries was made according to one's notion of the One God, the issue of absolutely unitary first principles and their transcendence inevitably gained a nearly overwhelming social and personal relevance, especially among philosophically-minded sectarians like the Sethian gnostics.

III. *Sethian Interpretations of the* Parmenides

One may divide the eleven Sethian treatises into two subgroups precisely in view of the path to saving enlightenment offered in each. For the larger

and probably earlier group of treatises—the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, *Thought of Norea*, *Melchizedek*, and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*—saving enlightenment is conferred through a biblically-inspired horizontal sequence of temporally successive earthly *descents* on the part of a heavenly savior/revealer sent by the divine Mother of the All to awaken humans to the nature and reality of the upper world. The other group—consisting of the four treatises *Zostrianos*, *Allogenes*, the *Three Steles of Seth*, and *Marsanes*—conceives saving enlightenment to be achieved through a Platonically-inspired vertical *ascent* of a visionary through a succession of supramundane realms and mental states during which one becomes assimilated to ever higher levels of being and insight.[18] For reasons that will become apparent, these four treatises form a distinctive group that can be called "the Platonizing Sethian treatises."

Each of the Platonizing Sethian texts commemorates the ecstatic ascent of a single exceptional individual such as the biblical Seth, Zostrianos (the alleged uncle or grandfather of Zoroaster), Allogenes ("one of another kind, race," a play on Seth as the σπέρμα ἕτερον of Gen 4:25), or Marsanes (who may have been a contemporary Sethian prophet). The various stages of these ascents are articulated according to an ever-ascending hierarchy of transcendent aeonic levels whose ontology is typical of contemporary Middle Platonic metaphysical treatises. The metaphysical hierarchy of the Platonizing Sethian treatises is strikingly similar, consisting of four ontological levels. Uppermost is a supreme realm altogether beyond being occupied by a supreme unitary deity, the Triple Powered Invisible Spirit; below this one finds an atemporal, intelligible realm of pure determinate being occupied by a tripartite divine Intellect, the Aeon of Barbelo, encompassing three subaeons: Kalyptos, Protophanes, and Autogenes. In turn, Autogenes presides over the four Luminaries who define the Self-generated Aeons that contain the souls of those who have achieved complete enlightenment and eternal stability. Below these are three lower psychic realms—the Repentance, Sojourn, and the aeonic Antitypes—characterized by time and motion that contain souls still in the process of transmigration. Finally, at the bottom

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[18] Ultimately inspired by a combination to *Theaetetus* 176b with the vision of absolute Beauty in Plato's *Symposium* 210a-212a and of the true light in the parable of the cave in *Republic* VII 514-517a, and perhaps even the vision of Parmenides (*Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* 227-246 Diels-Kranz). See my "The Gnostic Threefold Path to Enlightenment: The Ascent of Mind and the Descent of Wisdom," *Novum Testamentum* 22 (1980), 324-351, esp. 341-351.

of the hierarchy lies the physical realm of "Nature." In this scheme, Sethianism has become a form of mythological Platonism.

1. *The Platonic Milieu of the Platonizing Sethian Treatises*

Among all eleven Sethian treatises, three can be rather precisely dated. One of these is a version of the *Apocryphon of John*, whose introductory theogony and cosmogony was summarized by Irenaeus (*Adversus Haereses* I.29) around 175-180 CE. The other two are the Platonizing treatises *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes*. In his *Life of Plotinus* 16, Porphyry tells us that these two apocalypses (and perhaps also a version of *Marsanes*) circulated in Plotinus' philosophical seminar in Rome during the years 244-265 CE, and that one in particular, *Zostrianos*, was scrupulously critiqued by Amelius and himself.[19] The record of Plotinus' debates with the proponents of these treatises is contained in his *Großschrift*, an originally continuous treatise that included *Enneads* III, 8 [30], V, 8 [31], V, 5 [32], and II, 9 [33], whose concluding section contains Plotinus' most pointed antignostic critique, some of whose details are clearly directed at *Zostrianos*.[20] It is also likely that these

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[19] "There were in his time and circle many Christians and others, and sectarians who had ventured away from the old philosophy, men of the school of Adelphios and Aquilinus who possessed a great many treatises of Alexander the Libyan and Philokomos and Demostratos and Lydos (or: Demostratos of Libya), and used to adduce apocalypses by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nikotheos and Allogenes and Messos and other people of the kind; they deceived themselves and many others, alleging that Plato had not penetrated into the depths of intelligible reality. Hence Plotinus often attacked their position in his lectures and wrote the treatise to which we have given the title Against the Gnostics (*Ennead* II,9); he left it to us to assess what he passed over. Amelius went to forty volumes in writing against the book of Zostrianos. I, Porphyry, wrote a considerable number of refutations of the book of Zoroaster, which I showed to be entirely spurious and modern, made up by the sectarians to convey the impression that the doctrines which they had chosen to hold in honor were those of the ancient Zoroaster" (trans. A.H. Armstrong with slight modifications).

[20] While Plotinus does not seem to attack the general schema of either the unfolding of or the reascent to the divine world offered in the Platonizing Sethian treatises, nonetheless he accepts some specific elements and rejects others. He voices no objection to their designation of the supreme deity as the Invisible Spirit, nor to *Allogenes'* notion of learned ignorance (III, 8 [30] 9-10; NHC XI 59,30-32; 60,8-12; 61,2-3; 61,17-19; cf. Porphyry, *Sent.* 25-26; anonymous *Parmenides Commentary*, frgs. II & IV), nor to the notion that spiritual beings are simultaneously present in their entirety as "all together" in the Intellect (*Ennead* V, 8 [31] 7-9; *Zostrianos* VIII 21, 87, 115-16), nor the idea of the traversal of Life from the One into the Intellect (*Ennead* III, 8 [30] 11; VI, 7 [38] 17; *Zostrianos* VII 17,6-22; 66,14-67,3; *Allogenes* XI 49,5-21). On the other hand,

gnostic proponents continued to be Plotinus' subtextual interlocutors up through his very latest treatises (at least through Ennead I, 8 [51]).

With the Platonizing Sethian treatises, we are at the cusp of the shift from what is known as Middle Platonism to the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and his successors.[21] For the Middle Platonists, the principal Platonic dialogue of reference was the *Timaeus*, interpreted to reveal three fundamental principles: 1) The supreme principle was God, identified with the supreme Form of the Good from the *Republic* and the demiurge of the *Timaeus* conceived as a universal Intellect. 2) Next was the Paradigm of the *Timaeus*, conceived as the intelligible realm of Forms, perhaps identical with God's thoughts, existing either within the divine Intellect or occupying a distinct realm external and subjacent to it. By contemplating these, God confers order upon 3) the third and lowest principle, Matter, a pre-existing stuff mysteriously agitated within its matrix, the receptacle of the *Timaeus*.[22]

Plotinus rejects: (1) the strong partitioning of Intellect (*Ennead* II, 9 [33] 1; cf. III, 9 [13] 1) in the manner both of Numenius and of *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes*; (2) the idea that *Sophia* is derivative and alien (*Zostrianos* VIII pages 9-10; cf. *Ennead* V, 8 [31] 5), or that Soul or *Sophia* declined and put on human bodies (cf. *Zostrianos* VIII 27,9-12), or that *Sophia* or the mother illumined the darkness, producing an image in matter, which in turn produces an image of the image (*Zostrianos* VIII 9.17-10,20 and *Ennead* II, 9 (33) 10.19-33; 11,14-30; but see Plotinus' own version of this in III, 9 [13] 3), (3) the idea of a demiurge revolting from its matter and whose activity gives rise to "repentances" (μετάνοιαι), "copies" (ἀντίτυποι) and "sojourns" (παροικήσεις), *Ennead* II, 9 [33] 6; the "alien earth", II, 9 [33] 11; cf. *Zostrianos* VIII 5,10-29; 8,9-16; 12,4-21), (4) the unnecessary multiplication of Hypostases, (5) the notion of secondary "knowledge of (a yet higher) knowledge" (*Ennead* II, 9 [33] 1; cf. *Zostrianos* VIII 82,1-13;119,12-13), and (6) magical incantations (*Ennead* II, 9 [33], 4; cf. *Zostrianos* VIII 52,85-88; 127; *Allogenes* XI 53,32-55,11; *Steles Seth* VII 126,1-17; *Marsanes* X 25,17-32,5). In general, Plotinus' objections to Gnostic cosmogonies are based on his perception that they feature entities (such as Sophia or a world-creator) that produce inferior products by failing to adequately contemplate superior entities, thereby introducing discontinuities into what ought to be a continuous ontological hierarchy. Unfortunately, the doctrines criticized by Plotinus in the *Großschrift* may not always provide evidence sufficient to identify his opponents with any precision, since he may have in mind doctrines of several such opponents, not only those of the Sethians, but also of Valentinians, Christians, or even Numenius and his followers.

[21] See, e.g., Luc Brisson, "Qualche aspetto della storia del Platonismo," *Elenchos* 20 (1999), 145-69 and "The Platonic Background in the *Apocalypse of Zostrianos*: Numenius and *Letter II* attributed to Plato," in *The Tradition of Platonism. Essays in Honour of John Dillon*, ed. J. J. O'Cleary (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), 173-188.

[22] Thus Aetius, *De placitis reliquiae* p. 288,1-6 Diels (*Stobaei excerpta* 1.10.16a5): Πλάτων Ἀρίστωνος τρεῖς ἀρχάς, τὸν θεὸν τὴν ὕλην τὴν ἰδέαν, ὑφ' οὗ ἐξ οὗ πρὸς ὅ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς

a. *Neopythagorean Platonism*

Sometime during the first and second centuries, Platonists such as Moderatus and Numenius were attracted by certain Neopythagorean doctrines espoused by such figures as Eudorus and Thrasyllus, aspects of which probably stemmed ultimately from Old Academicians like Speusippus. They were led to reconcile Old Academic traditions about Plato's written and reputed oral teaching concerning the origin of universal multiplicity from the interaction of two supreme principles, the Limit and the Unlimited of the *Philebus*[23] with Parmenides' monistic doctrine of the ultimate unity of all things in the One. From this they concluded that the multiplicity of both ideal and sensible realities was derived from the interaction of a transcendent Monad and Dyad, whose origin was in turn attributed to a supreme One beyond them.[24]

It is at this time that the *Parmenides*, with its thoroughgoing exploration of the nature of ultimate Unity, gradually comes to supplement or even supplant the *Timaeus* as the primary dialogue of reference in the search for ultimate principles.[25] The "hypotheses" occupying its second half could be identified with a Neopythagorean hierarchy of hypostatic principles:[26] 1) a supreme One beyond being; 2) a second One or Monad, paradoxically conceived as a dyad of unity and determinate being identified as a Middle Platonic Intellect containing multiple Forms; 3) a third hypostasis[27] where multiple otherness undergoing change merely participates in unity and thus can account for the motion typical of Soul or the sensible uni-

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νοῦς ἐστι τοῦ κόσμου, ἡ δὲ ὕλη τὸ ὑποκείμενον γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ, ἰδέα δὲ οὐσία ἀσώματος ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ ταῖς φαντασίαις τοῦ θεοῦ.

[23] Or in Aristotle's terminology, the One and the Great and the Small, or the One and the Indefinite Dyad.

[24] Cf. A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, Volume IV: *Le Dieu inconnu et la gnose* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1954), chs. II and III, esp. 36-40; H. J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik* (Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1967), 320-21, 330-35; J. M. Rist, "Monism: Plotinus and some Predecessors," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 69 (1965), *passim*; J. M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 120-21, 126-129, 342-61.

[25] See, e.g., Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* I.7-8.

[26] Such as those attributed to Eudorus, *apud* Simplicius, *In Aristotelis physicorum* 9.181,10-30 [Diels] and Alexander Polyhistor *apud* Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae* VIII24.7-25.10, and perhaps the testimonia on Archaenetus, Philolaus and Brotinus *apud* Syrianus, *in Metaph.* 165,33-166,6 [Kroll] and Pseudo-Archytas *apud* Stobaeus, *Anthologium* I.41.2,1-50 = 1.278-9 [Wachsmuth].

[27] Taking in *Parm.* 155e5 (ἔτι δὴ τὸ τρίτον λέγωμεν) as designating a distinct third hypothesis rather than as part of the second hypothesis.

verse, and so on, ending with the realm of pure disordered matter, identifiable with the *Timaeus*' receptacle. Such an "episodic" scheme appears to have been anticipated already in the Old Academic thought of Speusippus.[28] The three highest of these hypostatic entities could also be recognized in the three kings mentioned in the pseudonymous second Platonic Letter (*Letter II* 312e), perhaps composed in these same Neopythagorean circles during the first century.

b. *Moderatus*

Thus according to Simplicius (*In Phys.* 230,34-231,5 in part citing Porphyry's lost *On Matter*), Moderatus proposed a hierarchy of four entities: 1) a First One beyond being who actually seems to be generated from 2) a Second One that—according to Porphyry—is a "unitary Logos" that initiates ontogenesis by depriving itself of the unitary aspects of its multiple Forms.[29]

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[28] Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 12 1090b19-20. Iamblichus, *De communi mathematica scientia* 4 (15,5-17,23 Festa) attributes to Speusippus a five-level universe: the transcendent principles of One and Multiplicity (Plato's Indefinite Dyad?), the determinate being of the mathematicals and geometricals, the world soul (third level) and the sensible world, both animate (fourth level) and inanimate (fifth level). According to J. Dillon, ("Speusippus and the Ontological Interpretation of the Parmenides" unpublished paper for the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar on "Rethinking Plato's Parmenides and its Platonic, Gnostic and Patristic Reception" November 22, 2003, pp. 3-10), Proclus' (*In Parmenidem* VII 38-40 Klibansky = frg. 48 Tarán) citation of Speusippus' testimony concerning the "ancients" (i.e., Pythagoreans) who held that "if one postulates the One, in itself, conceived as separated and alone, without anything else, with no other element added to it (cf. Plato, *Parmenides* 143A6-9), nothing else would come into existence; and so they introduced the Indefinite Dyad as the principle of beings" shows that already Speusippus had adopted a "metaphysical" interpretation of the first and second hypotheses of the *Parmenides*, regarding its second hypothesis as "portraying the interaction of the One and the indefinite Dyad to generate first Number, and ultimately the whole ordered universe" according to the process depicted in 143C-144A, where "the union of the One with Being is a process of dyadic division, addition and multiplication that leads to Number."

[29] Simplicius, *In Phys.* 231,7-10: "The Unitary Logos (i.e., the "second One) . . . intending to produce from itself the origin of beings, by self-deprivation made room for [ms.] Quantity (ποσότης), having deprived (στερήσας) it (Quantity) of all its (the Unitary Logos') proportions and Forms." The entire passage is cited in Appendix I, p. 54. By retracting unity from the multiplicity of the Forms conceived as a prefigurative quantity already seminally present in itself, the unitary Logos makes space for pure Quantity (cf. the indefinite dyad) to serve as a passive receptacle to receive the Forms. This self-deprivation seems to refer to the similar process of regression ascribed to Moderatus in Stobaeus' *Anthologium* (I, 8,1-11, p. 21 Wachsmuth), according to which "number is a collection of monads, or a progression of multiplicity (προποδισμὸς πλήθους) beginning

Apparently, this self-deprivation yields not only the transcendent unity of the First One, but also makes room for pure Quantity—perhaps the mere plurality of the Forms—deprived of all unity and proportion as a sort of relative non-being that could be identified with the receptacle of the *Timaeus*.[30] Next, there is 3) a third entity that merely participates the first two and thus is both one and many, perhaps identifiable as the cosmic Soul (or the sensible cosmos itself), which is apparently followed by 4) a fourth realm as the sensible reflections (κατ' ἔμφασιν) of the Forms in 5) an apparent fifth realm of absolute non-being, i.e., Matter as a mere "shadow" of the quantitative non-being left behind by the unitary Logos. Since—assuming Simplicius' testimony can be trusted[31]—Moderatus evidently designated the two highest of these principles as a First One and a Second One, it appears that his reading of the *Parmenides* induced him

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from a monad, and regression terminating at the monad (ἀναποδισμὸς εἰς μονάδα): monads delimit Quantity, which is whatever has been deprived and is left remaining and stable when multiplicity is diminished by the subtraction of each number." This process of the generation of number is very likely indebted to Plato's description of the generation of number in *Parmenides* 143C-144A. According to Syrianus (*In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, 151.14-27 Kroll), Moderatus said that the One was a principle, although he derived it from the Monad, which was generated temporally prior (γενέσει) to the supreme One, even though the One was treated later in account (λόγῳ). Although the one functioned as a formal cause for the monad, presumably by giving it numerical form, the monad has a certain priority because it underlies number as if it were its material substrate.

[30] Thus ontogenesis is not a hierarchical emanation of all subsequent being from an absolutely simple first principle from highest to lowest; it instead starts at the second level with the fission of the unitary Logos into opposite principles of formal unity and indeterminate plurality that interact to generate all subsequent reality. Cf. the similar process in frgs. 3-5 of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, where the Father snatches away his own fire or hypostatical identity (ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασσεν ἑαυτόν, οὐδ' ἐν ἑῇ δυνάμει νοερᾷ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ) to yield pure indeterminate power or potential to be informed by his intellective power on a lower level. Evidently, along the lines of *Parmenides* 142b-e, the unity of the unitary Logos becomes the First One, while the duality of its "being one" becomes the second One whose forms will be imposed on the indeterminate quantity for which it has made room, producing an arrangement rather like that of Eudorus (*apud* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 181.10-30 Diels): a supreme One (ἕν) above lower pair of principles, the Monad and the (indefinite) Dyad.

[31] See however the doubts raised by Philippe Hoffman ("Simplicius' reading of Moderatus via Porphyry (Simplicius, *in Phys.* 230,34 ff.)" and J. Noel Hubler, ("Moderatus, E. R. Dodds, and the Development of Neoplatonist Emanation") during the November 2003 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar, "Rethinking Plato's Parmenides and its Platonic, Gnostic and Patristic Reception."

to make this elaborate Neopythagorean combination of the Middle Platonic three-level scheme of God, Model, and Matter with the three kings of *Letter II* representing God, the Forms, and the sensible universe or its Soul. The result was a series of four or five entities that could serve to interpret the first five hypotheses of the *Parmenides* as signifying the One, Intellect, the realm of souls, the sensible universe, and Matter.[32] Thus, the three principles of Middle Platonism, God, Model, and Matter—apparently supplemented by a psychic and physical realm—are subordinated to a supreme principle, the One beyond being.[33]

c. *Numenius*

In its appropriation of both the *Parmenides* and *Timaeus*, Moderatus' account of ontogenesis by which the Second One gives rise to both unity and multiplicity through self-privation seems thoroughly Neopythagorean. By contrast, Calcidius testifies that Numenius, although a Neopythagorean, rejected the notion of a generation of dyadic multiplicity by the self-privation of the Monad.[34] Although the *Parmenides* seems to have influenced his explanation of the nature of pure being (frgs. 5-6 des Places),[35] Numenius still relies principally on the *Timaeus* to articulate his system of three Gods or Intellects. The first God is a static Intellect, modeled on the *Timaeus'*

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[32] Cf. the five-level universe Iamblichus attributes to Speusippus outlined in note 28 above.

[33] In their survey of the interpretation of *Letter II* in the introduction to volume 2 of *Proclus: Théologie Platonicienne* (6 vols. [Collection des universités de France; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968-1997], II.lviii-lix) Saffrey and Westerink distinguish two schools of interpretation, the "Syrian" school of Amelius, Iamblichus, and Theodore, who identify the three kings with three intellects or demiurges that are subordinated to the One, and the "Roman" school of Plotinus and Porphyry (preceded by Moderatus and followed by Julian and Proclus), who identified the first "King of all things" with the One. Although he does not posit a supreme One above the triad, Numenius is clearly a precursor of the Syrian school.

[34] Cf. Numenius frg 52 des Places (= Calcidius, In Tim. c. 293): "(Numenius) says that Pythagoras applied the name Unity to God, but to Matter, the name Dyad. This Dyad is said to be indeterminate when ungenerated, but determinate when generated. . . . (While yet) unorganized and ungenerated, that (dyad) must be considered as coeval with the God by whom it was organized. But some Pythagoreans (e.g., Moderatus) had not correctly apprehended this statement, still claiming that this indeterminate and unlimited Dyad is itself brought forth from the single Unity, as it withdraws from its singular nature and departs into the condition of the Dyad."

[35] I.e., as an incorporeal, Being has no change, movement, difference, location, or time.

paradigmatic "truly living being." Since he transcends discursive thinking, he gives rise to a second Intellect below him which he "uses" (frgs. 20-22 des Places) for this purpose. This second Intellect is the actual demiurge: according to fragment 11, he is unified in so far as he turns toward the first Intellect, but when he becomes preoccupied with unifying the duality of Matter according to the Forms he perceives in the First God, his contact with Matter sunders him into distinct second and third Gods. According to fragment 16, this demiurge apparently alternates between an Intellect-in-contemplation and a discursive demiurgical Intellect (who might be considered as the rational aspect of the World Soul).[36]

Although Numenius speaks of a Second and Third God in fragment 11, he nevertheless calls them "One" (εἷς), suggesting that he too (like Moderatus' δεύτερον ἕν and τὸ δὲ τρίτον) may have associated them with the Ones of hypothesis II (142b1-155e4) and what the "ancients" regarded as hypostasis III (155e4-157b4) of the *Parmenides*. According to Proclus (*In Parmenidem* 638,21-36), certain "ancients" took the phrase ἔτι δὴ τὸ τρίτον of *Parmenides* 155e4 to designate a distinct third hypothesis, while most modern scholars argue that the initial ἔτι suggests that this "third" designates, not a separate hypothesis, but merely a third approach to the One of hypothesis two. But on either view, the One of this supposed third hypothesis—which undergoes instantaneous alternation between unity and plurality since it partakes of being when it is one, but when it is not one does not so partake—nevertheless inherits the second hypothesis' essential character of a many-in-one.[37] Thus the One of what was taken to be hypothesis III (155e-157b) and the One of hypothesis II are both many-in-ones: from the point of view of hypothesis II, although also a plurality (142e, 144e), the One nevertheless remains an overall unity, while from the point of view of hypothesis III it alternately becomes one and many (155e).[38] In the same

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[36] See des Places' fragments 11 and 16 (where ἔπειτα seems to imply successive alternation) cited in Appendix II, p. 53. Numenius also posited an irrational world soul, cf. frg. 52 des Places: "The same Numenius praises Plato (cf. Laws 896d-e) for having taught the existence of two world souls, the one being very beneficent, and the other malevolent, namely, matter. For if nature is in even only moderate motion, then must it necessarily be alive and animated, according to the laws of all things whose motion is innate. This (matter) is also the cause and director of the passible part of the soul, which contains something corporeal, mortal and similar to the body, just as the rational part of the soul derives from reason and God. For the world is created out of (a commingling of) God and matter."

[37] See *Parmenides* 156e3-7, cited in Appendix III, p. 55.

[38] Cf. *Parmenides* 155e4: "If the one is such as we have described it, being both one

way, in fragments 11 and 16 Numenius apparently portrays the demiurgic intellect as alternating between a second contemplative God who participates in the unity of the First God and a third demiurgic God who comes into contact with the plurality of matter. So it seems that Numenius has been influenced, not only the by the *Timaeus* and the second Platonic *Letter*, but quite possibly also by the *Parmenides*' distinction between the absolute Unity of the first hypothesis and the duality of—or alternation between—Unity and Being in the second.

It is in this Neopythagorean metaphysical environment that the *Parmenides* seems to come into its own as a theological treatise, and becomes subjected to various expositions and lemmatic commentaries—such as the anonymous Turin *Commentary* on the *Parmenides*—that attempted to uncover the metaphysical realities concealed in the various hypotheses of its second half. Once Plotinus had based his own metaphysics upon the first three hypotheses of the *Parmenides* read in terms of the three kings of *Letter II*, the way lay open to subsequent Neoplatonists to discover hypostatic equivalents for the *Parmenides*' remaining hypotheses as well.[39] But it is possible

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and many and neither one nor many, and partakes of time, must it not, because one is, sometimes partake of being (i.e., when the second God turns to the First), and again because one is not, sometimes not partake of being (i.e., when he turns to matter)?" and 156b5: "When it becomes one its existence as many is destroyed, and when it becomes many its existence as one is destroyed." See H. Tarrant, *Thrasyllan Platonism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 174, and the passages cited in Appendices II (Numenius) and III (*Parmenides*).

[39] An attempt to flesh out Moderatus' entire metaphysical hierarchy corresponding to the Parmenidean "hypotheses" has been offered by Harold Tarrant (*Thrasyllan Platonism* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993, Ch. 6, "The Neopythagorean *Parmenides*"], 148-177, esp. 150-61). Dividing the hypotheses in Neoplatonic fashion by counting 155e4-157b4 ("for a third time") as a distinct third hypothesis to form a series of nine (H1=137c3-142a6; H2=142b1-155e4; H3=155e4-157b4; H4=157b5-159a9; H5=159b1-160b3; H6=160b4-163b5; H7=163b6-164b3; H8=164b4-165e1; H9=165e1-166c6), Tarrant assigns the first eight to the four entities mentioned in Simplicius' citation of Moderatus (*In Phys.* 230.34-231.5) and to the various kinds of matter described in Porphyry's book *On Matter* 2 (*In Phys.* 231.5-231.34) that cites Moderatus' doctrine of the origin of matter as indeterminate Quantity (ποσότης), according to the following hierarchy: (H1) the first One beyond Being; (H2) the second One-Being or Unitary Logos embracing the Forms; (H3) the "third" (One?) that participates the One and the Forms as signifying unified (rational) souls; (H4) Soul (non-rational) in diversity; (H5) archetypal Matter (ποσότης) "left over" when deprived of all the Unitary Logos' λόγοι and εἴδη i.e., the receptacle of the *Timaeus*—whose indeterminacy becomes the determinate quantity (ποσόν) of (H6) corporeal matter when caught by and actually ordered by the Unitary Logos, who imposes—not Forms—but (continuous) geometrical magnitude and (discrete) numerical

that the detection of three or more Parmenidean hypostases had already occurred to certain of Plotinus' predecessors.

d. *The Sethians*

This shift in the Platonic dialogue of reference is also visible in the Sethian treatises. In mid- to later second-century Sethian treatises like the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, the cosmology of the *Timaeus* becomes an exegetical template to interpret the Genesis protology, in both negative and positive ways. Negatively, they compromise the supremacy of the Jewish creator God by identifying him with a jealous and ignorant parody of the *Timaeus*' demiurge subordinated to a superior divine model which he must consult, but cannot actually see. Positively, it seems that the very nomenclature of the

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distinction upon it; (H7) the non-existent "shadow" matter in sensibles, incapable of receiving any predicate at all; and (H8) the fourth (mentioned in *In Phys.* 231.2-5 after the "third") and "final nature" (φύσις) consisting, not of any kind of matter, but of phantasms, merely apparent sense-data reflecting the formal properties of already-ordered corporeal matter. Tarrant distributes the psychic realm into two levels on the basis of Moderatus' notion (cited in Porphyry, *Vita Pythag.* 44.8-14) of a One that causes the co-animation (συμπνοία) of both the universe (H3) and of particulars (H4). The distribution of entities in H5-H8 is based on Moderatus' apparent distinction between the indeterminate ποσότης deprived of the Unitary Logos' λόγοι and εἴδη (but nevertheless receptive of Form, *In Phys.* 231.7-15) and the disorganized but determinate ποσόν of corporeal matter upon which the Unitary Logos forcefully imposes geometrical and arithmetic organization (*In Phys.* 231.15-24; cf. Plotinus, *Ennead* VI.6.3!), which Tarrant distinguishes in turn from the apparently absolutely unparticipable "shadow" matter of sensibles in *In Phys.* 231.2-5. Tarrant justifies this scheme on the basis of its apparent resemblance to what seems to be Amelius'—whom Porphyry (*Vita Plot.* 20.68-80) says was influenced by Moderatus' and Numenius' interpretation of the first principles of Pythagoras and Plato—eight-level interpretation of the Parmenidean hypotheses sketched in Proclus, *In Parm.* 1052.31-1053.9. In contrast to Tarrant, Saffrey and Westerink (*Proclus: Théologie Platonicienne*, II.lviii-lix) argue that Moderatus' teaching derives not from an interpretation of the *Parmenides* but from a creative exegesis of the *Second Letter* (312E) in connection with readings from the *Republic* (VI 509B), *Philebus* (15A), and *Timaeus* (27C; 52D). In their view (following Zeller; cf., similarly, Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus* I.166 and n. 1), the "three Ones" of Simplicius' report have been glossed by Porphyry (or by Simplicius, e.g., "the second One, which is truly being and intelligible"; "the third, which relates to Soul") and, consequently, follow the division of hypotheses attributed to Porphyry in Proclus' *In Parm.*, 1053,38-1054,37. The innovator was really Plotinus, who first linked the "three kings" of the *Second Letter* with the "three Ones" of the *Parmenides* in *Ennead* V 1.8. Against this, J. Whittaker (op. cit. infra, n. 64) argues that the Middle Platonic negative theologies of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 5.12.81.5-82.1)

Sethians' supreme Father-Mother-Child trinity was probably inspired by Plato's triad of principles in *Timaeus* 50C-D (cited above, p. 5).

But with the turn to the third century, the Platonizing Sethian treatises abandon all interest in the Genesis protology in favor of a theology of transcendental ascent. At times the *Timaeus*' influence shows itself, as in *Zostrianos*' brief treatment of the world creator Archon's demiurgical act of creation or in *Marsanes*' speculations on the configurations of the soul. But in these treatises the principal dialogues of reference have become the *Symposium* as a model for the technique of ascent, and, for their metaphysical theology the *Parmenides*, whose influence is so visible in the negative theologies of the supreme unknowable One beyond being that gives rise to the Barbelo Aeon as the realm of determinate being. By contrast, most other Sethian and most Valentinian sources seem to make little use of the *Parmenides* in their theological characterization of the highest realities, preferring instead to trade in the earlier Middle Platonic metaphysical model, where the dialogue of reference continues to be the *Timaeus*.[40]

2. *The Metaphysics of the Platonizing Sethian Treatises*[41]

The metaphysical hierarchy of the Platonizing Sethian treatises is headed by a supreme and pre-existent Unknowable One who, as in Plotinus, is clearly beyond being. It can be described only in negative terms that appear

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and Alcinous (*Didaskalikos* X, 165.5-17 Whittaker-Louis) "provide incontestable proof of a pre-Plotinian theological interpretation of the First Hypothesis of the *Parmenides* and must be taken seriously into account when one weighs the value of Simplicius' report (drawn from Porphyry) of a metaphysical interpretation on Neoplatonic lines of the first three Hypostases by the Platonist Moderatus in the first century after Christ." I substantially agree, although, following E. R. Dodds (op. cit. infra, n. 62), I think it safer to see in Moderatus evidence of the interpretation of perhaps only the first five of the hypotheses, more like the scheme Proclus attributes to certain "ancients" (the One transcending being, the One-Being/intelligibles, being with "essential oneness," [the others] participating the One, and [others] deprived of all attributes; cf. *In Parm.* 638-40) and to the anonymous "philosopher from Rhodes" (also influenced by *Republic* VI 509-511: the One transcending being, the intelligibles, the διανοητά, embodied forms of physical objects, and the receptacle of bodies; cf. *In Parm.* 1057-58).

[40] The *Apocryphon of John* is influenced by both. There may be remote influence from the *Parmenides* (and *Republic* 509b) in the Neopythagorean-influenced negative theologies of Basilides (ὁ οὐκ ὢν θεός in Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII.20.2-21.6), *Eugnostos the Blessed* (*NHC* III 71,13-72,6), the Valentinian *Tripartite Tractate* (*NHC* I 51,28-55,14) and Hippolytus' "monistic" Valentinian myth (*Ref.* VI.29.2-5).

[41] See Appendix IV, p. 55 for a graphic portrayal of the metaphysical structure here described.

to be derived from the second half of Plato's *Parmenides*, especially its first hypothesis (137c-142a). This One is usually identified with—but sometimes distinguished from—the Invisible Spirit, the supreme principle in many Sethian treatises.[42] The ambivalence in the name for the supreme principle—Unknowable One versus Invisible Spirit—probably results from the melding of two somewhat incompatible traditional designations for the supreme deity, who for Sethianism is the Invisible Spirit and for Platonism is the One. From a traditional Sethian point of view the two terms are interchangeable, while for Platonists, the materialistic associations of the term "Spirit" in Stoic philosophy might discourage its use as a simple equivalent to the supreme One beyond all being and corporeality.

Below the supreme One, at the level of determinate being, is the Barbelo Aeon, a Middle Platonic tri-level divine Intellect.[43] As in Numenius, Amelius, and the early Plotinus, it is modeled on a reading of the *Timaeus*' (39e)

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[42] From certain earlier Sethian treatises (*Apocryphon of John*, the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*), the Platonizing treatises have inherited a tendency to identify the supreme deity as "the Invisible Spirit." While the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII 125,23-25) calls this supreme pre-existent One a "single living Spirit," *Zostrianos* identifies this One as "the Triple Powered Invisible Spirit." On the other hand, *Allogenes* tends to distinguish this One from both the Invisible Spirit and the Triple Powered One, while *Marsanes* supplements them all with a supreme "unknown silent One."

[43] Cf. G. Bechtle, "A Problem Concerning the Question of Being in 2./3. Century Platonism" (*Ancient Philosophy* 20 (2000), 393-414), n. 74: "Barbelo really is equivalent to mind. It is the first thought of the Invisible Spirit and it has, principally speaking, three levels: Kalyptos, the hidden One, Protophanes, the first appearing One, Autogenes, the self-begotten One. At first this triad is an emanative triad: it represents the stages of the unfolding and proceeding of the aeon of Barbelo from its source in the Invisible Spirit. In the beginning Barbelo is hidden as purely potential intellect in the Invisible Spirit. Once Barbelo is constituted, Kalyptos will represent the realm of that which truly exists, i.e. the ideas. Next, Barbelo first appears as the male intelligence which is then conceived of as those which exist together, those which are unified (perhaps mind and ideas which are unified through intellection), represented by Protophanes who thinks the ideas of Kalyptos, on the one hand, and acts on the individuals, on the other hand. Finally, Barbelo becomes the self-begotten demiurgical mind which can be identified with the rational part of the world soul. As an established ontological level it is the individuals represented by Autogenes who has the demiurgic role of a world soul. Thus Barbelo corresponds to Numenius' second mind. Insofar as the second mind is participated in and used by the first, i.e. insofar as the second mind is prefigured in the first and thus is the first in a certain way, we have Kalyptos. Insofar as the Numenian second mind is identical with the third and acts through the third it can be compared to Autogenes. *Stricto sensu* the second mind as second mind is comparable to the Protophanes level of the Sethians."

doctrine of a transcendent model contemplated by a demiurge who then orders the universe.[44] It contains three ontological levels, conceived as sub-intellects or aeons: one that is contemplated (νοῦς νοητός), called Kalyptos or "hidden"; one that contemplates (νοῦς νοερός or θεωρητικός), called Protophanes or "first manifesting"; and one that is discursive and demiurgic (νοῦς διανοούμενος), called Autogenes or "self-generated."[45] At the highest level, Kalyptos contains the paradigmatic ideas or authentic existents, each of which is a unique, uncombinable paradigmatic form.[46] At the median level, Protophanes contains "those who are unified," i.e., the contemplated ideas that are "all together"[47] with the minds that contemplate them, apparently to be distinguished both from ideas of particular

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[44] Numenius (Frgs. 11, 13, 15, 16 des Places), Amelius (Proclus, *In Tim.* I.306,1-14; I.309,14-20; I.431,26-28), and the early Plotinus (*Ennead* III, 9 [13].1, but rejected in *Ennead* II, 9 [33].1).

[45] Originally, these names seem to have referred, not to the ontological levels of the Barbelo Aeon, but rather to the process by which the Barbelo Aeon gradually unfolds from its source in the Invisible Spirit: at first "hidden" (καλυπτός) or latent in the Spirit as its prefigurative intellect, then "first appearing" (πρωτοφανής, cf. Phanes, *Orphicorum Hymni* 52.5-6; *Papyri Magicae* IV.943-4) as the Spirit's separately-existing intelligence, and finally "self-generated" (αὐτογενής) as a demiurgical mind, perhaps equivalent to the rational part of the cosmic soul that operates on the physical world below in accordance with its vision of the archetypal ideas contained in the divine intellect, Protophanes. In *Ad Candidum* 14.11-14, Victorinus hints at a similar progression: "For what is above ὄν is hidden (cf. Kalyptos) ὄν; indeed the manifestation (cf. Protophanes) of the hidden is generation (cf. Autogenes), since ὄν in potentiality generates ὄν in act."

[46] See *Allogenes* XI46,6-35. In *Zostrianos* VIII82,8-13 Kalyptos emerges as the second knowledge of the Invisible Spirit (the first being Barbelo), "the knowledge of his knowledge;" in 119,12-13 Kalyptos is associated with "his ἰδέα."

[47] Coptic ϩⲓⲟⲩⲙⲁ. Cf. *Ennead* IV,1 [42] 1,5-6: "There the whole of Intellect is all together and not separated or divided, and all souls are together" (ἐκεῖ δὲ (i.e., ἐν τῷ νῷ) ὁμοῦ μὲν νοῦς πᾶς καὶ οὐ διακεκριμένον οὐδὲ μεμερισμένον, ὁμοῦ δὲ πάσαι ψυχαί); V, 8 [31] 10,16-22: "And that (beauty) above everything that courses round about its (the intelligible world) entire magnitude is finally seen by those who have already seen many clear visions, the gods individually and together (οἱ θεοὶ καθ' ἕνα καὶ πᾶς ὁμοῦ), and the souls who see everything there and originate from everything, so as to contain everything themselves from beginning to end; and they are present there (in the intelligible realm) so long as they are naturally able, but oftentimes—when they are undivided—even the whole of them is present." Cf. *Corpus Hermeticum* (frg. 21 Nock-Festugière): "The preexistent one is thus above those that exist and those that truly exist, for there is a preexistent one through which the so-called universal essentiality of those that truly exist is intelligized together, while those that exist are intelligized individually. Their opposite, on the other hand, again existing individually, is

things (in Autogenes) and from the uncombinable authentic existents in Kalyptos.[48] At the lowest level, Autogenes would be a demiurgic mind (νοῦς πρακτικός) who shapes the individuated realm of Nature below him according to the forms in Kalyptos that are contemplated and made available to him by Protophanes (the νοῦς θεωρητικός). As the equivalent of the Plotinian Soul, Autogenes analyzes these in a discursive fashion (as a νοῦς διανοούμενος), and thus comes to contain the "perfect individuals," the ideas of particular, individual things, as well as individual souls.[49] While these three define the *ontological* levels of the Barbelo Aeon, it also contains a fourth entity, the Triple Male Child, a kind of transitional or transformational figure who mediates the mutual transfer between "the all-perfect ones who exist together" in Protophanes and the "perfect individuals" in Autogenes; as such, he is apparently called "Savior."[50]

Mediating between the Unknowable One and the threefold Aeon of Barbelo is the Triple Powered One, an intermediary agent endowed with the three powers of Existence, Vitality, and Mentality (or Blessedness).[51]

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nature, a sensible substance that contains all sensibles" (Ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ προὸν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ὄντως ὄντων· προὸν [ὂν] γάρ ἐστι, δι' οὗ ἡ οὐσιότης ἡ καθόλου λεγομένη κοινὴ νοεῖται τῶν ὄντως ὄντων καὶ τῶν ὄντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὰ νοουμένων. τὰ δὲ ἐναντία τούτοις κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον πάλιν αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτά ἐστι φύσις, οὐσία αἰσθητή, ἔχουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ αἰσθητὰ πάντα).

[48] Cf. the status of Plato's "mathematicals" *apud* Aristotle, *Metaphysics* I987b14-18; XIII1080a11-b14.

[49] Coptic ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲟⲩⲁ. Originally Aristotle's distinction (cf. Psellus, [*De anima et mente*] 68,21-22 O'Meara: ἔτι ὁ νοῦς ὁ πρακτικὸς περὶ τὰ μερικά, ὁ θεωρητικὸς περὶ τὰ καθόλου); in *Ennead* III, 9 [13] 1,26-37 this third hypostasis is called Soul and the products of its discursive thought are many individual souls. For Plotinus, the equivalent of Autogenes is Soul: its highest level dwells in Intellect (the equivalent of Protophanes) and contains all souls and intellects; it is one and unbounded (i.e., having all things together, every life and soul and intellect), holding all things together (πάντα ὁμοῦ), each distinct and yet not distinct in separation (ἕκαστον διακεκριμένον καὶ αὖ οὐ διακριθὲν χωρίς, *Ennead* VI, 4 [22] 14,1-4). On individuals in Plotinus, → H. J. Blumenthal, "Did Plotinus believe in Ideas of Individuals?," *Phronesis* 11 (1966, 61-80 and "Soul, World-soul and Individual Soul in Plotinus," *Le Néoplatonisme, Colloques internationaux du CNRS à Royaumont du 9 au 13 juin 1969* (Paris: CNRS, 1971), 55-63.

[50] Rather than defining a separate ontological level in the Barbelo Aeon, the Triple Male Child, a term deriving from "triple male" as a traditional epithet of Barbelo in *Ap. John* and *Trim. Prot.*, represents the three-in-one character of Barbelo as the Invisible Spirit's First Thought or offspring who is one, yet both generates multiplicity (in particular the ontological triplicity of the Barbelo Aeon itself, cf. *Steles Seth* 120,17-121,11) and maintains its unity.

[51] A certain variability occurs in the Existence-Vitality-Mentality (or Existence-Vitality-

The Triple Powered One is the emanative means by which the supreme One generates the Aeon of Barbelo in three phases. 1) In its initial phase as a purely infinitival Existence (ὕπαρξις or ὀντότης), it is latent within and identical with the supreme One; 2) in its emanative phase it is an indeterminate Vitality (ζωότης) that proceeds forth from One; and 3) in its final phase it is a Mentality (νοήτης) that contemplates its source in the supreme One and, thereby delimited, takes on the character of determinate being as the intellectual Aeon of Barbelo.

While these notions are more or less common to *Zostrianos* and *Marsanes* and are perhaps reflected also in the *Three Steles of Seth*, *Allogenes* seems to take an additional and innovative step by arranging the Triple Powered One's three powers into an enneadic structure, a hierarchy of three horizontal triads where, at each successively lower deployment of the triad, each term cyclically predominates and includes the other two.[52] Thus 1)

Blessedness) nomenclature for the three powers of the Triple Powered One found in the Platonizing Sethian treatises. The *Three Steles of Seth* (124,25-34; 125,28-32) consistently maintains the sequence Being-Life-Mind that became canonical among post-Iamblichan Neoplatonists. In *Allogenes* there is a brief instance of the reverse sequence of the non-canonical order (49,26-27: Vitality and Mentality and Substantiality—followed immediately by the canonical order!), but everywhere else one finds the canonical order in reverse (59,9-60,35: Blessedness-Vitality-Existence; 61,32-39: Mind-Life-Existence). In *Zostrianos* 13,27-18,4 the triad occurs in the reversed non-canonical order Vitality-Blessedness-Existence (also coordinated with the figures of Autogenes, Protophanes, and Kalyptos in the Aeon of Barbelo), but also in the canonical order Existence-Life-Blessedness in 20,16-24 and in 64,13-75,21 + 80,10-25 where *Zostrianos* draws upon the common source it shares with Marius Victorinus (*Adversus Arium* I.49,9-50,21), a source apparently deriving from some kind of epitome or commentary on the first hypothesis of Plato's *Parmenides*. One may suggest that the order Being-Mind-Life, deriving from the influence of *Timaeus* 39e and *Sophist* 248e, is used mainly in "noological" contexts where the structure of Intellect and its relation to Soul is of uppermost concern, while the order Being-Life-Mind, is used mainly in derivational contexts where the relation of the determinate being described in Hypothesis II of the *Parmenides* to its indeterminate, unitary source described in Hypothesis I is of uppermost concern, e.g., Plotinus, *Ennead* VI, 6 (34) 8.17-22: "First, then, we take Being as first in order; then Mind, then that which has Life, for this appears already to 'contain all things' (*Timaeus* 31a4; cf. *Parmenides* 145c), while Mind, as the act of Being, is second. Thus it is clear that numbers cannot depend upon that which has Life, since unity and duality existed before that, nor would it depend on mind, as before that was being, which is both one and many (*Parmenides* 145a2)"; cf. also *Ennead.* VI, 7 [38] 17.6-43, cited in Appendix VI, p. 35.

[52] See Appendix IV p. 55, passages A and B from *Allogenes*. The same notion is found in Victorinus, *Adversus Arium* IV.5,36-45: "Thus ὀντότης, that is existentiality or essentiality, or ζωότης, that is vitality, that is the primary power of universal life, that is the primary life and source of living for all things, and likewise νοότης, the force, virtue,

at the level of the Invisible Spirit and/or Unknowable One, the Being-Life-Mind triad is present as pure infinitival activity (Existing, Living, Thinking, though dominantly Existing); 2) on the level of the Triple-Powered One, it is present as a triad of abstract qualities (Existence, Vitality, Mentality/Blessedness, though dominantly Vitality); and 3) on the level of the Barbelo Aeon, it is present as an implicit triad of substantial realities, (Being, Life, and Mind, though dominantly Mind).[53]

As the entity that mediates between the Unknowable One/Invisible Spirit and the Aeon of Barbelo, the Triple Powered One is the most distinctive metaphysical innovation of the Platonizing Sethian treatises. But there are a host of ambiguities in the ontological relationship between the Unknowable One and/or Invisible Spirit and his Triple Power. Thus the *Three Steles of Seth* tends to portray the Triple Powered One as a dynamic structure inherent in the second principle Barbelo, while *Zostrianos* tends to portray it as the Invisible Spirit's inherent three-fold power. On the other hand, *Allogenes* and *Marsanes* tend to hypostatize the Triple Powered One by identifying its median processional phase (e.g., Vitality, Life, Activity) as a quasi-hypostatic "Triple Powered One" (or Triple-Powered Invisible Spirit) interposed between the supreme Unknowable One and the Aeon of Barbelo, while in its initial and final phases it actually *is* these two.[54]

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power, or substance or nature of thought, these powers, then, must be understood as three in one, but such that one names them and defines their proper being by the aspect according to which each has a predominating property. For there is none of them that is not triple, since being is being only if it lives, that is, is in life; likewise living: there is no living that lacks knowledge of the act of living. Appearing as a mixture, in reality they are simple, but with a simplicity that is triple."

[53] *Allogenes* 61,32-39 (exists, lives, knows); 49,26-37 (substantiality, vitality, mentality); 49,14-19 + 46,32-36 + 51,8-21 (being, life, intellect; cf. *Steles Seth* VII 123,18-26 on the Barbelo Aeon: "Because of you is Life: from you comes Life. Because of you is Intellect: from you comes Intellect. You are Intellect: you are a universe of truth. You are a triple power: you are a threefold; truly, you are thrice replicated, O aeon of aeons!").

[54] The Triple Powered One is mentioned sometimes separately from the Invisible Spirit (*Zost.* VIII 15,18; 17,7; 24,9-10; 93,6-9; 124,3-4; *Allogenes* XI 45,13-30; 52,19; 52,30-33; 53,30; 61,1-22 and *Marsanes* X 4,13-19; 6,19; 8,11; 9,25; 14,22-23; 15,1-3); sometimes as identical with or in close conjunction with the Invisible Spirit (*Zost.* VIII 20,15-18; 24,12-13; 63,7-8; 74,3-16; 79,16-23; 80,11-20; 87,13-14; 97,2-3; 118,11-12; 123,19-20; 128,20-21; *Allogenes* XI 47,8-9, 51,8-9; 58,25; 66,33-34; *Steles Seth* VII 121,31-32; *Marsanes* X 7,16-17 [the "activity" of the Invisible Spirit]; 7,27-29; 8,5-7), often called "the Triple Powered Invisible Spirit" or "the invisible spiritual Triple Powered One"; and sometimes in conjunction with Barbelo (*Steles Seth* VII 120,21-22; 121,32-33; 123,18-30; *Marsanes* X 8,19-20; 9,7-20; 10,8-11). As the activity of the Invisible Spirit, the Triple Powered One is perhaps identical with all three in *Marsanes* X 7,1-9,29.

3. *The Anonymous Parmenides Commentary and the Platonizing Sethian Treatises*

The closest contemporarily attested non-Sethian parallel to this sequence of emanative phases, Existence, Life, and Intellect, is apparently to be found in the anonymous Turin *Commentary on the Parmenides*. First published by Wilhelm Kroll in 1892, this commentary has attracted much attention in recent decades, having been subsequently re-edited by Pierre Hadot in 1968—who also named Plotinus' disciple Porphyry as its author—and more recently by Alessandro Linguiti in 1995 and by Gerald Bechtle in 1999, who located it in a pre-Plotinian Middle Platonic milieu.[55]

According to the *Commentary*, there are two "Ones," a first One whom the *Parmenides*' first hypothesis describes as altogether beyond the realm of determinate being, and a second One, the prototype of all true, determinate being, to be identified with the "One-Being" of the second *Parmenidean* hypothesis.[56] The second One—conceived as a divine Intellect—is said to originate by unfolding from the absolute infinitival existence of the supreme One in three successive phases or activities (ἐνεργείαι). First, as a pure infinitival Existence (εἶναι or ὕπαρξις), the second One is a purely potential Intellect prefigured in the absolute being of the supreme first One. In the final phase, it has become identical with the determinate or participial being (τὸ ὄν) of Intellect proper, the second hypostasis; it has now become the hypostatic exemplification of its idea, the absolute being (τὸ εἶναι) of its prefiguration in the first One. The transitional phase between the first and final phases of Intellect in effect constitutes a median phase in which Intellect proceeds forth from the first One as an indeterminate Life.[57]

Looked at from below, whether conceived as the *Commentary*'s "second One" or as the Barbelo Aeon of the Sethian treatises, or even as the

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[55] See W. Kroll, "Ein neuplatonischer Parmenides-kommentar in einem Turiner Palimpsest," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 47 (1892), 599-627; P. Hadot, "Fragments d'un commentaire de Porphyre sur le Parménide," *Revue des Études Grecques* 74 (1961), 410-438; idem, "Être, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin et avant Plotin," in *Les sources de Plotin* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique V; Vandoeuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1960), 107-57, and idem, *Porphyre et Victorinus* (2 vols., Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1968) 2.64-113, A. Linguiti, Commentarium in Platonis « Parmenidem » in *Testi e lessico nei papiri di cultura greca e latina* (Studi e Testi per il Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici; Firenze: Olschki, 1995) 3.63-202 (text, translation, commentary), 601-612 and 649 (indices), and most recently G. Bechtle, *The Anonymous Commentary on Plato's «Parmenides»* (Berner Reihe philosophischer Studien 22; Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1999).

[56] *Anon. in Parm.* XII, 16-35 (see citation A in Appendix V, p. 56).

[57] *Anon. in Parm.* XIV, 21 (see citation B in Appendix V, p. 56); similarly Plotinus, *Ennead* VI, 7 [38] 17.6-43 (see Appendix VI, p. 57).

Plotinian Intellect, the divine Intellect is a "traveling subject" that deploys itself, or "lives forth," beginning from the transcendent "being" of the supreme One—conceived as a self-contained static activity beyond either determination or indetermination—in three phases: 1) an initial stage of indeterminate or infinitival being (εἶναι, ὕπαρξις) interior to the One, a pure act prior to but prefiguring determinate being (τὸ ὄν); 2) the going forth of "being-in-the-process-of-determination," a boundless "otherness" or trace of Life or Vitality proceeding from the One; and 3) a final stage in which this indeterminate Life becomes defined as determinate being (τὸ ὄν) by an act of contemplative reversion upon its own prefiguration still present in the supreme One.

4. *Negative Theology and the Theological Interpretation of the Parmenides*

According to the *Apocryphon of John*, *Zostrianos*, and *Allogenes*, the supreme Invisible Spirit or Unknowable One of Sethian theology, like the Plotinian One, can only be characterized negatively and as superlative to all else. These treatises each feature negative theologies that combine the two classical approaches to the knowledge of the supreme deity, known as the *via negativa* and *via eminentiae*.[58] It is clear that these negative theologies have drawn upon common sources, quite likely certain Middle Platonic epitomes of or commentaries on Plato's *Parmenides*, especially its first hypothesis, 137c-142a. One such source is shared by *Allogenes* and the *Apocryphon of John*, while another is shared by *Zostrianos* and Marius Victorinus.

In the first instance, *Allogenes* (XI, 62,28-63,25) and both the shorter and longer versions of the *Apocryphon of John* (BG 8502, 24,6-25,7 = NHC II 3,18-33) share a nearly word-for-word parallel series of such negative predications: the supreme One or Monad is immeasurable, ineffable, incomprehensible, neither limited nor unlimited, neither corporeal nor incorporeal, neither large nor small, lacks quantity or quality, is not among existent things, and experiences neither eternity nor time. Stated in positive terms, he is superior to any conceivable attribute, including superiority itself.[59]

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[58] The *via negativa* is implemented by negative predications followed by an adversative elative clause: either triple negation, "it is neither X nor Y nor Z, but it is something superior" or double, antithetical negation, "it is neither X nor non-X, but it is something superior" or just a single negation, "it is not X but it is superior to X." The "but" clause is always positive and elative, referring to "something else" above, beyond, superior to the previously negated predications. Thus negation of all alternatives on one level of thought launches the mind to upward to a new, more eminent level of insight.

[59] See the table of parallel passages in Appendix VII, pp. 57-58 and the tables in

Similar negative theologies are found not only in Middle Platonic philosophical and patristic authors such as Alcinous, Aristides, and Clement of Alexandria,[60] but also in Gnostic sources such as of Basilides,[61] *Eugnostos the Blessed* (*NHC* III 71,13-72,6), and the Valentinian *Tripartite Tractate* (*NHC* I 51,28-55,14). As Eric Dodds showed in 1928,[62] such negative theologies are only a natural development of Plato's doctrine of the Good "beyond being in power and dignity" in *Republic* 509b and the speculations about the non-being of the One in the first hypothesis of the *Parmenides*. Hypothesis I of the *Parmenides* (137c-142a) presents an absolutely pure, unique and unqualified "One," which cannot properly be said to "be" at all. Since possession of any attribute such as "being" in a given subject entails a measure of plurality by which its unity is thereby compromised, all one can do is resort to negative predicates or deny it any predicates whatsoever.[63]

Barry-Funk-Poirier-Turner, *Zostrien* (op. cit. n. 8), 78-9, Funk-Scopello-Poirier-Turner, *L'Allogène* (op. cit. n. 8), 53-4, Funk-Poirier-Turner, *Marsanès* (op. cit. n. 8), 87-88, and my *Sethian Gnosticism* (op. cit. n. 8), 503-4.

[60] Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* X.3-4 [164,28-165,14 Whittaker-Louis]; Aristides *Apologia* I,3 [Vona] = I, 4-5 [p. 57 Alpigiano]; cf. Syriac [p. 35 Harris]; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V.12.81.4.1-82.4.1. On such negative theologies, → H. A. Wolfson, "Negative Attributes in the Church Fathers and the Gnostic Basilides" *Harvard Theological Review* 50 (1957), 145-156, cf. also J. Whittaker, "Neopythagoreanism and Negative Theology," *Symbolae Osloenses* 44 (1960), 109-125; idem, "Neopythagoreanism and the Transcendent Absolute," *Symbolae Osloenses* 48 (197→ idem, "ΕΠΕΚΕΙΝΑ ΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΣΙΑΣ," *Vigiliae Christianae* 23 (1969), 91-104; idem, *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984); idem, *Alcinoos. Enseignement des doctrines de Platon.* Introduction, texte établi et commenté par J. Whittaker et traduit par P. Louis (Collection des Universités de France. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990); J. Mansfeld, "Compatible Alternatives: Middle Platonist Theology and the Xenophanes Reception," in *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. R. van den Broek *et al.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988, 92-1→ M. Jufresa, "Basilides, A Path to Plotinus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 35 (1981), 1-15; R. Mortley, *From word to silence. I: The Rise and Fall of Logos; II: The Way of Negation, Christian and Greek* (Theophaneia 30-31. Bonn: Hanstein, 1986); and R. van den Broek, "Eugnostos and Aristides on the Ineffable God," *Knowledge of God in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. R. van den Broek, T. Baarda, and J. Mansfeld; Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 112; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988) 202-218.

[61] Ca. 125 CE, cited in Hippolytus, *Ref.* VII 20.2-21.1.

→ E. R. Dodds, "The *Parmenides* of Plato and the Origin of the Neoplatonic One," *Classical Quarterly* 22 (1928) 129-142, esp. 132-133.

[63] The non-existence of the One follows because it is neither a whole nor made up of parts (137c-d); it has neither beginning, nor middle, nor end (137d); it is shapeless, neither round nor straight (137d-138a); it is not anywhere, neither in another nor in itself (138a-b); it is neither at rest nor in motion (138b-139b); it is neither other than nor the same as itself or another (139b-e); it is neither similar nor dissimilar to itself or

While Plato had applied this reasoning to Parmenides' argument for the absolute unity of the universe, these Middle Platonic sources take the innovative step of applying this absolute unity to a supreme God that transcends the universe, thereby converting the *Parmenides* into a theological treatise. As John Whittaker once pointed out, these negative theologies (he discusses those of Alcinous and Clement) are mutually dependent upon a "theologically inclined Middle Platonic commentary upon," or "a Middle Platonic theologico-metaphysical adaptation of the first hypothesis of Plato's *Parmenides*."[64] As I have here argued in the case of Moderatus and Numenius, not all Middle Platonists regarded the *Parmenides* as a mere "logical exercise book." Like these Neopythagorean Platonists, the negative theologies of Alcinous and Clement of Alexandria as well as the authors of the Sethian Gnostic treatises that likely depend Middle Platonic sources provide—in Whittaker's words—"incontestable proof of a pre-Plotinian theological interpretation of the First Hypothesis of the *Parmenides*."

IV. Zostrianos *and Victorinus: Other* Parmenides *Commentaries?*

In addition to the *Parmenides*-inspired negative theological source shared in common between the *Apocryphon of John* and *Allogenes*, Michel Tardieu and Pierre Hadot have recently drawn attention to what may be yet another instance of such a theological commentary on—or epitome of—Plato's *Parmenides* that underlies another common negative theological source, this time shared virtually word-for-word between *Zostrianos* and book I-b of Marius Victorinus' treatise *Against Arius*.[65] Here both *Zostrianos* (VIII 64,13-

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another (139e-140b); it is without measure or sameness and so is neither equal to nor larger than nor smaller than itself or another (140b-c); it is has nothing to do with time or any length of time since it is neither the same age as nor older nor younger than itself or another (140e-141d); it neither was nor will be nor is (141d-e); "Therefore the one in no sense *is*."

[64] J. Whittaker, "Philological Comments on the Neoplatonic Notion of Infinity," *The Significance of Neoplatonism* (ed. R. Baine Harris; Studies in Neoplatonism I; Norfolk, VA: International Society of Neoplatonic Studies, 1976) 155-72, esp. 156-9.

[65] M. Tardieu, "Recherches sur la formation de l'Apocalypse de Zostrien et les sources de Marius Victorinus" (pp. 7-114) and P. Hadot, "Porphyre et Victorinus," Questions et hypothèses" (pp. 117-125), in *Res Orientales IX* (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1996). See also my introduction and commentary to *Zostrianos* in C. Barry, W.-P. Funk, and P.-H. Poirier, and J. D. Turner, *Zostrien (NH VIII, 1)* (Bibliothque copte de Nag Hammadi, section « Textes » 24; Québec/Louvain-Paris, Presses de l'Université Laval/Éditions Éditions Peeters, 2000), esp. 77, 150, and

66,11) and Victorinus (*Adversus Arium* I, 49,9-40) characterize the supreme deity by means of a negative (the *via negativa*) and superlative theology (the *via eminentiae*), supplemented by a long series of positive affirmations about the One's identity as a threefold Spirit (VIII 66,14-68,13; 74,17-75,21 and *Adversus Arium* I, 50,1-21).[66]

In the negative theology common to *Zostrianos* and Victorinus, the negative attributes of the Spirit—such as immeasurable, invisible, indiscernible, and partless—mostly derive from the first hypothesis of the *Parmenides* (137c-142a), while others are transferred from the *Phaedrus* or derive from the description of matter in the *Timaeus*.[67] Such attributes are not typical Neoplatonic designations of the One, but more like the sort of scholastic formulations to be found in the Middle Platonic commentaries and treatises by Severus, Cronius, Numenius, Gaius, Atticus, and Alexander read in the meetings of Plotinus' circle.[68]

1. *The Generation of a Second One?*

But—while it seems virtually certain that this common source constituted a theological interpretation of the first hypothesis of Plato's *Parmenides*—is it also possible that this common source went on to supplement its negative and positive theological sections with an exposition of hypothesis II as a second One that was generated from the First One? Apparently Victorinus' and *Zostrianos*' nearly word-for-word citation of the common source breaks off with the phrase "being absolutely all things in a universal mode, purely

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579-608. On Victorinus' thought, see *Marius Victorinus, Traités théologiques sur la trinité: text établie par Paul Henry, introd., transl., et notes par Pierre Hadot* (Sources chrétiennes 68-69, Paris: Cerf, 1960); M. Baltes, *Marius Victorinus: Zur Philosophie in seinen theologischen Schriften* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 174; München-Leipzig: K. G. Sauer, 2002); and L. Fladerer, "Deus aut veritas. Beobachtungen zum Warheitsbegriff in den Opera Theologica des Marius Victorinus," *Wiener Studien* 117 (2004), 173-99.

[66] See the table of parallels in Appendix VIII, pp. 59-62 and the tables in Barry-Funk-Poirier-Turner, *Zostrien* (op. cit. n. 8), 77, Funk-Poirier-Turner, *Marsanès* (op. cit. n. 8), 89-90, Funk-Scopello-Poirier-Turner, *L'Allogène* (op. cit. n. 8), 142-3, and my *Sethian Gnosticism* (op. cit. n. 8), 506-8.

[67] *Parmenides* 140c3, 140d4 (immeasurable), 136d7-138a1 (invisible), 139b-e (indiscernible), 137c4-d3 (partless; cf. *Sophist* 245a), 137d9 (shapeless); *Phaedrus* 247c6-7 (colorless and shapeless); *Timaeus* 50d7, 51a8 (formless), 50e4 (specieless); Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* X 165,10-13 Whittaker-Louis (qualityless [and of Matter, shapeless, specieless, VIII 162,36 Whittaker-Louis]).

[68] Thus Luc Brisson, "The Platonic Background in the *Apocalypse of Zostrianos*" (cited above, n. 21), 178.

unengendered, preexisting, a unity of union which is not itself union" (*Adversus Arium* I 50,21-22),[69] after which *Zostrianos* contains no more word-for-word parallels with the extant writings of Victorinus. But if the common source was intended as a theological interpretation of Plato's *Parmenides*, as it so far seems to be, might not one expect its exposition of the first One and its powers to be followed by an exposition of the generation and nature of the second One?

Indeed, it turns out that both Victorinus and *Zostrianos* immediately move beyond their common expositions of the supreme One to expound the process by which the indeterminate pre-existence within the One-Spirit gives rise to a subsequent hypostasis: for Victorinus the Son of God (*Adversus Arium* I 50,22-51,43), and for *Zostrianos* the Aeon of Barbelo (VIII 76, top-84,21).[70] Interestingly, the second page of *Zostrianos*' (VIII 77,20-23) version of this further exposition applies the attribute of "unengenderedness" from the apparent conclusion of the common source's positive theology to the Aeon of Barbelo as the externalized "pre-potency and primal unengenderedness" succeeding the supreme One. Moreover, the concluding lines (VIII 84,15-20) of *Zostrianos*' exposition of the emergence of the Barbelo Aeon also return to the terminology ("ἁπλ[οῦ/ῶ]ς," "ἑνάς," "Unity") of the concluding lines (VIII 75,22-25) of the common source. This continuity of vocabulary may indicate *Zostrianos*' continued dependence on the common source, suggesting that it too may have gone on to speak of the generation of "all things" that pre-exist purely unengendered in the One. Similarly, the section of Victorinus (*Adversus Arium* I 50,22-51,43) that follows the common source also goes on to treat the emergence of the Son as the "second One" (i.e., *unum unum*).[71]

Although what I have here posited as a possible third section expounding the generation of the second One contains no instances of actual word-for-word agreement between Victorinus and *Zostrianos*,[72] nevertheless—

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[69] Rendered by *Zostrianos* as "And (he is) a Henad with Unity, and absolutely all things, the unengendered purity, thanks to whom they preexist, all of them together with [. . .]" (VIII 75,20-25).

[70] For a comparative table of these texts, including one from *Marsanes*, see Appendix X, pp. 62-64 and the table in my *Sethian Gnosticism* (op. cit. n. 8), 524.

[71] Key vocabulary shared by Victorinus' citation of the common source (*Adversus Arium* I 49,9-50,21) and his exposition on the generation of the second One (*Adversus Arium* I 50,22-51,43) include: *existentia, immobilis, intelligentia, motio, motus, pater, perfectus, potentia, praeexistentia, praeintelligentia*, and *spiritus*.

[72] Now in the first, negative theological section of the common source, word-for-word agreement occupies 98% of *Zostrianos*' version and 45% of Victorinus' version, while in the second, positive theological section, this word-for-word agreement occupies only 43% of *Zostrianos*' version and 30% of Victorinus' version.

beyond their strikingly obvious common theme of the generation of a second hypostasis through the masculinization of an indeterminate feminine power—both authors share a significant amount of common concepts and vocabulary: spirit, existence, life, motion, power, potency, virginal potential, virginal maleness, eternal movement, eternal appearance, desire, striving, thinking, declination, defection, downward tendency, and perfection by reversion or contemplation.

Beyond this shared vocabulary, the common theme shared by both Victorinus' and *Zostrianos'* account of the emergence of a second hypostasis is a gender transformation from female to male. For Victorinus, the indeterminate feminine power of Life emerging from the Father is rendered as the masculine Son of God by reversion upon its potential prefigurative existence in the Father. For *Zostrianos*, the indeterminate feminine power of knowledge emerging from the Invisible Spirit is rendered as the masculine Aeon of Barbelo by a contemplative reversion upon its potential prefigurative existence in the Invisible Spirit. The main conceptual difference is that, while Victorinus conceives this indeterminate proceeding power primarily in terms of Life, vivification, and wisdom, *Zostrianos* conceives it primarily in terms of an act of knowledge and blessedness.[73]

These commonalities strongly suggest—although by no means prove—that the source common to Victorinus and *Zostrianos* included not only a negative and positive theology of the supreme First One, but may also have contained a third part that expounded the emergence of the Second One from the First. If so, the common source may have been a *Parmenides* commentary that—like the *Anonymous*—dealt with at least the first two hypotheses of Plato's *Parmenides*.[74]

2. *The Existence-Life-Intellect Triad in Victorinus,* Zostrianos, *and* Allogenes

At this point, one must raise the question whether traces of this common source can be detected in sources other than Victorinus and *Zostrianos*. A clue is offered by the fact that, at the beginning of their affirmative expositions, both authors explain the threefold character of the One as containing

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[73] See the table of parallels in Appendix X, pp. 62-64.

[74] Although there is no explicit mention of the anonymous *Parmenides Commentary* in Proclus' *Commentary on the Parmenides* (cf. J. M. Dillon, *Proclus Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987], XXIV ff.) in discussing the "logical" and "metaphysical" interpretations of the *Parmenides*, Proclus does appear to refer to Albinus on occasion and perhaps also to Origen the Platonist (Proclus, *In Parm.* 630,37-640,17, Cousin).

the three powers of Existence, Life, and Blessedness.[75] While the material shared between Victorinus and *Zostrianos* is obvious, Victorinus' version also contains material absent from *Zostrianos*, but present in yet another Platonizing Sethian treatise, namely *Allogenes*. Thus Victorinus' (I 49,17-18) claim that the supreme One is "without existence, life, or intellect" is absent from *Zostrianos*, but present in *Allogenes* (XI 61,36-37). Again, both Victorinus and *Zostrianos* agree that the supreme Spirit contains and co-unites each of its three powers of Existence, Life/Vitality, and Blessedness/Mentality.[76] But Victorinus' (I 50,12-15) additional claim that the One's *power of Existence* also contains its powers of Life and Blessedness[77]—absent from *Zostrianos*—is present in *Allogenes* 49,26-37.[78]

These parallels between Victorinus and *Allogenes* suggest that a similar—if not the same—source may have been available also to the author of

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[75] *Adversus Arium* I, 50,11-12 = *Zostrianos* VIII 66,14-20. The primal unity prefiguratively contains its emanative products, whether intellect (as in the anonymous *Parmenides Commentary*), or power and intellect (as in the *Chaldaean Oracles*), or Existence, Life, and Blessedness (as in Victorinus and *Zostrianos*), or Substantiality, Vitality, and Mentality (as in *Allogenes*).

[76] VIII 75,6-11: "The one 7 [belonging to the Entirety] exists in Existence 8 [and he] dwells in the [Vitality] 9 of Life; and in l0 Perfection and 11 [Mentality] <and> Blessedness"; cf. *Adversus Arium* I.50,16-18: "It has its living and acting in its own nonexisting Existence" (*et vivere et age<ere>{ns} habens secundum ipsam suimet ipsius inexistentem existentiam*) and *Zostrianos* 68,4-6: "And Life 5 <is> [an] activity (ἐνέργεια) of the 6 insubstantial [Existence] (ϯϩⲡⲁⲣⲝⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ)."

[77] *Adversus Arium* I.50,10-15: *unus qui sit, tres potentias couniens, exsistentiam omnem, vitam omnem et beatitudinem, sed ista omnia et unum et simplex unum et maxime in potentia eius quod est esse, hoc est exsistentiae, potentia vitae et beatitudinis: quo enim est et exsistit, potentia quae sit exsistentiae, hoc potentia est et vitae beatitudinis ipsa per semet ipsam et idea et* λόγος *sui ipsius*; cf. the parallel in *Zostrianos* VIII 66,14-21: "For they are [triple] powers of his [unity: complete] Existence, Life and Blessedness. In Existence he exists [as] a simple unity, his own [rational expression] and idea." A closer but very fragmentary parallel occurs later in *Zostrianos* VIII 75,7-11: "In Existence [is] Being; in [Vitality] <is> Life; and in perfection and [Mentality] is Blessedness." Cf. *Adversus Arium* IV.21,26-22,6: τριδύναμος *est deus, id est tres potentias habens, esse, vivere, intellegere, ita ut in singulis tria sint sitque ipsum unum quodlibet tria, nomen qua se praestat accipiens*, where the powers are characterized as infinitival rather than substantival.

[78] Although Victorinus' example of each power's mutual inclusion of the other two is here restricted to the inclusion of Vitality and Blessedness in Existence, Victorinus—but not necessarily the source he shares with *Zostrianos*—was certainly aware of the notion of each term's mutual inclusion of the other two in cyclic permutation, e.g., *Adversus Arium* III.4.36-38: *necessario et sunt tria at tamen unum, cum omne, quod singulum est unum, tria sunt* and III.5.31-32: *ita in singulus omnia vel unumquidque omnia vel omnia unum.*

Allogenes. Moreover, while Victorinus' example of the mutual inclusion of these powers in one another is restricted to the inclusion of Vitality and Blessedness in Existence, the excerpt from *Allogenes*—roughly contemporary in date with *Zostrianos*—gives the full cyclic permutation of each power's mutual inclusion of the other two[79] according to Numenius' dictum, "All things are in all things, but in each thing appropriately in accord with its own essence."[80] With a slightly different nomenclature, the only other instance of the fully developed scheme of *Allogenes* occurs in Proclus' *Elements of Theology* 103.[81] But it is *Allogenes* that offers the earliest known systematic presentation of this doctrine in religio-philosophical literature.

Now the final fragment of the anonymous *Parmenides Commentary* (XIV, 15-26) clearly adumbrates the doctrine of the Existence, Life, and Intellect triad in the Platonizing Sethian treatises. But it seems to know nothing of the doctrine of the mutual inclusion of these powers within one another that we find in both Victorinus and the Sethian treatises. This raises interesting questions: Since it breaks off at this point, 1) might the *Anonymous Commentary* have originally gone on to develop this doctrine of the mutual inclusion of each of these three powers in each other? Or 2) do we have to do with yet another *Parmenides* commentary, similar to the *Anonymous*, but which fully developed this doctrine that is only adumbrated in the final fragment of the *Anonymous*? Or 3) is it possible that the author of *Allogenes* was the first to elaborate upon this doctrine by applying Numenius' principle of universal mutual inclusion to the material available to him in his source, perhaps the very one underlying Victorinus and *Zostrianos*?

3. *Multiple* Parmenides *Commentaries?*

Two things seem clear: both *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes* were circulated and read in Plotinus' Roman seminar (Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 16), and both Victorinus and *Zostrianos* reproduce portions of a pre-Plotinian common negative and positive theological source whose conceptuality strikingly resembles that of the anonymous *Parmenides* commentary. On this basis, Michel Tardieu

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[79] See *Allogenes* XI, 49,26-37 cited in Appendix IV,A, p. 56 and the precise parallel in Proclus, *Elements of Theology* 103 [Dodds] cited in Appendix IX, p. 54.

[80] Numenius *apud* Stobaeus, *Anthology* I.49.32,68-71: ἐν πᾶσιν πάντα ἀποφαίνονται, οἰκείως μέντοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν ἐν ἑκάστοις; cf. Porphyry, *Sententiae* 10 and Proclus, *Elements of Theology*, prop. 103 [Dodds]; Syrianus, *In Metaphysica* 82.1-2 ascribes this saying to the "Pythagoreans."

[81] See the table of parallel passages in Appendix IX, p. 62.

argues that "the totality of *Zostrianos*—whose content we know through the Coptic version in the Nag Hammadi Codices—was already written in 263, at the time of the arrival of the Gnostics in the School of Plotinus."[82] He furthermore notes[83] that the anonymous *Parmenides Commentary* that Pierre Hadot has attributed to Porphyry contains a statement[84] that depends upon *both*

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[82] M. Tardieu, "Recherches sur la formation" (op. cit. supra, n. 65), 107-114, esp. 112-113.

[83] M. Tardieu, "Recherches sur la formation" (op. cit. supra, n. 65), 100-101: "Ainsi que le note Pierre Hadot (*Porphyre et Victorinus*, II, p. 91,2), la formule *simplicitate unus qui sit tres potentias couniens* [*Adversus Arium* 50,10] se retrouve textuellement dans le *Commentaire au Parménide*, qu'il attribue à Porphyre, IX 4: ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι αὐτοῦ συνηνῶσθαι. Voici ce passage: « D'autres, bien qu'ils affirment qu'Il (le Père) s'est lui-même dérobé à toutes les choses qui sont à Lui, concèdent néanmoins que sa puissance et son intellect sont co-unifiés dans sa simplicité » (IX 1-4, trad. Hadot, p. 91). L'expression οἱ εἰπόντες désigne les *Oracles chaldaiques*, puisque la première partie de la tradition qui leur est attribuée, ἁρπάσαι ἑαυτόν est une citation de l'oracle 3,1: ὁ πατὴρ ἥρπασσεν ἑαυτόν. Dans la seconde partie de cette tradition, δύναμίν τε αὐτῷ διδόασι καὶ νοῦν ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι συνηνῶσθαι, l'auteur présumé du *Commentaire*, autrement dit Porphyre, n'utilise plus la terminologie chaldaïque mais celle de l'exposé (*in simplicitate couniens*) pour interpréter le second vers du même oracle 3, connu par Psellos (= oracle 33 chez Pléthon, ed. Tambrun-Krasker, pp. 4, 18 et 147-150): οὐδ' ἐν ἑῇ δυνάμει νοερᾷ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ. Par conséquent, force est de constater que les témoignages cités disent tous les trois la même chose: 1) l'exposé commun à Marius Victorinus et au *Zostrien*, affirme d'abord que l'Esprit est *in semet ipso manens, solus in solo* (50,9) puis énonce le contraire, à savoir que l'Esprit co-unifie dans sa simplicité les trois puissances de l'existence, de la vie et de la béatitude (50,10-11); 2) selon le fr. 3 des *Oracles chaldaïques*, pareillement, le Père à la fois s'est dérobé (= reste seul) et n'enferme pas dans sa puissance le feu qui lui est propre, il ne reste donc pas seul et se déploie; 3) Porphyre, enfin, affirme, avec les *Oracles*, que l'Un se dérobe, et, avec l'exposé, que sa puissance est co-unifiée dans la simplicité. Ces trois témoignages coincident mais révèlent aussi une histoire. Dès lors, en effet, que l'auteur du *Commentaire au Parménide* réunit dans la même exégèse deux formules, l'une appartenant aux *Oracles chaldaïques*, l'autre à l'exposé, ces deux documents sont donc les sources de cet auteur, antérieures à lui et tenues par lui comme textes fondateurs. De la même façon qu'il est peu crédible qu'il y ait identité d'auteur entre 2 et 3, l'hypothèse d'une identité d'auteur entre 1 et 3 paraît, comme nous l'avons déjà vu, difficilement envisageable en raison même de la dénomination d'Esprit (Pneuma) donnée à l'Un-Père par l'exposé."

[84] *In Parm.* frg. IX 1-4: "Others, although they affirm that He has robbed himself of all that which is his, nevertheless concede that his power and intellect are co-unified in his simplicity." The commentator alludes to certain thinkers who apparently thought that the *Oracles* had located a Father-Power-Intellect triad within a supreme Father conceived as a monadic intellect who presides over "still another" subjacent triadic intellect. It appears that not only *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes*, but also these thinkers and the anonymous *Commentary* itself entertain a triadic doctrine related to that of the *Chaldaean Oracles*, although they take a critical stance towards it.

the *Chaldaean Oracles*[85] *and* the theological source common to Victorinus[86] and *Zostrianos*,[87] to the effect that the supreme One's power and intellect are co-unified in his simplicity. This suggests that this common source predates even the anonymous *Commentary* and that we may have to do with at least two theological expositions of the *Parmenides* in pre-Plotinian times. Or it may be that there was only one commentary—the *Anonymous*—whose missing portions included this common source. But then, what would be the relation between these and the *Parmenides*-inspired negative-theological source shared by *Allogenes* and the *Apocryphon of John* (let alone other similar Middle Platonic negative theologies)?

V. *Conclusion*

Coupled with the recent arguments for a pre-Plotinian origin of the anonymous *Parmenides* commentary,[88] Michel Tardieu's observation that the anonymous *Parmenides Commentary* may depend on *both* the *Chaldaean Oracles and* the

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[85] *Chaldaean Oracles* frg. 3: "the Father snatched himself away and did not enclose his own fire in his intellectual Power" [Majercik] and 4: "For power is with him (for the commentator, the Father), but intellect is from him" [Majercik]. According to the *Commentary*, since the Father snatched himself away, he cannot be called a solitary "One"; as the first member of a triad, he is instead "co-unified" with the entire triad as a three-in-one unity. A similar notion of self-rapture, which seems to be implied in Moderatus, may possibly be reflected also in the Sethian Platonizing treatise *Marsanes* (X 9,29-10,4) when it says that the Invisible Spirit "ran up to his place," apparently causing the entire divine world to unfold and be revealed "until he reached the upper region."

[86] Esp. *Adversus Arium* I, 50,10: "Since he is one in his simplicity, containing three powers: all Existence, all Life, and Blessedness."

[87] Esp. VIII 66,14-20 "For they are [triple] powers of his [unity: complete] Existence, Life and Blessedness. In Existence he exists [as] a simple unity."

[88] See K. Corrigan, "Platonism and Gnosticism: The Anonymous Commentary on the Parmenides, Middle or Neoplatonic?," a paper delivered to the SBL Gnosticism and Later Platonism Seminar at the 1995 annual meeting of the SBL, now in *Gnosticism and Later Platonism: Themes, Figures, and Texts*, ed. J. D. Turner and R. Majercik (SBL Symposium Series 12. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 141-177: "all the apparent innovations in the *Commentary* are already to be found in Plotinus, and there is a remarkable affinity of thought between Plotinus, Amelius, and the anonymous Commentator that stems from a still earlier tradition of commentary (in *Vita Plotini* 20 Porphyry *apud* Longinus mentions Numenius, Cronius, Moderatus, and Thrasyllus) necessitated by the need for an intelligent reading of difficult passages in Plato's *Parmenides*. Moreover, the doctrine of participation apparently espoused by the Commentator (XII, 16-22; XIV 17-20; 33-35)—namely that the Second One receives determinate being by substantivizing its own vision of the 'idea' of being that it sees in the 'First One'—is

common source presently embedded in Victorinus and *Zostrianos* makes a strong case indeed that the *Commentary* is not by Porphyry, but—perhaps together with others like it—is a product of pre-Plotinian Middle Platonic *Parmenides* interpretation. Taken together, these factors suggest 1) that theological expositions and/or lemmatic commentaries on the *Parmenides* were available in the late second or early third century, 2) that they were used by the versions of *Zostrianos* (ca. 225 CE) and *Allogenes* (ca. 240 CE) known to Plotinus and Porphyry, 3) that they were pre-Plotinian and Middle Platonic (Michel Tardieu and Luc Brisson suggest Numenian authorship, while Kevin Corrigan suggests Cronius),[89] and 4) that the anonymous Turin *Commentary* need not necessarily be ascribed to Porphyry, but may be dated earlier, before Plotinus.

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exactly the sort of participation which both Syrianus (*In Metaph.* 109, 12 ff. [Kroll]) and Proclus (*In Tim.* III 33, 31 ff. [Diehl]) specifically *deny* to Porphyry, but attribute to *earlier* Plotinian-circle thought that has its root in Middle Platonism and Neopythagoreanism (Numenius, Cronius, and Amelius)." See also G. Bechtle, "Abstracts of an Anonymous Commentary on Plato's *Parmenides*," a paper for the SBL Gnosticism and Later Platonism Seminar at the 1996 annual meeting of the SBL now published as *The Anonymous Commentary on Plato's «Parmenides»* (Berner Reihe philosophischer Studien 22; Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1999); M. J. Edwards, "Porphyry and the Intelligible Triad," *Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 110 (1990) 14-25, and idem, "Being, Life and Mind: A Brief Inquiry." a paper delivered at the 1995 Oxford Patristics Conference. See also P. Hadot's arguments for Porphyrian authorship of the *Commentary* anticipated in "Être, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin et avant Plotin," *Les sources de Plotin* (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique V; Vandoeuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1960) 107-57 and articulated fully in "Fragments d'un commentaire de Porphyre sur le Parménide," "La métaphysique de Porphyre," and the first volume of *Porphyre et Victorinus*. These arguments are accepted by L. Abramowski, "Marius Victorinus, Porphyrius und die römischen Gnostiker" (*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74 (1983) 108-128 and → R. Majercik, "The Being-Life-Mind Triad in Gnosticism and Neoplatonism," *Classical Quarterly* 42 (1992) 475-488, who also defends Hadot's position in her unpublished response to Corrigan's 1995 paper and in "Chaldaean Triads in Neoplatonic Exegesis: Some Reconsiderations," *Classical Quarterly* 51 (2001), 265-296. See Hadot's most recent defense of his theory, "Porphyre et Victorinus. Questions et hypothèses," *Res Orientales IX* (Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1996), 117-25.

[89] M. Tardieu, "Recherches sur la formation," 112; L. Brisson, "The Platonic Background in the *Apocalypse of Zostrianos*: Numenius and *Letter II* attributed to Plato," in *The Tradition of Platonism. Essays in Honour of John Dillon*, ed. J. J. O'Cleary (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), 173-188, esp. 179-182; K. Corrigan, "Platonism and Gnosticism: The Anonymous Commentary on the Parmenides, Middle or Neoplatonic?," in *Gnosticism and Later Platonism: Themes, Figures, and Texts*, ed. J. D. Turner and R. Majercik (SBL Symposium Series 12. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 156.

Zostrianos and *Allogenes*, taken together with the closely-related *Three Steles of Seth* and *Marsanes*, clearly indicate that the metaphysical doctrine of a supreme unity-in-trinity, whose nature could only be described in largely negative terms, need not be a post-Plotinian and therefore Neoplatonic invention, but already played a role in the thought of the Sethian Gnostics and certain Neopythagorean and Middle Platonic interpreters of Plato's *Parmenides*. Since this same doctrine subsequently found its way into the anti-Arian treatises of Marius Victorinus, Willy Theiler's long-standing working hypothesis[90]—that every Neoplatonic but non-Plotinian doctrine found simultaneously in Augustine and in a late Neoplatonist must derive from Porphyry—needs a slight modification: although Porphyry may be the immediate source, he was not necessarily the originator. For it appears that the trinitarian theology of Marius Victorinus had its metaphysical basis, not exclusively in Porphyry or later Neoplatonists, but also in the pre-Plotinian Middle Platonic philosophy of the sort best preserved in the Platonizing Sethian treatises from Nag Hammadi.

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[90] W. Theiler, *Porphyrios und Augustin* (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geistwissenschaftliche Klasse X, 1; Halle (Saale): 1933, 1-74.

APPENDICES

I. *Moderatus' Doctrine of First Principles*

It seems that this opinion concerning Matter was held first among Greeks by the Pythagoreans, and after them by Plato, as indeed Moderatus relates. For, following the Pythagoreans, he (Moderatus—or Plato, e.g., Letter II 312e?) declares that the first One is above being and all essence, while the second One—[[i.e., the truly existent and object of intellection]]—he says is the Forms. The third—[[i.e., the psychic]]—participates in the One and the Forms, while the final nature, that of the sensibles, does not even participate in them (the Forms = second One? both the first and second Ones?), but is ordered by a reflection of them, since the Matter in sensibles is a shadow of Non-being (Dodds: relative non-being; intelligible matter; Hubler: "the nature of sensibles is ordered by reflection [ἔμφασις] as a reflection [σκίασμα] in the Matter that is in sensibles") as it (Matter) primordially exists in quantity (ποσόν; i.e., the quantitative plurality of the forms), and which is inferior in degree even to this (i.e., quantity [Brisson]? or non-being [Dodds, Westerink]?).

And in the second book of *On Matter* Porphyry, referring to Moderatus, has also written that the Unitary Logos, [[as Plato somewhere (*Timaeus* 29d7-30a6) says]], intending to produce from itself the origin of beings, by self-deprivation made room for [ms. ἐχώρησε; ἐχώριζε, "separated from itself" conj. Zeller, Festugière] Quantity (ποσότης), having deprived it (Quantity) of all its (the Logos') proportions (λόγοι) and Forms. He (Moderatus or Porphyry or Plato in e.g., *Timaeus* 48e-51b?) called this Quantity (ποσότης) shapeless, undifferentiated and formless, but receptive of shape, form, differentiation, quality etc. It is this Quantity (ποσότης), he says, to which Plato apparently applies various predicates, speaking of the "all receiver" and calling it "formless," even "invisible" and "least capable of participating in the intelligible" and "barely graspable by spurious reasoning" and everything similar to such predicates. This Quantity (ποσότης), he says, and this Form (*sic*) conceived as a privation of the Unitary Logos which contains in itself all proportions of beings, are paradigms of corporeal Matter which itself, he says, was called quantity (ποσόν) by Pythagoreans and Plato, not in the sense of quantity (ποσόν) as a Form, but in the sense of privation, loosening, extension and dispersion, and because of its deviation from that which is—which is why Matter seems to be evil, as it flees from the good. And (this Matter) is caught by it (the Unitary Logos) and not permitted to overstep its boundaries, as extension receives the (continuous)

proportion of ideal magnitude and is bounded by it, and as dispersion is given (discrete) form by numerical distinction. [[So, according to this exposition, Matter is nothing else but a turning away of perceptible species from intelligible ones, as the former turn away from there and are borne downwards towards non-being.]] (Simplicius, *In Phys.* 230.34-231.26; [[. . .]] indicate possible interpolations either by Porphyry or Simplicius)

II. *Numenius*

The First God—since he is in himself—is simple by virtue of being entirely unified in himself; he is never divisible. As for the Second and Third God, he is one (εἷς). But when he is associated with Matter, which is dyadic, on the one hand he unifies it, but on the other he is split by it, since Matter has the character of desire and is in flux. Thus, by not attending to the Intelligible—which would be toward himself—by gazing on Matter and caring for it, he becomes careless of himself. He attaches himself to and deals with the perceptible, yet still elevates it to his own character, having yearned for Matter. (Numenius, frg. 11,11-20 des Places)

Now if the Demiurge of becoming is good, then the Demiurge of being must be the Good-in-itself, kindred with being. For the second one—being double—as Demiurge creates his own Idea as well as the cosmos, thereupon (ἔπειτα; Dodds: ἔπει ὁ α′ i.e., "since the first is") being entirely contemplative. (Numenius, frg. 16,8-12 des Places)

III. Parmenides *156e3-7 (Hypothesis III = IIa, 155e4-157b4)*

Then the one—if it is at rest and in motion—could change to each state, for only in this way can it do both. But in changing, it changes instantaneously, and when it changes, it would be in no time, and at that instant it will be neither in motion nor at rest.

IV. *The Metaphysics of the Platonizing Sethian Treatises in* Allogenes *(NHC XI)*

Invisible Spirit/Unknowable One	*Exists*	Lives	Knows
The Triple Powered One/Eternal Life	Essentiality	*Vitality*	Mentality
The Aeon of Barbelo/First Thought (Intellect)	Being	Life	*Mind*
Kalyptos *contemplated intellect* (contains True Being)			
Protophanes *contemplating intellect* (contains the "Unified")			
Autogenes *discursive intellect* (contains the "Individuals")			
Nature (sensible cosmos)			

A. XI 49 [26] He (the Triple Powered One) is Vitality and [27] Mentality and Essentiality. [28] So then, Essentiality [29] constantly includes its [30] Vitality and Mentality, [31] and [32] Vitality includes [33] Substantiality and [34] Mentality; Mentality includes [35] Life and Essentiality. [36] And the three are one, [37] although individually they are three.

B. XI 61 [32] Now he (the Unknowable One) is [33] an entity insofar as he exists, in that he either [34] exists and will become, [35] or lives or knows, although he {lives}<acts> [36] without Mind [37] or Life or Existence [38] or Nonexistence, [39] incomprehensibly. (cf. *Adversus Arium* IV.23,18-31: God is incomprehensibly ἀνύπαρκτος, ἀνούσιος, ἄνους, ἄζων)

V. *The Turin anonymous* Parmenides Commentary

A. It has not been said that Being participates in the One, but that the One participates in Being (τὸ ὄν), not because the first was Being (τὸ ὄν), but because an otherness (ἑτερότης) from the One has turned the One towards this whole One-Being (τὸ ἓν εἶναι). For from the fact of being engendered somehow at the second level, being-One (τὸ ἓν εἶναι) is added. See then if Plato is like one who hints at a hidden doctrine: for the One, which is beyond substance and being (τὸ ὄν), is neither being nor substance nor act, but rather acts and is itself pure acting, such that it is itself (infinitival) being (εἶναι) before (determinate) being (τὸ ὄν). By participating this being (the εἶναι of the first One; cf. *Parmenides* 137c-142a), the One (scil. "who is," i.e. the second One of *Parmenides* 142b-155e) possesses another being (εἶναι) declined from it (the εἶναι of the Supreme One), which is (what is meant by) participating in determinate being (τὸ ὄν; cf. οὐσία in *Parmenides* 142b). Thus, being (εἶναι) is double: the one preexists determinate being (τὸ ὄν), while the other is derived from the One that transcends determinate being (τὸ ὄν), who is absolute being (εἶναι) and as it were the idea of determinate being (ἰδέα τοῦ ὄντος) by participation in which some other One has come to be to which is linked the being (εἶναι) carried over from it. (*In Parmenidem* XII, 16-35 Hadot 2:104)

B. Taken in itself as its own idea it—this power, or whatever term one might use to indicate its ineffability and inconceivability [i.e., the potential Intellect still identical with the One]—is one and simple. But with respect to existence (ὕπαρξις), life (ζωή) and intellection (νόησις) it is neither one nor simple. Both that which thinks and that which is thought (are) in existence (ὕπαρξις), but that which thinks—if Intellect passes from existence to

that which thinks (νοοῦν) so as to return to the rank of an intelligible and see its (prefigurative) self—is in life. Therefore thinking is indeterminate with respect to life. And all are activities (ἐνεργείαι) such that with respect to existence, activity would be static; with respect to intelligizing, activity would be turning to itself; and with respect to life, activity would be inclining away from existence (*In Parmenidem* XIV, 15-26 Hadot 2:110-112).

1. The One	*Existence*		
(Procession τὸ εἶναι)		*Life*	
2. The One-Being (τὸ ὄν)			*Intellection*

VI. *A Comparative example from Plotinus*

Intellect therefore had life and had no need of a giver full of variety, and its life was a trace of that Good and not his life. So when its life was looking towards that it was unlimited, but after it had looked there, it was limited—though that Good has no limit. For immediately, by looking to something which is one, the life is limited by it, and has in itself limit and bound and form; and the form was in that which was shaped, but the shaper was shapeless. But the boundary is not from outside, as if it was surrounded by a largeness, but it was a bounding limit of all that life which is manifold and unbounded, as a life would be which shines out from a nature of this kind . . . and it was defined as *many* because of the multiplicity of its life, but on the other hand as *one* because of the defining limit. What then does "it was defined as one" mean? Intellect: for life defined and limited is intellect. And what "as many"? Many intellects. (*Ennead* VI, 7 [38] 17.6-43 trans. Armstrong)

VII. *Negative Theological Source Common to* Allogenes *and the* Apocryphon of John

Allogenes NHC XI, 62,28-63,25	*Ap. John* BG 8502, 24,6-25,7	*Ap. John NHC* II 3,18-33:
	24 [6] This is the Immeasurable Light, [7] pure, holy, [26] spotless, ineffable, [9] [perfect in in-]	**3** [17] [He] is [the Immeasurable Light], [18] pure, holy, [spotless]. [19] He is ineffable, [perfect in
He is neither Divinity [29] nor Blessedness [30] nor Perfection. Rather [31] it (this triad) is an unknowable entity of him, [32] not what is proper to him. Rather [33] he	corruptibility. He is neither [10] Perfection nor [11] Blessedness nor Divinity, [12]	in]corruptibility. [20] He is not in [Perfection or in] [21] Blessedness [or in] [22] Divinity,

is something else [34] superior to the Blessedness and [35] the Divinity and [36] Perfection.		
For he is not [37] perfect, but he is another thing **63** [1] that is superior.	but rather something superior [13] to them.	[but rather he is far superior]. [23]
He is neither [2] boundless nor [3] is he bounded by [4] another. Rather he is something superior. [5]	He is neither infinite [14] nor unlimited (*sic*), [15] but rather he is something better than these.	
He is not corporeal; [6] he is not incorporeal. [7] He is not Great; [he is not] Small. [8] He is not a <quantity>; he is not a [<quality>]. [9]	For [16] he is neither corporeal [17] nor incorporeal; he is not Great, he is not [18] Small, nor is he a quantity [19] nor a <quality>.	[He is] neither corporeal [nor incorporeal], [24] he is not Great, [nor] is he Small. [There is no] [25] way to say "[What is his quantity?" or "What is his quality]?", [26]
Nor is he something [10] that exists, that [11] one can know. Rather [12] he is something else that is superior, which [13] one cannot know. [14]	For it is not possible for anyone to [20] contemplate him.	for it is not possible [for anyone to contemplate him]. [27]
He is primary revelation [15] and self-knowledge, [16] since it is he alone who knows himself. [17] Since he is not one of those things [18] that exist, but is another thing, [19] he is superior to all superlatives, [20] even in comparison to his character and [21] what is not his character.	He is not anything among [21] existing things, but rather something superior [22] to them—not 'superior' in the comparative sense, but **25** [1] in the absolute sense. [2]	He is not anything among [existing things, but rather he is] [28] far superior—not 'superior' in the comparative sense, but rather in the absolute sense. [29]
He neither participates in [22] eternity nor [23] does he participate in time. [24]	Not participating in eternity, time [3] does not exist for him.	He [participates neither] in eternity nor [30] in time.
He does not receive anything from [25] anything else.	For one who participates [4] in eternity, others [5] anticipated. [6] Time did not limit him, since he does not [7] receive from some other who limits. [8] And he has no need. There is nothing [9] at all before him	For one who [participates in eternity] [31] was previously anticipated. He [was not limited] [32] by time, [since] he [33] receives nothing, [for it would be something received] [34] on loan. For what is prior does not [lack] [35] so as to receive.

VIII. Negative and Positive Theological Source Common to Zostrianos *and Victorinus*

A. *Negative Theology*

Zostrianos VIII 64,13-66,11	Marius Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* I, 49,9-40
VIII 64 [13] [He] was a [unity] [14] and a single One, [15] existing prior to [all those] [16] that truly exist,	**I, 49** [9] **Before all the authentic existents was the One or the Monad** or [10] One in itself, One before being was present to it. For one must call "One" [11] and conceive as One whatever has in itself no appearance of [12] otherness. It is the One alone, the simple One, the One so-called by [13] concession. It is the One before all existence, before [14] all existentiality and absolutely before all inferiors, [15] before Being, for this One is prior to Being; he is thus [16] before every entity, substance, hypostasis, and before [17] all realities with even more potency. It is the One without existence, without substance, [18] <life>, or intellect—for it is beyond all that— **immeasurable**, [19] invisible, **absolutely indiscernible by anything else, by the realities that are** [20] **in it, by those that come after it, even those that come from it**; [21] **for itself alone, it is** distinct and **defined by its own existence**, [22] not by act, of such a sort that its own constitution [23] and knowledge it has of itself is not something other than itself; absolutely **indivisible, without shape**, [24] **without quality** or lack of quality, nor qualified by absence of quality; **without** [25] **color, without species, without form**, privated of all the forms, without being the form in itself by which all things are formed.
((Cf. *Allogenes* XI 61,32-39: **XI 61** [32] *Now he is* [33] *an entity insofar as he exists, in that he either* [34] *exists and will become,* [35] *or {acts} <lives> or knows, although he {lives}<acts>* [36] *without Mind* [37] *or Life or Existence* [38] *or Non-existence,* [39] *incomprehensibly.*))	
VIII 64 [16] (cont.) [an] [17] immeasurable *Spirit,* <invisible?>, completely indiscernible [18] by anything else [19] that [exists] [20] in him and [outside] [21] him and [remains] [22] after him. It is he alone [23] who delimits himself,	
65 [1] [part]less, [2] [shape]less, [quality]less, [3]	
[color]less, [specie]less, [4] [form]less to them [all]. [5]	
[He precedes] them all: [6]	It is the **first cause of all** the existents whether they are [27] universals or particulars, [28] the **principle prior to every principle**, [29] **intelligence prior to every intelligence, the vigor of every power**, [30] **more mobile than movement itself, more stable than rest itself**—for it is rest by an inex-
[he is pre-principle of] [7] [every principle], fore[thought] [8] [of] every thought, [9] [strength] of every power. [10] [He is faster] <than> [his] [11] [motion], he is more stable <than>[12] [stability],	

Table (*cont.*)

Zostrianos VIII 64,13-66,11	Marius Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* I, 49,9-40
he surpasses [13] [compaction] [14] [as well as] rarefaction. [And] he is more remote than [16] any unfathomable(ness), and he is [17] more [definite] than any corporeal entity, [18] he is purer than any incorporeal entity, [19] he is more penetrating than any [20] thought and any body. [21] [Being] more powerful than them all, [22] any genus or species, [23] he is their totality: **[66]** [1] [the whole of true] existence, [2] and [those who truly] exist; [3] [he is] all [these; for he is greater] [4] [than the whole, corporeal] [5] [and incorporeal alike], [6] [he is more] particular [than] [7] [all the] parts. [8] Existing by a [pure un-] [9] knowable [power, he] from whom [10] [derive] all those [11] that truly exist, [12] that derive from [13] the [truly] existent *Spirit*, [14] the sole One.	pressible [31] movement and it is a superlative [32] movement by an ineffable rest; **more condensed than every continuity, more exalted than every** [33] **distance; more definite than every body** and greater than every [34] magnitude, **purer than every incorporeal entity, more penetrating than every intelligence** [35] **and every body**; **of all realities it has the most potency**, it is the potency [36] of all potencies; more universal **than everything, every genus, every species, it is in an absolutely universal way the truly** [37] **Existent, being itself the totality of the authentic existents, greater than** [38] **every totality whether corporeal or incorporeal, more particular** [39] than every part, by a <pure> ineffable potency being <preeminently> all the authentic [40] existents.

B. *Positive Theology*

Zostrianos VIII 66,14b-68,13	*Adversus Arium* I, 50,10-16.1-9
VIII 66 [14] For they are [triple] [15] powers of his [unity]: [16] [complete] Existence, [17] Life and [18] Blessedness. In [19] Existence he exists [as] [20] a simple unity, ((cf. *Allogenes* **XI, 49** [28] *Essentiality* [29] *constantly includes its* [30] *Vitality and Mentality*, [31] *and* [32] *Vitality includes* [33] *Substantiality and* [34] *Mentality*; *Mentality includes* [35] *Life and Essentiality*.)) **66** [21] his own [rational expression] and idea. [22]	**I, 50** [10] Since it is one in its simplicity, it contains three powers: [11] **all Existence, all Life, and Blessedness; but** [12] **all these are one, even a simple one**, and it is predominantly in the power [13] of being—that is Existence—that the powers of Life [14] and Blessedness exist, for that by which it is and exists is the power [15] of Existence, and this is also the power of Life and Blessedness. It is itself [16] and by itself **the idea and rational expression** (λόγος) **of itself**.

Table (*cont.*)

Zostrianos VIII 66,22-68,13	*Adversus Arium* I, 50,1-8
VIII 66 [22] Whomever he will find [23] he brings into [24] being. [And in] [25] Vitality, he is alive [and becomes]; **67** [1] [in Blessedness] [2] [he comes to] [3] [have Mentality]. [4] [And he] knows [that] all these [5] [become] uniquely him, [6] for [no] divinity [7] [is concerned with anything] except [what] [8] [is his] alone, and he [exists] [9] [alone] in himself [with] [10] [himself], the *single*, [*perfect*] [11] [*Spirit*]. For he dwells [12] [*within*] *that which is his*, which [exists] [13] [as] a idea of an idea, [14] [a] unity of the [15] [Henad. He exists *as* [*the*][16] [*Spirit*], inhabiting it [17] by intellect, and it inhabits [18] him. He is *not about to come forth* to any [19] place, because he [is] a *single* [20] *perfect, simple Spirit.*	**I, 50** [1] This (One) is God, this is the Father, preintelligence preexisting [2] and preexistence preserving itself in its own **Blessedness** and a motionless [3] motion and, because of this, [4] **having no need of other beings**; perfect beyond perfect things, a Spirit triple powered in [5] its **unity, perfect Spirit** and Spirit beyond spirit; for he does not [6] breathe, but rather it is the **Spirit in that which is his being**, Spirit [7] breathing toward itself so that it is Spirit, since the Spirit [8] is **not separate** from itself.
[21] He is his own place and [22] he is its inhabitant. [23] Indeed <he is> everything. And [24] on the other hand, [there] is the one who [**68**] [1] [exists in] [2] [Mentality] and [Life], [3] even [its] inhabitant. [4] And the Life [5] is [an] activity of the [6] insubstantial [Existence]. [7] That which exists in [them] [8] [exists] in him; [9] because of [him they exist as] [10] blessed[ness] and [11] perfect[ion]. And [it is the power] [12] that exists in [all those] [13] that truly exist.	He is at the same time **residence and resident**, [9] remaining in himself, alone in himself alone. (cf. **I, 50** [16] He has his **living and acting** [17] in his own **non-existent existence**;)

Zostrianos VIII 74,17-75,21	*Adversus Arium* I, 50,9-10.16-21
VIII 74 [17] It is everywhere and [18] nowhere that he [empowers] [19] and activates them all. [20] [[The ineffable, [21] unnamable one—it is [22] from himself that he [truly] exists, [23] resting himself [in] [24] in his perfection— [25] has [not] shared in [any] form, [**75**] [1] therefore [he is invisible to] [2] them [all. He has taken] [3] [no pattern for himself, nor] [4] [is he anything at all of] those [that] [5] [exist among the perfect ones] and [those] [6] [that are unified. He alone is] the one [7] belonging to the Entirety.]]	**I, 50** [9] existing at the same time **everywhere and** [10] **nowhere**. [[Being one in his simplicity, he nevertheless interiorly unites in himself these three powers: [11] universal existence, universal life, and beatitude. [[But [12] all these realities are One, even the simple One.]] And it is predominantly

Table (*cont.*)

Zostrianos VIII 74,17-75,21	*Adversus Arium* I, 50,9-10.16-21
In Existence [8] [is] Being; in [Vitality] [9] <is> Life; and in [10] perfection and [11] [Mentality] is Blessedness. [12]	**in** the power [13] of being—that is of **Existence**—that the powers of **Life** [14] and **Beatitude** are contained; [[for that by which it is and exists is the power of existence, [15] and likewise with life and beatitude.]] [16] **He has his living and acting** [17] **in his own non-existent Existence**; [18] union **without distinction of the Spirit** with itself, **divinity**, [19] **substantiality, blessedness, mentality, vitality, goodness**, [20] being **absolutely all things** in a universal mode, **purely unengendered, preexisting**, [21] **unity of union** which is not itself union.
All [these] were existing [13] [in the] *indivisibility of* [14] [*the*] *Spirit.* And it is Mentality [15] on account of [which] is [16] [Divinity] and [17] and Blessedness [18] and Life and [19] Mentality and Goodness. [20] And (he is) a Henad [21] with Unity, and [22] absolutely all things, the [23] unengendered purity, [24] thanks to whom [25] they preexist, all of them together with [. . .].	

IX. *The Cyclic Mutual Inclusion of Each Power in the Other Two in* Allogenes *and Proclus'* Elements of Theology

Allogenes XI 49,26-37	Proclus, *Elem. theol.* 103:
XI 49 [26] He is Vitality and [27] Mentality and Essentiality.[28] So then: Essentiality [29] constantly includes its [30] Vitality and Mentality, [31] and {Life has} [32] Vitality includes [33] {non-} Substantiality and [34] Mentality; Mentality includes [35] Life and Essentiality. [36] And the three are one, [37] although individually they are three.	All things are in all things, but in each thing in an appropriate manner. For in Being (τὸ ὄν) there is Life and Intellect, and in Life there is Being (εἶναι) and Intellection (νοεῖν), and in Intellect there is Being (εἶναι) and Living (ζῆν).

X. *The Second Hypostasis as the Masculinization of the Spirit's Power*

Adversus Arium I 50,22-51,38	*Zostrianos* VIII 76,20-84,3 (excerpts)	*Marsanes* X 9,1-20
I 50 [22] Therefore with this One existing, the (second) One leaped forth, the One who is One. . . . **51** [1] But this One, which we say to be a One-One, is a [2] Life that is in infinite motion, creator of all other existents, whether of	**VIII 76** [20] And [21] his knowledge dwells [22] outside of him with [23] that which contemplates him [24] inwardly. . . . **77** [12] She became distinct [13] because she is [an] all-perfect instance [14] [of] perfection [15] existing as contemplation.[16]	

Table (*cont.*)

Adversus Arium I 50,22-51,38	*Zostrianos* VIII 76,20-84,3 (excerpts)	*Marsanes* X 9,1-20
[3] the authentic existents or the existents, being the Logos of the "to be" of [4] all existents, moving itself by itself in an eternal [5] movement, having its movement in itself, or rather being itself [6] movement . . . [10] For proceeding [11] as a potency out of a state of immobile pre-existence—unmoved [12] so long as it was in potency—this never-resting motion [13] arising out of itself and hastening to engender all sorts of movement [14] since it was infinite life—this motion as it were appeared outside in vivifying [15] activity. It necessarily follows that life has been engendered . . . [19] Life is thus this [20] Existence of all existents, and insofar as life is [21] movement, it has received a sort of feminine power, since it [22] desired to vivify. But since, as was to be shown, this movement, [23] being one, is both Life and Wisdom, Life is converted [24] to Wisdom, or rather to the paternal existence, [25] or better yet, [26] by a retrograde movement to the paternal power. Thus fortified, Life, hastening back to the Father, has been made male. [27] For Life is descent and Wisdom is ascent. It is also Spirit; [28] the two are thus Spirit, two in one. And likewise Life: at first nothing other than [29] primal Existence, it was necessarily first invested with a virginal [30] potential to	With respect to that one, [17] [she] is an offspring that supplements [18] him, even that which derives from [19] his ineffable power. [20] She has [21] a pre-potency, even [22] the primal unengenderedness [23] succeeding that one, [24] because with respect to all the [25] rest [she is] a first aeon. **78** [6] It is she who knows] [7] and [who foreknows] [8] herself, [truly existing] [9] as a [single] aeon [10] in act [and] [11] potency and [Existence]. [12] It is not [in] [13] time that she originated, but [she] [14] [appeared] eternally, [15] having eternally stood [16] in his presence . . . **79** [5] [And she is an insubstantial Existence] [6] [and a power] that [truly exists]. [7] [She is the] first [insubstantial] [8] Existence [after] [9] that one. [10] [And from] the undivided one toward [11] existence in act [12] move the [intellectual] perfection [13] and intellectual life [14] that were [15] blessedness and [16] divinity. The [entire] Spirit, [17] perfect, simple [18] and invisible, [19] [has] become a unity [20] in existence and [21] act, even a [22] simple Triple [Powered] One, [23] an Invisible Spirit, an [24] image of the one that [25] truly exists . . . **81**[6] She [was] existing [individually] [7] [as cause] of [the declination]. [8] Lest she come forth anymore [9] or get further away [10] from perfection, she [11] knew herself and him, [12] and she stood	**X 9** [1] For this reason the [2] Virgin became male (as νοῦς, i.e., the Aeon of Barbelo), [3] because she had separated from the male (i.e., the Invisible Spirit). The [4] Knowledge stood outside of him, [5] as if belonging to him. [6] And she who exists is she who sought. [7] She is situated just as [8] the Triple Powered One is situated. [9] She withdrew [10] from [these] two [powers] (the first two powers of the Triple Powered One), [11] since she exists [outside of] [12] the Great One (i.e., the Invisible Spirit), [seeing what] [13] is above [her, the Perfect One (i.e., the Triple Powered One)] [14] who is silent, [who has] [15] this [commandment] [16] to be silent. His knowledge [17] and his hypostasis [18] and his activity [19] are those things that the power (i.e. Barbelo) [20] of the Triple Powered One expressed.

Table (*cont.*)

Adversus Arium I 50,22-51,38	*Zostrianos* VIII 76,20-84,3 (excerpts)	*Marsanes* X 9,1-20
be subsequently engendered as the male [31] Son of God by masculine birth from the Virgin—since in the first motion, when it first [32] appears, Life initially was—as if it defected from the Father's power and by its innate [33] desire to vivify while it was still interior— [34] externalized by its own movement. When it again [35] reverted upon itself, it returned to its paternal [36] existence and became male. Completed by its all-powerful [37] vigor, life has become perfect Spirit by [38] reversion toward the higher, i.e., toward the interior away from its downward tendency.	at rest [13] and spread forth [14] on his [behalf]—, [15] since she derived[16] [from] what truly exists [17] {... [18] ...} in common with all [19] things—to know herself [20] and the one that pre-exists.... **83** [8] She was called [9] Barbelo by virtue of [10] thought, the [11] perfect virginal male of three[12] kinds. And it is her own knowledge [13] through which she originated [14] lest [15] [she be drawn] down and[16] come forth further [17] by the things that exist [18] in her and that follow[19] her.... **84** [10] She stood at rest [as the] [11] first one of that [which] [12] truly exists. In [another way] [13] [she is] truly the Blessedness [14] of the Invisible [Spirit], [15] the knowledge of the primal [16] Existence within the [17] simplicity of the [18] Invisible Spirit— [19] 'within the Henad' resembles [20] 'within the Unity'—that which [21] is pure and form[less].	

"THE PUZZLE OF THE LAST FOUR BOOKS OF AUGUSTINE'S *CONFESSIONS*": AN ILLEGITIMATE ISSUE?[1]

BY

ANNEMARÉ KOTZÉ

ABSTRACT: The most important point this article wants to make is that the expectations of the ancient reader, Augustine's contemporary, of a work like the *Confessions* may have been diametrically opposite to the expectations with which the work has been read for the past number of centuries. I contend that, even though they too would no doubt have recognized the novel and creative devices that characterize the work, ancient readers would not have been perplexed by the presence of the last four books of the *Confessions*. The whole issue surrounding the presence of these books is a problem created by the illegitimate assumptions later readers carried into their reading.

The combination of the story of Augustine's own life with three so-called exegetical books in his *Confessions* has been perceived by many, also (or especially) scholarly, readers of our times as problematic. In spite of the fact that the research community has reached consensus that this masterpiece does constitute a well-planned unity[2] all kinds of readers are still uncomfortable with the cohesion between the exegesis of the Genesis creation story in books 11 to 13 of the *Confessions* and the so-called long excursion on memory in book 10 on the one hand and the autobiographical narration in books 1 to 9 on the other. Hence "the puzzle of the last four books."

Frances Young in her "The *Confessions* of St. Augustine: What is the genre of this work?" is the source of the phrase "the puzzle of the last four books" as I use it here,[3] but many others have formulated the issue in these or similar terms.[4] There is, however, a more important reason why I quote Young.

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[1] This article is a reworking of and an elaboration on an argument also made in my *Augustine's Confessions: Communicative Purpose and Audience* (Leiden 2004) 66-84.

[2] See my discussion of the status quo on the issue of the unity of the *Confessions* in my *Augustine's Confessions* 14-18 (above n. 1).

[3] Frances Young, The *Confessions* of St. Augustine: What is the genre of this work? *Augustinian Studies* 30 (1999) 1-16, at 3.

[4] See for example G.N. Knauer, *Psalmenzitate in Augustins Konfessionen* (Göttingen 1955) 19: "Man hat Augustin immer wieder vorgeworfen, er hätte den Aufbau dadurch verun-

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 65-79

I believe that her approach to the *Confessions* points in the right direction in two (related) respects: (i) It is important that much more work be done on the genre of the *Confessions* (the long perpetuated, and to my mind erroneous, idea that the *Confessions* was sui generis in the sense that Augustine made no use of generic devices to create meaning is probably one of the causes for the relative neglect of this aspect of the work); and (ii) A closer scrutiny of the literary climate where the *Confessions* originated, i.e. its literary antecedents and works that are contemporaneous with it, can contribute largely to a better understanding of a work that still poses a great number of challenges to the reader in the 21st century.

It is in the second of these areas that the present article hopes to make a contribution. My aim is to show that general literary practice from the time of Plato (and even earlier)[5] as well as a number of specific works (the ones discussed here are the *De Trinitate* by Hilary of Poitiers, the *Ad Donatum* by Cyprian of Carthage, and Justin Martyr's *Dialogus cum Tryphone*) offer precedents for the inclusion of an autobiographical section, or what I would prefer to call a conversion story, in a larger work that has an apologetic, polemic or protreptic-paraenetic overall purpose.

Young looks at the works of Gregory of Nazianzus and Ephrem the Syrian as manifestations of a tendency she detects in the *Confessions*, namely to present the own life as an exemplary or archetypal life, a life that bears "the 'stamp' of another."[6] On these (and other) grounds she characterizes the *Confessions* as typology.[7] Thus for Young the continuity between books 1

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klärt, daß er an die neun ersten Bücher . . . noch vier Bücher angehängt habe . . . Das Verhältnis der drei letzten zu den ersten zehn Büchern hat . . . immer wieder großes Rätselraten verursacht."

[5] The reader will notice the absence of an argument for direct literary dependence of the *Confessions* on works taken as possible literary antecedents. The assumption behind this is that knowledge of literary conventions must have been the common property of those practicing and teaching the art of rhetoric, partly because they knew well some works where these devices were implemented, partly because they knew about works using them, and also because these devices were the tools of the trade, taught and discussed on a daily basis, even though we can never have any real evidence of this. This seems to be the assumption behind Pierre Courcelle's modus operandi, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et Postérité* (Paris 1963) 96: "Je ne pretends nullement qu' Augustin ait connu et utilisé tous ces texts autobiographiques" and "Il ne me paraît pas impossible non plus qu'il ait eu connaissance, d'une manière ou d'une autre, du roman clémentin."

[6] Young, The *Confessions* of St. Augustine, 7 (above n. 3).

[7] These cursory remarks by no means do justice to an excellent article. Young's basic argument is that the *Confessions* needs to be read "against the wider background of

to 9 and books 10 to 13 of the *Confessions* lies in the typological characteristics discernible in the two sections, as her remarks about book 13 illustrate: "Both the human soul and all the spiritual creation are restless till they find their rest in God. The one is type of the other." The most important contribution of this article, in my view, is its clear illustration of how the *Confessions* displays numerous features characteristic of contemporary literary practice: its use of typology, its apologetic and didactic tendencies, in sum, its apparent resonance with the works of other writers of the era. All of this represents a vital aspect of the emerging picture of a work that is not as atypical of its own era as it has long been made out to be.

Also Thomas Martin's "Augustine's *Confessions* as Pedagogy: Exercises in Transformation" clearly illustrates how reading the *Confessions* against the background of the theory and practice of Late Ancient philosophy completely changes the perspective of the modern reader.[8] Martin uses the findings of Hadot's *Philosophy as a Way of Life* to show how the *Confessions* throughout engages its reader to experience and utilize the work as spiritual exercises.[9] He does not use the term protreptic as I do (see discussion below) to refer to the intention of the text to lead its reader to a life-changing choice or conversion, but everything Martin so lucidly presents supports my arguments that modern readers have lead themselves astray with illegitimate assumptions about the *Confessions*: the work was "not simply nor solely meant to 'uncover and reveal Augustine', undeniably one dimension of the work, but [was] just as importantly intended to 'uncover and reveal' the very *lectores/auditores* of the *Confessions*"[10] and "the poetry and the dynamism of the prose does not suggest a passive reader, but one willing to be inflamed by the passion of the text, and so at last to undertake a journey deferred,

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patristic literature" in order to "challenge some easy assumptions," The *Confessions* of St. Augustine, 1 (above n. 3), and her comparison of the *Confessions* to Gregory of Nazianzus' *De Vita Sua* and to the Syriac poems of Ephrem and the work of some other authors constitutes an invaluable contribution towards a better understanding of Augustine's masterpiece.

[8] Thomas F. Martin, Augustine's *Confessions* as Pedagogy: Exercises in Transformation in *Augustine and Liberal Education*, eds. Kim Paffenroth and Kevin L Hughes (New York 2000) 25-51. I sincerely regret coming across this article only recently. It constitutes an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the *Confessions* and should have appeared in the bibliography of my *Augustine's Confessions* (above n. 1).

[9] Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, ed. with an introduction by Arnold I. Davidson; trans. Michael Chase (Oxford 1995).

[10] Martin, Augustine's *Confessions* as Pedagogy, 26 (above n. 8).

or, if already undertaken, to give oneself even more wholeheartedly to it."[11] The present article hopes to contribute to the definition and clarity of this picture that started coming into focus already in 1963 with Courcelle's *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et Postérité,* and is being refined more and more by articles like those of Young and Martin.

One of the first factors that can contribute to a more responsible reading of the *Confessions* is proper cognizance of the literary climate that formed the background that would have shaped the expectations of the first readers of the *Confessions.* Late Antiquity was, however, until recently not taken seriously as a period worth studying in its own right, and there is still a lot of work to be done before we may move towards a more adequate understanding of the literary climate where the *Confessions* originated. But I believe that even what we do know about the *Confessions*' antecedents, when considered carefully, may point us to a better understanding of the constituent parts of the work. If we start as far back as Plato we find already in the early Socratic dialogues the use of the personal example for protreptic purposes.[12] Socrates is the ultimate paradigm that shows the correct way by walking it himself. But the fact that he is the example to be followed, is not presented directly. He is presented, as a matter of fact, as the one most in need of improvement.[13] Gaiser also describes Socrates as taking on himself the danger in which the others—unbeknown to themselves—are living; he takes their place and in this way is really able to show them the way. The parallels with Augustine's description of himself in the *Confessions* as the epitome of sinfulness, walking the arduous road back to God, are obvious.

Further, in late ancient philosophical literature the combination of a vita with philosophical discussion is a common occurrence.[14] Prominent examples are Plotinus' *Enneads* prefaced by the *Vita Porphyrii* and Iamblichus' *De vita Pythagorica* that starts with the vita of Pythagoras (followed by the protreptic and then by the philosophical discussion proper). In general, the life of the philosopher was seen as an appropriate introduction to a more

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[11] Martin, Augustine's *Confessions* as Pedagogy, 41 (above n. 8).

[12] See Konrad Gaiser's excellent study of the protreptic-paraenetic characteristics of these dialogues, *Protreptik und Paränese bei Platon: Untersuchungen zur Form des Platonischen Dialogs* (Stuttgart 1959).

[13] Gaiser, *Protreptik und Paränese,* 155 (above n. 12).

[14] The similarities between religion and philosophy, the appropriation of the philosophical genre of the protreptic by Christian writers, as well as the philosophical nature of the exegetical narrative in the last three books of the *Confessions* are here taken for granted.

theoretical discussion of his work: "In late antiquity it became conventional to preface a philosopher's works with a biography."[15] What is more, philosophical discussion was often to a large extent exegetical: discussions, interpretations and quotations of the works of predecessors formed an integral part of the fabric of the prose: thus we could call these examples a precedent for the combination of biographical material with philosophical and exegetical writing.

The combination of the own vita, i.e. autobiographical narration, with philosophical discussion was also a widespread phenomenon. Malherbe discusses the moral philosophers' convention to use autobiographical narratives as a preface to their own works.[16] His remarks about the function of the autobiographical section also point to another possible (albeit subordinate) function of the autobiographical section in Augustine's *Confessions*: the autobiographical preface (although in the case of the *Confessions* the autobiographical section is clearly much more than a preface) often had the function of justifying the "activity as moral reformers" and illustrating "the rigorous self-examination required before daring to correct others."[17] It could conceivably also have fulfilled the function of a captatio benevolentiae: the author is showing his personal experience of weakness and struggle and he identifies with that of his reader. It is clear that the autobiographical section of the *Confessions* does demonstrate this kind of "rigorous self-examination," portrays Augustine's own struggle, and precedes an attempt to teach others how to read scripture.[18]

Before I proceed, one important precision needs to be made. While no one can disagree that the first section of the *Confessions* is autobiographical, to call it autobiography, without qualification, is simply too misleading to be allowed.[19] The autobiographical section is much more aptly described by

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[15] David E. Aune, Romans as a Logos Protreptikos in the Context of Ancient Religious and Philosophical Propaganda, in *Paulus und das antike Judentum*, eds. Martin Hengel and Ulrich Heckel (Tübingen 1991) 91-124, at 103.

[16] Abraham J. Malherbe. *Moral Exhortation: A Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (Philadelphia 1986) 34-37.

[17] Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation* 34 (above n. 16).

[18] I argue in my *Augustine's Confessions*, 187-236 (above n. 1), that one of the objectives of the last four books of the *Confessions* (but also of the first part of the work) is to "correct" the views of the Manicheans on a number of subjects (to teach them how to read scripture and to demonstrate the validity of the Old Testament is an important objective, especially in book 13).

[19] Also Young, The *Confessions* of St. Augustine, 2-3 (above n. 3), points to how the objective of an autobiographical narrative in antiquity "was not at all what the modern

the term conversion story, and, as I have shown above, precisely this is a type for which numerous precedents existed by the time Augustine wrote the *Confessions*. Many of the autobiographical narrations in circulation in the era of Late Antiquity were in fact conversion stories both of pagan and of Christian origin, i.e. conversions either to philosophy or to religion, which was commonly deemed philosophy as well.[20] David Aune also refers to the circulation of stories of philosophical conversions, celebrating "the successes of philosophical propaganda," which were common at the time.[21]

What pertains to the argument of the present article is the fact that readers of the 20th century, not used to expecting an autobiography to have the ulterior motive of converting him or her to some or other religion or ideology, approached the *Confessions* with invalid presuppositions. The ancient reader, who lived in a milieu where conversion stories abounded, may as a matter of course have expected the autobiographical narration of a man like Augustine to be a conversion story, to have a protreptic purpose, and to be followed by more protreptic or polemic writing, by something with didactic intent. In my *Augustine's Confessions* I argue that at least one of the communicative aims of the *Confessions*, both in the autobiographical section and in the so-called exegetical books, is that of converting its reader to Catholic Christianity, i.e. a protreptic purpose.[22] I also show that protreptic usually went hand in hand with paraenetic, the aim to strengthen the resolve of the

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reader might suppose." See also for example Fredric J. Crosson, Structure and Meaning in St. Augustine's *Confessions, Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 63 (1989) 84-97.

[20] Courcelle's discussion, *Les Confessions*, 89-197 (above n. 5), of a large number of the literary antecedents of the *Confessions* is aptly given the title, "Les descriptions de conversion."

[21] Aune, Romans as a Logos Protreptikos, 102 (above n. 15)

[22] *Augustine's Confessions* (above n. 1). I am in the process of broadening the scope of this research (e.g. by studying in greater depth more antecedent examples of protreptic texts) in order to make more precise deductions about the protreptic devices used in the *Confessions*, but for the present I steer clear of calling the *Confessions* "a protreptic," which is done without such reservations by Erich Feldmann, *Confessiones*, in *Augustinus-Lexicon*, eds. C. Mayer et al. (Basel 1994) 1134-1193 and C.P. Mayer, Die *Confessiones* des Aurelius Augustinus: Eine philosophisch-theologische Werbeschrift (Protreptikos) für Christliche Spiritualität, *Theologie und Glaube* 88 (1998) 285-303. The point is that the best literary works usually defy neat categorization in terms of genre exactly because of their innovative use of generic principles, as Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson, eds., *Narrative and Genre* (London 1998) 3, puts it: "the less original a work the more likely it (is) to fit comfortably into a genre category, while the greatest creative works (defy) such easy formal categorization."

already converted in the audience to persevere on the chosen course.[23] The arguments advanced above, together with a recognition of these communicative aims should make clear just how unhelpful the unqualified use of the term autobiography for *Conf* 1-10 could be.

Next, I take a look at three of the works identified by Courcelle as possible models for the *Confessions*, the *De Trinitate* by Hilary of Poitiers, the *Ad Donatum* by Cyprian of Carthage and Justin Martyr's *Dialogus cum Tryphone*.[24] Courcelle was concerned only with how the autobiographical sections of these works provided models for the autobiographical writing in the *Confessions*. But there are other parallels more relevant to the arguments presented in this article. Each of these works constitutes the combination of autobiographical narration with another section that may be called argumentative or polemical, that used scriptural quotation and exegesis as an important element in its make-up and/or that has a protreptic-paraenetic purpose at least as one of its communicative aims. Thus, in antiquity the inclusion of an autobiographical conversion story within a bigger work was not an uncommon occurrence. The function of this conversion story was clearly in service of the function of the work as a whole. The ancient reader may have been more puzzled by an autobiography on its own than by the combination offered in the *Confessions*.

The biggest difference between the conversion story in the *Confessions* and those in Hilary of Poitiers, Cyprian of Carthage, and Justin Martyr is its length in relation to the whole. It is however, necessary to remind the reader that the conversion story in the *Confessions* does not constitute more than half of the whole, as the book numbers may lead us to suspect: books 1 to 9 take up roughly the same amount of space as the last four books. It remains, of course, both the quality and the quantity of Augustine's autobiographical writing that constitute innovative and creative adaptation of what is present in the antecedents, both in those discussed below and in many other works of the third and fourth centuries.

But let us return to the three works adduced above (with full awareness that the quick overview offered here can by no means do justice to these works as literary creations in their own right). It is clear that the similarities between the *Confessions* and these predecessors entail more than similar autobiographical techniques. In Hilary of Poitiers' *De Trinitate* the step-by-step

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[23] *Augustine's Confessions*, 56-59 (above n. 1).

[24] Courcelle, *Les Confessions*, 89-197 (above n. 5). The order in which I name and discuss these works here is devised to serve the purposes of my argument in this article.

refutation of Arian dogma is preceded by a narration of Hilary's personal way to conversion, what Doignon prefers to refer to as his "naissance à la foi" or his "acheminement à la foi."[25]

The prologue of Hilary's *De Trinitate* displays many classical features: both in the way it is constructed (according to Quintilian's prescriptions for this kind of introduction) and in its allusion to classical (i.e. non-Christian) antecedents.[26] Doignon's in depth analysis of the conscious literary structuring of the prologue and its classical echoes[27] should serve, to my mind, as yet another warning that the literary sophistication of the devices employed in Augustine's "life story" too, should not be underestimated.

Hilary's careful argumentation is alternated with personal reminiscences, descriptions of the state of his soul, which at places seem to foreshadow Augustine's introspection in the *Confessions*:

> *Festinabat autem animus, non haec tantummodo agere, quae non egisse et criminum esset plenum et dolorum, sed hunc tanti muneris Deum parentemque cognoscere, cui se totum ipse deberet, cui famulans nobilitandum se existimabat, ad quem omnem spei suae opinionem referret, in cuius bonitate inter tantas praesentium negotiorum calamitates tamquam tutissimo sibi portu familiarique requiesceret. Ad hunc igitur vel intelligendum vel cognoscendum studio flagrantissimo animus accendebatur (1.3).*[28]
>
> But my mind not only hastened to do the things which not to have done was absolutely wrong and painful, but to know this God and Father of such a great gift. For to Him it owed its whole self, it felt that by serving Him it had to reach its honour; on Him all its hopes should be fixed, in His goodness it could, amid such great troubles of this anxious life, come to rest as in a completely safe and familiar harbour. Thus it was inflamed with a most passionate desire to comprehend or to know Him.

Also the interweaving of (preliminary) reflection on the nature of God with autobiographical narration in Hilary's prologue and the intensity of feeling expressed, at times seem to contain the seed of what Augustine transformed in the *Confessions* to his unique and unforgettable story of self. Compare, for example, the following extract (*De Trin* 1.6) with *Confessions* 1:

> *Atque ita totus ipse intra extraque se continens neque infinitus abesset a cunctis neque cuncta ei qui infinitus est non inessent. His igitur religiosissimis de Deo opinionibus veri studio deten-*

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[25] Jean Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 49, 64 et passim (Paris 1971).

[26] Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 100-156, especially 100-101 (above n. 25).

[27] Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 100-156 (above n. 25).

[28] For the *De Trinitate* I use the text by P. Smulders, *Sancti Hilarii Pictauiensis Episcopi: De Trinitate: Praefatio Libri i-vii* (Turnholt 1979). The translation is that by E.P. Meijering, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity*. De Trinitate *1,1-19,2,3* (Leiden 1982).

tus animus delectabatur . . . quo abibo a spiritu tuo aut a facie tua quo fugiam? Si adscendero in caelum, tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, et ibi ades. Si sumpsero pinnas meas ante lucem, et habitavero in postremis maris, etenim illuc manus tua deducet me, et tenebit me dextera tua (Psalm 138,7). Nullus sine Deo neque ullus non in Deo locus est . . . Ita cum habet atque habetur, neque in aliquo ipse neque non in omnibus est.

> And in this way He contains in His totality everything inside and outside Himself, and neither is He in his infinity absent from anything nor is anything not inside Him who is infinite. So in these most devout thoughts about God my soul, engrossed in the pursuit of truth, took its delight . . . 'Whither shall I go from Thy Spirit? Or wither shall I flee from Thy face? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I go down into hell, Thou art there also, if I have taken my wings before dawn and made my dwelling in the uttermost parts of the sea (Thou art there). For thither Thy hand shall guide me and Thy right hand shall hold me' (Psalm 138:7-10). There is no space without God and no space which is not in God . . . So, holding and being held, He Himself is not confined to anything, and there is nothing in which He is not.

It is clear that *Confessions* 1.2.2-1.3.3 treats the infinity of God in similar terms, muses about the same contradictions and quotes the same Psalm:

et quis locus est in me quo veniat in me deus meus? . . . an quia sine te non esset quidquid est, fit ut quidquid est capiat te? Quoniam itaque et ego sum, quid peto ut venias in me, qui non essem nisi esses in me? Non enim ego iam inferi, et tamen etiam ibi es, nam etsi descendero in infernum, ades. Non ergo essem, deus meus, non omnino essem, nisi esses in me . . . An non opus habes ut quoquam continearis, qui contines omnia, quoniam quae imples continendo imples?[29]

> But what place is there in me where my God can enter into me? . . . Without you, whatever exists would not exist. Then can what exists contain you? I also have being. So why do I request you to come to me when, unless you were within me, I would have no being at all? I am not now possessed by Hades; yet even there are you (Ps. 138:8): for 'even if I were to go down to Hades, you would be present'. Accordingly, my God, I would have no being, I would not have any existence, unless you were in me . . . Or have you, who contain all things, no need to be contained by anything because what you will you fill by containing it?

But what I want to focus on here, is first, the fact that the conversion stories in both cases have the important objective of fulfilling the missionary task that was always foremost in the writers' minds. Secondly, both conversion narratives occur as part of a bigger work that has a didactic and/or

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[29] The text of the *Confessions* used here is that of James O'Donnell, *Augustine: Confessions* (Oxford 1992) and the translation is by Henry Chadwick, *Saint Augustine: Confessions* (Oxford 1991).

polemical communicative purpose (be it to refute Arian errors concerning the Trinity in the case of Hilary's *De Trinitate*, or Manichaean ones about the nature of God in the *Confessions*). The climax of the autobiographical section in Hilary's prologue is reached in Book 1.14 when he has finally progressed to faith and baptism. Note how Hilary here (in 1.14) reports his attainment of belief, and, in the same breath, the protreptic function he expects this narration to fulfill every time the story is told:

> *In hoc igitur conscio securitatis suae otio mens spebus suis laeta requieuerat, intercessionem mortis huius usque eo non metuens, ut etiam reputaret in uitam aeternitatis . . .Quin etiam id quod sibi credebat, tamen per ministerium impositi sacerdotii etiam ceteris praedicabat, munus suum ad officium publicae salutis extendens.*
>
> In this calm consciousness of its safety my soul gladly and hopefully had taken its rest, and it so little feared the intervention of death belonging to this life, that it regarded it even as leading towards eternal life . . . My soul even proclaimed—because of the duty of the episcopate which had been laid upon me—to others what it believed for itself, extending its office to work on the salvation of all men.[30]

The message to the reader is one of a sincere desire to share the benefits achieved for the self with him or her, to promote his or her salvation. This was, as Doignon also points out, an important duty of the ascetic Christian: "enseigner aux autres ce qui faisait sa croyance personelle."[31] This duty surely also weighs heavily on Augustine who himself was responsible for leading many into Manichaeism.

The easily digestible introduction to Hilary's *De Trinitate* probably served as a framework within which (and a motivation) to read the more difficult rhetorical refutation that follows. It is clear that—as Courcelle has shown[32]—much of the strategy employed in the autobiographical narration of the *Confessions* is derived from Hilary of Poitiers.[33] But, more importantly

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[30] Doignon's sensitive translation of this passage provides a useful second perspective on the nuances of Hilary's Latin: Dans cette tranquillité consciente de sa sécurité, mon esprit heureux de ses espérances s'était reposé, redoutant si peu l'obstacle de la mort qu'il la mettait même au crédit de la vie éternelle . . . Bien plus, ce qu'il croyait pour lui-même, il ne laissait pas de l'enseigner aussi aux autres, en exerçant le ministère épiscopal dont il avait la charge et qu'il prolongeait en une function propre à assurer le salut général (*Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 99 (above n. 25).

[31] Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 153-155 (above n. 25).

[32] Courcelle, *Les Confessions*, 95-96 (above n. 5).

[33] Mariette Canévet, Le schéma de conversion dans le prologue du *De Trinitate* d'Hilaire de Poitiers et le livre VII des *Confessions* d'Augustin: Problématique d'un temps, *Augustinianum* 27 (1987) 165-174 also analyses the similarities between Hilary of Poitiers'

for the present purposes, it can be shown that the *De Trinitate* provides a precedent for the combination of autobiography and polemic in a work that has at least a protreptic-paraenetic element in its overall function, even though here the non-autobiographical section of the work is so prominent that the parallels to the *Confessions* are perhaps not obvious. The important point is that Hilary's work constitutes one end of the scale, where the conversion story is so subordinate as to be almost insignificant, whereas the *Confessions* could be seen as occupying the other extreme, but of the same scale: the conversion story has become so prominent that later readers were unable to escape the (erroneous) notion that it was an end in itself.

Let us now take a quick look at the next work that offers a combination of autobiography and argumentative writing in a work that has, amongst others, a protreptic-paraenetic objective. In Cyprian's *Ad Donatum* (probably written in the first half of the third century) which was also an important influence on Hilary of Poitiers' prologue,[34] the function of the conversion story is once again clearly subordinate to the aims of the letter as a whole.[35] That Augustine knew this conversion story well is clear from direct references in his sermons as well as from what seem to be verbal echoes in the *Confessions* itself.[36] What is most relevant for the argument advanced in this paper, is the fact that Augustine uses as a precedent a work where the conversion story aims at something beyond itself, in this case the encouragement of his friend Donatus. The *Ad Donatum* differs in obvious respects from Hilary's De Trinitate: it is a short, personal and intimate work that does not

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De Trinitate and book 7 of the *Confessions*. Both authors make use of a three-step movement towards final conversion: "quête de la raison naturelle avant la lecture de l'Ancien Testament ou des livres platoniciens, cette lecture, puis la découverte de la médiation du Christ," 166. As the title of the article indicates, she ascribes the similarity to two expressions of the same "problématique d'un temps."

[34] Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil*, 143-146 (above n. 25).

[35] Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (Grand Rapids, Michigan 1951), 5, classify the *Ad Donatum* as the first of Cyprian's letters but it is often considered one of the treatises, as in the *Corpus Christianorum* edition. Here I use the *Corpus Christianorum* text, eds. C. Moreschini, and M. Simonetti, *Ad Donatum; De mortalitate; Ad Demetrianum; De opere et eleemosynis; De zelo et livore* (Turnholt 1976) and the translation is that of Roy J. Deferrari, *Saint Cyprian: Treatises* (New York 1958). See also J.J. O'Meara, Augustine's *Confessions*: Elements of Fiction, in *Augustine: From Rhetor to Theologian*, ed. Joanne McWilliam (Waterloo, Ontario 1992) 77-95, t 81, on the "number of surprising reminiscences in the *Confessions*" of the *Ad Donatum*.

[36] See references in Courcelle, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin*, 120 and 124 (above n. 5).

treat important doctrinal issues and has no polemical or apologetical intention. The work starts by constituting an imaginary setting for Cyprian's communication with Donatus, a setting, which by its thoroughly traditional character, sets the work securely within the cadre of conventional "scènes de conversions."[37]

If we accept that the verbal echoes of the *Ad Donatum* in especially book 8 of the *Confessions* (where the same conventional setting in time and place, the *feriae vindemiales* and the garden, is created for the conversion scene) are meant to be recognized as such by the reader, this means that Augustine deliberately places his narrative as one that may display more similarities to the *Ad Donatum* and other conventional conversion stories.

The two opening chapters of the *Ad Donatum* are followed by the narrative of Cyprian's conversion in chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 5 is a continuation of a direct appeal to Donatus which starts already in the last part of chapter 4, an appeal which is clearly paraenetic in character, i.e. designed to encourage him to persevere and to strive constantly to improve himself:

> *Ceterum si tu innocentiae, si iustitiae viam teneas inlapsa firmitate vestigii tui, si in Deum viribus totis ac toto corde suspensus hoc sis tantum quod esse coepisti, tantum tibi ad licentiam datur, quantum gratiae spiritalis augetur.*
>
> But if you hold to the way of innocence, to the way of justice, with the firmness of your step unbroken, if depending upon God with all your strength and your whole heart you only be what you began to be, so much power is given you in the way of freedom to act as there is an increase in spiritual grace.

The body of the letter consists of an enumeration of a series of vices or evils, which could be summed up by the term worldly concerns (the treatment is once again very conventional, reminiscent of Juvenal in places): crime and war, gladiatorial shows, the theatre, sexual sins committed in secret, sins connected to the Roman forum; the drawbacks and dangers of obtaining political power, the torments associated with riches and high living (in chapters 6 to 13 successively). Chapters 14 to 16 have once again a didactic tone and express direct encouragement in the advice to disassociate from the evils described above:

> *Una igitur placida et fida tranquillitas, una solida et firma securitas, si qui ab his inquietantis saeculi turbinibus extractus salutaris portus statione fundetur . . . Tu tantum, quem iam spiritalibus castris caelestis militia signavit, tene incorruptam, tene sobriam religiosis virtutibus disciplinam.*

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[37] Courcelle, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin*, 121 (above n. 5).

> Therefore, there is one peaceful and trustworthy tranquility, one solid and firm security, if one withdraws from the whirlpools of a disturbing world and takes anchor in the harbor of the port of salvation . . . Do you, whom already the heavenly warfare has designated for the spiritual camp, only keep uncorrupted and chastened in religious virtues.

The conventional nature of the middle section of the Ad Donatum makes it to my mind less personal and makes it conceivable that the paraenetic message is intended for a wider audience, as the last words of the letter also seem to indicate:

> *Magis carissimos pascis, si sit nobis spiritalis auditio, prolectet aures religiosa mulcedo.*
>
> You sustain your dearest friends the more, if we listen to something spiritual, if the sweetness of religion delights our ears.

The *Ad Donatum* thus offers a precedent for the concern for friends, the personal burden of making sure that they are not lost in error but find the true way, which I also detect in the *Confessions*. We have, like in the case of the *Confessions*, a work where the autobiographical narrative serves the bigger goal of a work that has a paraenetic objective as one of its communicative purposes.

I end with a quick reference to the earliest of the three examples adduced here, Justin Martyr's *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, which dates from the middle of the second century AD. Here the autobiographical narrative takes up only capita 2 to 8 of the 142 that constitute the dialogue. The work as a whole could be described as the polemical discussion in dialogue form of the relative merits of the Jewish and the Christian positions. The strong emphasis on exegesis and biblical proof for arguments, as well as the special place afforded to the Book of Psalms, find parallels in Augustine's masterpiece and show features of the protreptic genre. Allert's concession that "the Dialogue was written for a Jewish audience in the context of missionary activity between Jews and Christians" as well the fact that the intended audience probably included Christians as well as Jews[38] illustrate that the *Dialogus cum Tryphone* is in many respects a typical protreptic-paraenetic text, targeting the not-yet-converted and the converted alike. The work ends with a direct exhortation to Trypho and his associates to be converted to Christianity.

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[38] Craig D. Allert, *Revelation, Truth, Canon and Interpretation: Studies in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho* (Leiden 2002) 37-61. See also David Rokéah, *Justin Martyr and the Jews* (Leiden 2002) 1-19.

Though Trypho's conversion is not reported as the result of the exhortation, the reader is left with no doubt that this is one of the aims of the dialogue:

> ὑμᾶς προτρέπομαι, ἐνστησαμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας μέγιστον τοῦτον ἀγῶνα, τῶν διδασκάλων ὑμῶν σπουδάσαι προτιμῆσαι μᾶλλον τὸν τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ Χριστόν (c.142).
>
> I exhort you to give all diligence in this very great struggle for your own salvation, and to be earnest in setting a higher value on the Christ of the Almighty God than on your own teachers.[39]

What is important for our perspective on the milieu where the *Confessions* originated, is the setting of missionary activity that provides the background for this text, in the words of Misch: "after his conversion he settled in Rome as a sort of missionary . . . and gave lectures on the truth of Christianity, trying to win over men of the educated classes."[40] The parallel with Augustine's situation is of course the position of the author in a public audience whose salvation he perceived to be his personal responsibility.

In the *Dialogus cum Tryphone* we have another instance of persuasion resting on two legs: personal confession, i.e. the use of the own vita as an exemplum, on the one hand, and philosophical argument supported by exegesis on the other. Thus, we have again an autobiographical narration created to serve the goals of the bigger work in which it is included.

I chose the three examples discussed above because they are well-known, already identified by Courcelle as possible antecedents for the *Confessions*, and clearly illustrate the main point of the argument presented here: the last four books of the *Confessions* in all probability did not present a puzzle at all to the original readers of the work. But these three cases represent a small selection from a world that teemed with literary productions that display characteristics we find also in the *Confessions*. The more I learn about the literature of Late Antiquity the more I find seeds of what has come to fruition in the *Confessions* scattered in antecedent literature. This is a clear indication to me, not that Augustine sat down one day and consciously planned a brilliant combination of elements from a wide range of antecedent material, but that our understanding of the *Confessions* is enhanced by every step we take to a better understanding of its literary milieu.

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[39] For the *Dialogus cum Tryphone* I use the text by Miroslav Marcovich, *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone* (Berlin 1997) and the translation by Thomas B. Falls, *St. Justin Martyr: Dialogue with Trypho*, (Washington 2003).

[40] Georg Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*,[2] (Westport, Connecticut 1973) 490.

For now, it has become clear that, if we were to approach the *Confessions* from a background where works like the three discussed above formed the norm, it is easier not to see the conversion story as a goal in itself but as a device aiming at something beyond itself: in the *Confessions*, the last four books. In the *Confessions* also, the protreptic-paraenetic communicative aim is served by two strategies: personal confession (the own conversion story) in the first half of the work and philosophical argument, strongly dependent on exegesis, in the second.[41] It must be conceded that, however innovative the generic strategies in the *Confessions* are deemed to be, it is not in the combination of autobiographical and exegetical writing that this innovation lies.

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[41] See my analyses of books 11 to 13 as a protreptic-paraenetic text in my *Augustine's Confessions* (above n. 1) 169-170 and 181-196.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE PATRISTIC ERA, A 'HANDBOOK OF PATRISTIC EXEGESIS' AND SOME OTHER RECENT BOOKS AND RELATED PROJECTS

BY

JOHANNES VAN OORT

ABSTRACT: *During the past ten years several books in the field of patristic exegesis have been published and some major projects have started. The aim of this article is to provide an introduction to this noticeably new trend of research and to evaluate some results.*

I. *'Handbook of Patristic Exegesis'*

After more than a decade of preparation by the editor Charles Kannengiesser, and after several years of eagerly waiting for the results by many students of patristics, Brill published, towards the end of 2004, two impressive tomes entitled *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*.[1] Together these two volumes comprise more than 1500 pages. Both books, magnificently designed and beautifully printed and case-bound, constitute the official start of the new series: *The Bible in Ancient Christianity* under the general editorship of D. Jeffrey Bingham. Other volumes in this series, namely James D. Ernest, *The Bible in Athanasius of Alexandria*; Elizabeth Ann Dively Lauro, *The Soul and Spirit of Scripture within Origen's Exegesis*; Angela Russell Christman, *'What Did Ezekiel See?' Christian Exegesis of Ezekiel's Vision of the Chariot from Irenaeus to Gregory the Great*; and Robert C. Hill, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch*, have been published and more volumes are announced to appear soon.

A series such as this one seems to be a telling sign of new scholarly interest in patristic exegesis. Whether or not the series will be on a high scholarly level remains to be seen, but the reputation of both the general editor,[2] as

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[1] *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis. The Bible in Ancient Christianity* by Charles Kannengiesser. With Special Contributions by Various Scholars (The Bible in Ancient Christianity, Volume I), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2004, Volume I: XXXIV + 669 pp., Volume II: XIV + 826 pp., ISBN 90-04-09815-1, € 295 / US$ 339 (hardback).

[2] Bingham authored, among others, *Irenaeus's Use of the Gospel of Matthew in Adversus Haereses* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 7), Leuven 1998.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 80-103

well as the names of the members of the editorial board (Brian Daley, Robin Jensen, Christoph Markschies, Maureen Tilley, Robert Wilken, and Frances Young) are very promising, as is the remarkable range of quality volumes that have been published within a one year's period. In regards to the first double volume, the *Handbook*, however, my feelings are regrettably mixed.

1. *Main positive points*

Let me start with an enumeration of the main positive points. By completing such a *Handbook*, Charles Kannengiesser without doubt has turned his hand to a gigantic task. Everybody faced with such a charge would shrink away and, most certainly in a case like this, kindly 'count others better than himself'. However, looking throughout the worldwide community of patristic scholars for somebody to set about such a singular task, many specialists would make mention of Kannengiesser's unique expertise. He has been already the successful general editor of the project *Bible de tous les temps*, and he has also published a considerable number of specialist studies in the field. Moreover, with his German name (and, naturally more important, his familiarity with German language and academic studies), his French education and scholarly career, and his later professorships in the USA and Canada, he may easily present the ideal profile to do such a border-crossing job. And, not least, he is one of the few scholars who in the past decades has demonstrated an intimate knowledge of both Eastern and Western Fathers of the Church.

In the *Handbook* one finds several instances that illustrate the results of such a long and relevant preparation. In his expert way Kannengiesser begins with an overview of the last fifty years of international research in the field of patristic exegesis. On the *Handbook*'s first page he makes it plausible why he has opted for its present title: 'For many readers, rather than *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, a more accessible title might be *Handbook of Ancient Christian Exegesis*, since the phrase "ancient Christian" has a broader currency than "patristic". On the other hand, if "patristic" has been preferred, it is because the precise focus of the Handbook is on the *academic* achievements in the field, that is, on the work of modern "patristic" scholars about ancient exegesis, rather than about ancient exegesis for its own sake. Hence its goal is not to add another study to the many publications already registered within its pages, but through analyzing relevant scholarly contributions, to attempt a coherent understanding of scholarly achievements within the whole field of patristic exegesis for almost a century. Thus an important goal is to provide a broader readership with an easy access to

what has become highly specialized research and, on occasion, even to inform the specialists themselves of what is going on in the discipline' (p. 3). One would readily agree with such a stance and its argument. As well as being masterly devised and appropriately testifying to Kannengiesser's original upbringing in the French school of, amongst others, Henri de Lubac and Jean Daniélou (once Kannengiesser became the latter's successor at the Institut Catholique in Paris), one will also appreciate the sections on 'spiritual exegesis', 'allegory', 'typology', 'numerology', 'allegorism', 'tropology', 'anagogy', etc. And one really would not like to miss an—as might be expected—excellent (though brief) paragraph on Athanasius (708-720), or a section like the one on 'Cappadocian Exegesis' (740-766).

2. *Shortcomings*

However, in mentioning key concepts of the patristic exegetical *métier* such as 'spiritual exegesis', 'allegory', 'typology', 'numerology', 'allegorism', 'tropology' and 'anagogy', one already touches upon a weak and, in the end, even tiresome aspect of the *Handbook*. Only by reading or browsing through the huge amount of pages can one find these and other essential topics. It is a real surprise, not to say an amazing fact, that a handbook of this genre does *not* contain an Index of Subjects, or any other table like e.g. an Index of Biblical Texts. A very brief and thus quite general table of 'Contents' [p. VIII, recurring in Vol. II], an 'Alphabetical List of Principal Authors & Anonymous Works Discussed' (pp. XI-XIV; *idem*) and, at the book's very end, an 'Index of Names for the Introduction and Part A' (1496; less than half the page, and obviously very defective) is all that is offered to assist one's way through this real forest of information. No surprise that several students (also advanced ones!) more or less desperately wondered where they may find the material they are looking for. The reader who consults the 'Contents' only learns that in Part A, entitled 'General Considerations', the book deals with: I. Patristic Exegesis: Fifty Years of International Research (23); II. Judaism and Rhetorical Culture: Two Foundational Contexts for Patristic Exegesis (115); III. Patristic Hermeneutics (165); and IV. Patristic Exegesis of the Books of the Bible (271). However, Chapter III, i.e. the pp. 165-269 on 'Patristic Hermeneutics', discusses under its first heading 'The Literal Meaning of Scripture' a wide range of topics such as i. 'The sacred text in focus', ii. 'Philo of Alexandria and the biblical "letter"'; iii. 'Christian interpreters of the "letter"'; iv. '*Hermeneia*: The task of interpreting the "letter" in early Christianity'; and

under its second heading 'Spiritual Exegesis' the same Chapter treats such topics as 'allegory', 'typology', and the related ones just mentioned. All this is very user unfriendly, and in the end even disappointing and frustrating.

One might say that such an inconvenience only applies to Part A (i.e. the 'General Considerations') and that Part B, the 'Historical Survey' in which the authors, writings, schools etc. are being discussed in their chronological order, is properly disclosed by the 'Alphabetical List of Principal Authors & Anonymous Works Discussed'. Indeed this is the case for the main authors and for anonymous writings such as *Acts of the Martyrs, Barnabas, Didache*, etc. But what about a student who is looking for a quick introduction to 'Antiochene' or 'Alexandrian' exegesis, or 'Latin Christian Poetry', to mention only a few desirable entries? In point of fact, the *Handbook* supposes a more or less expert knowledge of patristic matters. Even for specialists it will often remain (too) difficult, and needlessly time-consuming, to find the information that they are looking for.

Another rather confusing aspect of this *Handbook* is the phenomenon of the 'Special contributions'. Reading at random through the volumes, not only undergraduate students, but also many others will often not immediately be aware who is addressing them: the author under whose name the *Handbook* is published, or one of the eighteen other scholars who are listed in the catalogue of 'Special Contributions' on p. VII. However, these scholars have collectively made an invaluable contribution to the whole *Handbook* and frequently (but *vide infra*) their studies, by and large excellently documented with references in footnotes and supplemented by accurate bibliographies, belong to its best parts. In this context one may single out the learned essays written by Christoph Schäublin ('The Contribution of Rhetorics to Christian Hermeneutics', 149-163); Thomas Böhm ('Allegory and History', 213-227, and also 'The Exegesis of Arius', 687-704);[3] Norbert Brox ('Irenaeus and the Bible', 483-506); Hermann Joseph Vogt ('Origen of Alexandria', 536-556);[4] Jean-Noël Guinot ('Theodoret of Cyrus', 885-918);[5] and—last but not least—by Sidney H. Griffith on 'Ephraem the Exegete:

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[3] Or 705? It remains unclear whether or not the 'Complementary Bibliography on Arian Exegesis' (704-705) is compiled by Böhm, but in view of its inadequacies it may be inferred that he is *not* its author.

[4] Here, too, one may guess that the (defective) 'Supplemental Bibliography Origen' (556-574) has been added later.

[5] With later additions to the list of 'General Studies' (914-918)?

Biblical Commentary in the Works of Ephraem the Syrian' (1395-1421).[6] The reading of these specialist essays will certainly enrich every student interested in a specific subject or person. However, due to the fact that, as a rule, these essays have been included in a wider context, cross-references made by the original authors are often misleading.

Soon the reader will find out that, unfortunately, the whole *Handbook* is full of such unnecessary mistakes and, moreover, of many astonishing inaccuracies. These defects abound in Volume II in particular, but also Volume I has more flaws than one might expect when consulting a *handbook*. I will spare the reader any attempt to enumerate the several thousands (sic!) of errors, rather I shall only give some brief and, alas, typical indications. On p. 31 Kannengiesser speaks of 'philological celebrities' like Diels (in stead of Diehl), Loof (in stead of Loofs), and on the same page he mistakenly asserts that the CSEL-series was originally called *Corpus Vindobonense* and after 1945 changed its title into *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The following pages *inter alia* contain mistakes like Willmart (for Wilmart) or 'dizième' (for 'dixième'), but also bring to light oddities such as the contention that Papias is 'the author of the *Diatessaron*' (51). Perhaps even more embarrassingly, and more importantly, is the fact that these introductory pages on *Instrumenta studiorum* such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, patrologies, journals, series, bibliographies etc. unmistakably reveal that they are in large part outdated: after 1987, so it appears, the CCSL did not publish any edition that was worth mentioning; the CCSG seems already to have come to an end in the year 1986; a little better business is going with the Series Apocryphorum of CC, but it conveys the impression of having stopped in 1995 (or, with Halewyck's *Clavis*, in 1998); besides, the same dated information is given in regard to other series: PO until 1986; SC till 1998; FC 1999; etc. Perhaps it might be charming (but it is, of course, incorrect) to find the *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* catalogued (last volume 1997) under the linguistic area 'Dutch' as one of the sources to study patristic exegesis, but the subsequent information provided under this rubric evidently demonstrates that the author was not aware of such real and indisputably Dutch series of patristic translations as *Oud-christelijke geschriften in Nederlandse vertaling* (edited by H.U. Meyboom, 1907-1931); *Monumenta christiana: Bibliotheek van Christelijke Klassieken* (Utrecht-Brussel 1948-1951); *Klassieken der Kerk* (1947-1953), or

[6] With, once again, a great number of flaws in the—apparently added—list of 'Studies' (1421-1428).

modern series like *Christelijke Bronnen* and *Kerkvaderteksten met commentaar*. The simple consultation of patrologies like those of Altaner-Stuiber or Quasten would have provided such data. As regards basic reference books like dictionaries, encyclopedia's and patrologies (45-46), the reader remains uninformed of the existence of the *English* translation of the fourth volume added to Quasten's famous three-part work: *Patrology. Edited by Angelo Di Berardino, with an Introduction by Johannes Quasten*, Volume IV: *The Golden Ages of Latin Patristic Literature. From the Council of Nicea to the Council of Chalcedon*, Westminster, Maryland 1986 (1998[4]). Moreover, in the enumeration of 'Sources of Patristic Exegesis' and '*Instrumenta Studiorum*', one misses a specialized journal like the *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, and series such as *Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum/ Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity* and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese*.[7] Moreover, a very helpful and model dictionary such as the *Lexikon der Antiken Christlichen Literatur* edited by S. Döpp and W. Geerlings, the first edition of which appeared in 1998, has been merely mentioned without any indication of its scope or value to the student (55). One may suppose that, only near the end of the project, it was at Kannengiesser's disposal.[8]

It is difficult to say, but this *Handbook* abounds with inaccuracies, mistakes, and omissions. A few may be indicated, faults that have been more or less chanced upon whilst reading, rather than being the result of systematic exploration. Early in the book it is stated that 'in Part Two chapter 15, a complementary list of such publications [i.e., primary sources] in the CSCO notes non-Greek and non-Latin sources' (25), but there is neither a Chapter

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[7] But see p. 915: R.A. Greer, *The Captain of our Salvation. A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews* (BGBE 15), Tübingen 1973, in the bibliography to Guinot's contribution on Theodoret of Cyrus. Another volume, namely B. Stoll, *De virtute in virtutem. Zur Auslegungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte der Bergpredigt...*, Tübingen 1988 (BGBE 30), is mentioned by Kannengiesser on p. 110 in the circumstantial 'General Bibliography' of the (patristic) reception of Biblical exegesis, but this is a mistake: Stoll deals with the Sermon on the Mount's reception history from the time of the Merovingians until 1200.—Apart from the *BGBE*, its parallel series *Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik* could have been specified as well: it includes a number of special studies directly falling within the *Handbook*'s scope.

[8] Though later on in the book, and evidently in some late additions made at random, it is suddenly brought up as *LACL* (an abbreviation not listed in the book's official 'Abbreviations') in the context of some incomplete and rather puzzling references: 'Röwekamp, G.: *LACL* 2nd ed., 1999, 38-41' (p. 397); 'Röwekamp, G.: *LACL* 2nd ed., 1999, 38-41, with up-dated bibliography; in particular, one may note in it' (p. 403).

15 (better: XV) in Part Two nor such a specific list:[9] all one finds is that in Ch. XII only Syriac CSCO-editions and -studies are mentioned, and the same goes for the (very fragmentary and, in actual fact, very unsatisfactory) Ch. XIV on 'Patristic Exegesis in Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, and Ethiopian Christian Literature'. The information given on the series *Studia Patristica* (pp. 62-63) focusses on a few early volumes and thus the non-expert reader easily gains the impression that after the volumes XV and XVI of the years 1984 and 1985 respectively there did not appear any relevant material in this series. On p. 117 the birth of the Septuagint is briefly discussed; then one finds the both enigmatic and—for anybody only slightly conversant in the origins of the Christian Church and its varied Gospel tradition—surprisingly bold remark: 'No wonder therefore if the earliest Gospel communities knew no other texts of the Bible but the LXX (. . .)'. P. 145 rather short-sightedly communicates that 'the culture of the time [i.e. the first century CE] required a written communication of sacred mysteries', but this does not apply to the many influential mystery cults like those of Isis and Cybele, nor to the then upcoming cult of Mithras. On p. 424 one finds a (completely unscientific) book on the so-called '*Gospel* of Barnabas' listed in a catalogue of studies of the 2nd c. letter of 'Pseudo-Barnabas'.[10] On pp. 426-428 the *Physiologos* is described under the heading 'Apostolic Fathers'. P. 449 reveals some hitherto unknown titles of Nag Hammadi writings like 'the *Apocrypton of James*', 'the *Provider of Perfect Daniel*' and '*The Interpolation of Knowledge*', and on the next page it is contended that Marcion's donation of 200,000 sesterces is 'approximately $ 10.000'.[11] And so on.

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[9] Cf. the similar and even more detailed (and, accordingly, more deceiving) promise on p. 31: 'Patristic exegesis being a central concern in the Louvain Corpus [sc. CSCO], the relevant fascicles will be listed below, in Part B, Chapters 15 and 16, in the chronological order of their publication and classified according to their original languages'. A parallel phenomenon occurs on e.g. p. 380: Section III (read IV) on 'Early Christian Poetry'; IV (read V) on 'Acts of (the) Martyrs'; VI (= VII) on 'Montanism'; VII (VIII) on the Gnostics; etc., and in the end three times the reference is to 'Section VII', although in these instances the Sections VIII, IX, and X respectively are meant.

[10] Similar awkward confusions have crept in, amongst others, on p. 577 (Ps.-Dionysius Areopagites for Dionysius of Alexandria) and on p. 872 (Isidore of Sevilla for Isidore of Pelusium).

[11] As a matter of fact, the amounts remain conjectural as well, but rather one may speak of 1.500.000-2.000.000 US$ or, put it differently, of the equivalent of a ship weighing approximately 400 tons, or the price of some 80 slaves. Cf. e.g. R.P. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1982^2.

Throughout the two volumes one finds double listing of studies (e.g. the titles of originally unpublished dissertations *and* their subsequent official edition);[12] misspelt names and incorrect titles (e.g. my own and rather easy family name already occurs in five variants at least, not to speak of more sophisticated names like C. Schäublin[13] or G. Sfameni Gasparro)[14] the all too typical fact that the title of well-known FS for U. Bianchi evolves from its correct rendering Ἀγαθὴ ἐλπίς on p. 89 to Ἀγάπη ἢ ἐλπίς on p. 1260); and far too many typographical errors than might be expected. It is not clear why, in many cases, directly after a bibliography pertaining to the treatment of a certain person or subject another 'supplementary bibliography' has been added which, moreover, often lists the same titles.[15] It is also not apparent why, more often than not, all the *Handbook* says about a certain figure and his exegesis is a mere summary of material better arranged in so many encyclopedias or patrologies.[16] Nor is it apparent why the *Handbook* does not even say anything about a certain person. To cite an example. All one finds on p. 1436 is: 'X. Symeon of Mesopotamia', together

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[12] On p. 574 even twice in succession the same (unpublished) dissertation of R. Wetzel is being mentioned, the first time as 'Diss., Trier 1972/3', the second time as 'Diss., Tübingen 1978'.

[13] For example p. 148: 'C. Von Schäublin', followed by the rather enigmatic, erroneous and incomplete record: '"V. Grammaire et Rhétorique". In *Nouvelle histoire de la littérature latine*, edited by R. Herzog, V. Schmidt, and P. Librecht. Brépols, 1993'. Cf. e.g. 1211: Schaublin.

[14] E.g. on p. 1313 both as Sfameni Gasparro, G. and as Gasparro, G.S.

[15] Besides, on account of the several *German* titles (even if it should be Spanish or French ones; see e.g. p. 1194 s.v. Garcia) and also in view of a curious addition like 'Zusammenfassung' (e.g. p. 267 s.v. Scopello; p. 1148 s.v. Romero), one gains the impression that, at a certain stage in the *Handbook*'s compilation, titles have been rather indiscriminately taken from a *German* database. But as a rule, so it is stated on p. 81, 'it is essentially on the basis of the *Elenchus* [sc. of *Biblica*] that the bibliography for the present Handbook has been worked out, completed and cross-checked with other bibliographic tools such as the bibliographies of *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* and of *Année Philologique*, or the *Bibliographia Patristica*, and other resources of that sort'.

[16] But e.g. on p. 1431 it is even far less: all that is said of Isaac of Antioch is: 'Isaac of Antioch (5th c.). Under the name of "Isaac of Antioch" the writings of several authors, dating from 404 until after 477, reached posterity. Some of these authors call on Chalcedon against Nestorius and Eutyches, others witness to their Monophysite persuasion'. Why has the rest of the blank page not been filled by any reference to the several existing text editions, translations, and studies (by S. Brock, among others)? And why has nothing been said about the importance of this Isaac's sermons in the context of 'Patristic Exegesis'? Cf. e.g. P. Bruns in *LACL* s.v., or Altaner-Stuiber, *Patrologie*, 1978[8], 348 (and 622).

with a reference to two scholarly articles. However, there is no mention here nor elsewhere in the volumes that this same Symeon is famous under the name of Macarius, and that a great quantity of studies has been published on, among other things, the very influential 'Fifty Spiritual Homilies' ascribed to him. One may compare to this the very brief mention of Theonas of Alexandria (late third c.), i.e. only *one* sentence on the otherwise blank p. 582: 'Little is recorded of Theonas, who succeeded Theognostos as bishop of Alexandria in the final decades of the third century (281-300)'. But why, then, is there this reference, and why is it in this manner? Is it really because there are only ten persons (and amongst these, Ammonios of Alexandria and Theognostos are granted a *one* sentence treatment as well) that deserve to be mentioned under the heading 'Third-Century Greek Christian Literature' (521-587)? One may assume that, in particular near the end of the *Handbook*, and in certain sections for which both special knowledge and interest was lacking, there was no longer the demanded inspiration. A brief consultation of, among other things, a standard work like Tarchnišvili & Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*[17] could easily have resulted in much more than the meagre 1.5 p. on 'Georgian' patristic exegesis (1455-1456).

3. *The development of patristic exegesis and its setting*

Yet, apart from these shortcomings, which do not meet the expectations one legitimately may have in regard to a *handbook*, there are other drawbacks as well. In my view there is absolutely insufficient treatment of pivotal documents to illustrate the course of early Christian Bible exegesis like Pseudo-Barnabas (p. 423, less than nine lines) and the *Didache* (eight lines on p. 413, all of a sudden concluding with the remark: 'Literary contacts with scripture are anyone's guess'!), not to speak of the person of Justin Martyr (less than a page, followed by a fairly long list of studies).

This insufficiency also applies to the nearly complete neglect of the role of Gnosticism and related currents in the development of ancient Christian exegesis. Although Kannengiesser rightly remarks that 'For the reception and interpretation of the Bible in the burgeoning churches of the second and third centuries, the Gnostic crisis played a decisive role' (448) and, moreover, that 'Christian exegesis began as a scientific discipline in some

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[17] M. Tarchnišvili, in Verbindung mit J. Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur, auf Grund des ersten Bandes der georgischen Literaturgeschichte von K. Kekelidze*, Città del Vaticano 1955. Cf. e.g. D. Rayfield, *The Literature of Georgia. A History*, Oxford 1995.

Gnostic circles of Alexandria with the *Commentary on John* by Heracleon, a disciple of Valentinus' (*ibidem*), he fails to do justice to this observation. He himself quickly brings this insight to the conclusion that 'a thorough study of the Gnostic use of Scripture still represents a task for the future' (*ibid.*), after which the floor is given to an essay on 'The Valentinian Exegesis' by Anne Pasquier (454-470).[18] But such a special contribution, while useful in its own right, does not affect the general concept of the *Handbook*, nor its outlook. On the contrary, one more than once cannot avoid the impression that, according to the description of Kannengiesser, the development of the 'patristic exegesis' would have been the same whether or not there was a Gnostic 'crisis'. In actual fact, the foundational contexts for this exegesis are pointed out to be the LXX, rabbinic literature, Graeco-Roman rhetoric.[19] Consequently the contribution of Pasquier, like the fine essay by Norbert Brox on Irenaeus, remains a *corpus alienum*. The real purport of their arguments (e.g. Pasquier, 459: 'The history of the interpretation of Paul's letters during the second century [. . .], is essentially the history of Gnostic exegesis'; Brox, 484: '. . . many gnostics claimed this same Bible for their own [. . .]. The battle for the truth led to a battle about the Bible') seems to vanish into thin air. Apart from such a neglect of the impact of Gnostic currents, more or less the same may be said of typical Jewish-Christian currents to which already the late Cardinal Jean Daniélou paid pioneering attention.[20] From the present *Handbook*'s design one gains the impression too often that there was a permanent and rather clear antithesis between 'orthodox' and 'unorthodox': studies like Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*,[21] and so many others in its wake, are not given their due.

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[18] Here again one has to ask whether the Bibliography emanates from the original author (who wrote in French?) or from the editor. In any case, it is hardly believable that Pasquier would confine herself to mentioning only the first edition of J.M. Robinson's *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (1977), to Scholer's first *Nag Hammadi Bibliography* (Leiden 1971) without recording the so much more expanded second one (*Nag Hammadi Bibliography, 1970-1994*, Leiden 1997), and to omitting a pivotal study like Chr. Markschies' *Valentinus Gnosticus?* (Tübingen 1992).

[19] Thus the title of Ch. Two: 'Judaism and Rhetorical Culture: Two Foundational Contexts for Patristic Exegesis' (115-163).

[20] E.g. *Sacramentum futuri. Études sur les origines de la typologie biblique*, Paris 1950; *Bible et liturgie*, Paris 1951; *Les saints païens de l'Ancien Testament*, Paris 1956; *Théologie du judéo-christianisme* 1958 (English edition: *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, London-Philadelphia 1964); *Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne*, Paris 1966.

[21] Zweite, durchgesehene Auflage, mit einem Nachtrag herausgegeben von Georg

It goes without saying that such a rather old-fashioned perception of the development of early Christianity affects the description of its exegesis. One can easily demonstrate this by quite a different account of the so crucial Second Century (377-519),[22] or by a completely different rendering of what Manichaeism really was and how it exerted its influence on so many a Catholic Christian exegete. Perhaps the chapter on 'Mani (216-276) and Manichaeism' (647-669), 'a special contribution by Albert Viciano', is the *Handbook*'s nadir: it is not only extremely full of all sorts of minor errors but, in point of fact, it is nothing more than a poor rendering of the once groundbreaking, but also much disputed and now superseded, study by Michel Tardieu, 'Principes de l'exégèse manichéenne du Nouveau Testament', in: Tardieu (éd.), *Les règles de l'interprétation*, Paris 1987, 123-146. To this particular contribution no less than three bibliographies have been added: the first that probably emanated from the author of this section (666-667); a second, 'Additional titles on manichaean exegesis of scripture' (667-668); and finally a 'Supplementary Bibliography Manichaeism' (668-669). But all are defective, incomplete, and outdated.

4. *Augustine*

Perhaps the major and minor objections I have against both certain aspects of the theoretical design and many a detail of this *Handbook* can be best illustrated by a brief analysis of the section on Augustine (1149-1233). In any case, this important person is a central figure in the history of biblical exegesis in the West and, furthermore, a church father who more than once attracted Kannengiesser's special interest.[23] Besides, it is Augustine's exegetical oeuvre that seems to be an excellent illustration of what (with a minor adaptation of Goethe's famous *dictum*) may be termed a clearcut main line in the development of the Early Church and accordingly in the history of its exegesis:

Strecker, Tübingen 1964; Engl. translation: *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, Philadelphia 1971.

[22] This period, including its varieties of Christian exegesis in reciprocal action between e.g. 'Gnostics' and other Christians, is now excellently dealt with in A. Marjanen & P. Luomanen (eds.), *A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics'* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 76), Leiden-Boston 2005.

[23] See for example C. Kannengiesser, 'Enarratio in Ps CXVIII: Science de la révélation et progrès spirituel', *RA* 2 (1962) 359-381, apart from his several more recent studies on Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*.

Zwei Gegner sind es die sich boxen
die Gnostiker und die Orthodoxen.

As regards any awareness of the special position of Augustine, namely as a former Manichaean who devoted no less than one third of his approximately one hundred writings to the refutation of his former coreligionists, one may be brief: in Kannengiesser's description there is no such an awareness. Although, as a matter of course, it is stated that several of Augustine's works are directed against the Manichaeans, this obvious fact does not have any real bearing on the depiction of Augustine, the exegete. It thus escapes Kannengiesser's notice that, among many other things, it is almost exclusively biblical texts already brought up *by the Manichaeans* which are mentioned by Augustine during his 'hermeneutical apprenticeship' (1150-1154): Mt 7:7 in *Contra Academicos* (or, preferably, *De Academicis*) II,3,9; John 14:6 in *De beata uita* IV,34; John 18:36 in *De ordine* I,11,32; etc. Such a remarkable fact should have attracted attention, and the same goes for the *Confessiones*. It is stated, rather surprisingly, that 'one must wait until near the end of Book VIII (. . .) for encountering (. . .) the first explicit biblical quotation: *vade, vende omnia quae habes, da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et veni, sequere me*'. Any reader of Augustine will know that, from its very beginning, biblical quotations permeate this masterpiece of literature; and, accordingly, in all scientific editions over the past centuries its first sentences '*Magnus es, domine, et laudabalis ualde; magna uirtus tua et sapientiae tuae non est numerus*' have been specified as being explicit quotations of biblical texts. Moreover, in recent research it has been indicated that also in these very first sentences one comes across Augustine's explicit anti-Manichaean stance.[24] Another major objection one may raise to Kannengiesser's account of Augustine, the exegete is his separate paragraph on *De Trinitate* (1162-1165), which, in point of fact, has little if anything to do with exegetical matters. Much more stress, however, should have been laid on Augustine's typical 'christological' exegesis of the Psalms: not only it is highly characteristic of the exegesis of Hippo's bishop, but it also had a unique bearing on nearly all biblical exegetes in the ages to come.

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[24] See e.g. J. van Oort, 'Manichaeism and Anti-Manichaeism in Augustine's *Confessiones*', in L. Cirillo & A. van Tongerloo (eds.), *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi 'Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico', Arcavacata di Rende—Amantea, 31 agosto-5 settembre 1993*, Turnhout-Leuven 1997, 235-248; *idem*, 'Sanctus Aurelius Augustinus Confessionum libri XIII, Liber I,1', in: J. Leemans & L. Jocqué (eds.), *Corpus Christianorum 1953-2003: Xenivm Natalicivm. Fifty Years of Scholarly Editing*, Turnholtii 2003, 243-248.

A brief enumeration may suffice in regard to the 'minor' objections in the section on Augustine, together with an overview of its main flaws. These may serve to give an impression of the mode of operation in the bulk of the book as well:

> The listing of the section's subsequent paragraphs on p. 1149 does not parallel the actual titles of these paragraphs; 1150: read 'invenietis' or 'invenitis' instead of 'invenieti'; 1152: read *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et* de *moribus Manichaeorum*; moreover, these books were not 'written in Rome 388', nor is it correct to state that, in these books, Augustine 'refers to many OT passages also *used by them*', i.e. the Manichaeans (*ibid.*); in the sentence 'Tyconius, the first Latin theoretician of biblical hermeneutics wrote his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* at the time when he focused on his *Liber Regularum*' (1154) the idea of any contemporaneity of the two works is purely speculative (and the title *Liber Regularum* does not meet Kannengiesser's thesis emphatically stated on p. 1139 ff. that it should read *Liber regularis*);[25] the same goes for 'a few months before' in the immediately following sentence 'Augustine does the same in starting *De doctrina christiana* a few months before launching the redaction of the *Confessions*' (1154); it is pure speculation 'to locate the composition of the first nine Books of *Confessions* in the two years of interval between Book I and Book II of *DDC*' (1155);[26] Books XI-XIII of the *Conf.* do not deal with Gn 1:1-3 (1156), but with Gn 1:1-2:3; it is, once again, pure speculation (for which, moreover, a *handbook* is not the appropriate genre) to state that there is an interruption 'between *DDC* I and *DDC* II' and to locate this 'interruption' in the years 396-397 (1157); 'Hill 1996' (*ibid.*) probably should be: Hill 1997, but it is not fully clear which book of Hill is meant (one may suppose: the only one mentioned later on, namely Hill's translation of the 'Newly Discovered Sermons' of 1997, referred to on p. 1182); the reference 'Vercruysse 2000' (1158) leads the reader up a blind alley as there is no publication of Vercruysse listed in the bibliographies. The author may have had in mind Vercruysse's planned edition of Tyconius, *Le livre des règles*, which finally was published in 2004 as volume 488 of the *Sources chrétiennes*; after so many publications on the subject (Courcelle, Ferrari, etc.), it should be clear to the student of Augustine that one can not speak of 'his unfortunate *nine* years in the sect of Mani' (1159): the period comprises more than ten years at least; that Augustine is 'since April 397 sole bishop of Hippo' is very disputable (*ibid.*): among the specialists there still is

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[25] However, this thesis seems to be questionable and does have no other support than the occasional wording 'libellum regularem' in some mss; cf. F.C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius*, Cambridge 1894, 1. On other occasions, Tyconius speaks of 'regulae', like Augustine among others.

[26] As regards the (possible) date of composition of works of Augustine like *Conf.* and *De doctr. chr.*, one may best consult the respective lemmata in the *Augustinus-Lexikon* and, moreover, the acute observations in P.-M. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris 2000.

discussion about the summer of 395 or 396, but nobody opts for April 397 (maybe a confusion with April 387, the date of Augustine's baptism? or with the date of Ambrosius' death?); as regards the sudden reference 'Loeb 18,12' (1160) the unacquainted reader may guess what is meant, but it is clear that '*Soliquium*' (*ibid.*) is not the same as the correct title *Soliloquia*; it is incorrect to suggest that Augustine directly proceeded from the writing of 'the last books of *Confessions* into the rigorous demands of composing the *De Trinitate*' (1162); there is no firm ground to write that 'The first nine books of *De Genesi ad litteram* were composed in 401 and 402' (1165), neither to continue: 'Books X-XII, like the last books of *Confessions*, were progressively added to the unfinished work up to 415' (*ibid.*): see for the most likely dates e.g. Hombert, *Recherches*, 139-188; the same goes for the questionable dates of *Ep.* 130 ('witten in 411') and *De Genesi ad litteram* ('completed in 418') (1169): see e.g. Hombert, *Recherches*, 250 for *Ep.* 130 ('La date traditionelle de 412 est bien fondée') and 141-188 for *Gen. litt.* III[b]-XII (412-414); the reference 'M.-J. Lagrange (1931)' (1170) is not detailed in any of the bibliographies and so the reader gropes in the dark (what is meant is: M.-J. Lagrange, 'Les rétractations exégétiques de saint Augustin', *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, II, Roma 1931, 373-395); it should be *Qu* 58 (in stead of 59) on Matthew (*ibid.*); read *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistula* apostoli *ad Romanos* (1172); the phrase 'after the return to Hippo' (*ibid.*) does not make sense; the same goes for 'in *Rom* 6 and 62 (in 394/5)' (*ibid.*); *Qu* 1,2 of *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* is on Rom 9:10-29 (and not Rom 9-29) (*ibid.*); on the same page read 'Perler-Maier' for 'Perler Mard' (the reference is to the not listed study by O. Perler, avec la collaboration de J.-L. Maier, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, Paris 1969); it is incorrect to state 'the rest [sc. of *diu. quaest. Simpl.*, after *Qu* 2,5] belonging to heresiology' (1173): *Qu* 2,6, the only one after 2,5 and thus the last one of the book, is on 3 Kgs 22:2-23; the dates given for the composition of *De sermone domini* and *Adnotationes in Job* are highly debatable (*ibid.*); it should be *De consensu euangelistarum* (1174) and, above all, the question arises why *nothing* is said about this work that is so very typical of Augustine's Gospel exegesis; read *Quaestiones euangeliorum* for *Quaestiones in evangelium* (*ibid.*); the reference 'De Bruyne, 1931' (1175) is not detailed in any of the bibliographies (Kannengiesser may have had in mind: D. De Bruyne, '"Enarrationes in Psalmos" prêchées à Carthage', *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, II, Roma 1931, 321-325); three (and not: one) of the sermons on the Psalms were preached at Utica (*ibid.*); the sub-paragraph 'Other sermons' (1176-1178) makes the strong impression of being little more than an excerpt from M. Pellegrino's 'General Introduction' to Edmund's Hill's translation in *The Works of Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century*, Part III, and it contains the further unidentified reference 'Willis 1962, 101' (= G.G. Willis, *St Augustine's Lectionary*, London 1962); the information provided on the *sermones Dolbeau* is haphazard (1178-1179); it is too simple to suggest that Ambrose and Tyconius are the actual sources of Augustine's concept of the two cities (1180);[27] Augustine characterizes his *City of God* as 'this immense work: *ingentis huius operis*' in *ciu.* XX,5 and

[27] See J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon. A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources*

not in XXX,5 (1181); the extensive 'Supplementary Bibliography Augustine' (1181-1218) is of little or no avail to students, either to those starting their research or in advanced stages: it not only has many evident mistakes (e.g. s.v. Altaner: 'Sextusaussprüche' for 'Sextussprüche'; s.v. Strauss: 'Schriftgedanke' for 'Schriftgebrauch'), but also gives the impression of being composed at random because many items do not have a specific bearing on Augustine's exegesis: for a handbook, a *bibliographie raisonnée* would have been most suitable; one really misses a separate treatment of both the *In Ioannis euangelium tractatus CXXIV* and the *In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus decem*, which, like the *En. in Ps.*, have been of an extraordinary importance to the Middle Ages, the sixteenth-century Reformation movements, and beyond.

II. *Other recent books on Patristic Exegesis*

In view of the fact that the 'Handbook of Patristic Exegesis' is, unfortunately, not the authoritative, reliable and complete handbook one may have hoped for, the question arises which books may be best consulted to obtain information on the subject matter. The past decades have yielded a range of books and other studies in the field of patristic exegesis, but none of them have either the scope or the voluminous size of Kannengiesser's enterprise. Nonetheless, a few books and even series may be briefly highlighted.

From French soil we have the series written by the late Bertrand de Margerie, aptly superscribed as an '*Introduction* à l'histoire de l'exégèse' and comprising the four volumes *Les Pères grecs et orientaux* (Paris 1980); *Les premiers grands exégètes latins* (Paris 1983); *Saint Augustin* (Paris 1983); and *L'Occident latin de Léon le Grand à Bernard de Clairvaux* (Paris 1990). Although the third volume may be considered to be the weakest, and the small second volume may be criticized on several points as well, the first and most sizeable volume can still be considered to be of significant value. To give only a few examples: everybody who has read the chapter on Gregory of Nyssa ('Saint Grégoire de Nysse, théoricien des enchaînements bibliques: skopos, theôria, akolouthia'), or the elucidating chapters on Ephraem Syrus ('La poésie biblique de saint Ephrem, exégète Syrien') and the so-called Antiochene School ('Histoire, "theôria" et tradition dans l'école d'Antioch'), will have considerably enriched his or her knowledge. De Margerie's approach has the advantage to be 'claire et distincte', his notes and bibliographies are trustworthy and, moreover, the books are supplemented by

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of his Doctrine of the Two Cities, Leiden-New York-København-Köln 1991, 199-359, in particular 254-274 (Tyconius) and 276-281 (Ambrose).

extensive indices. Even if much of his account is now outdated and, furthermore, De Margerie did not have the intention to write a complete history of patristic exegesis but wisely confined himself to a small number of well-chosen persons and topics, his enterprise still has value.[28]

The same can be basically said of Henning Graf Reventlow's four volumed work *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*. What makes the telling difference with De Margerie is that Reventlow tries to give an outline of the history of biblical exegesis from its beginning up to the present: only the second half of volume one together with the first half of volume two is on patristic exegesis proper and, moreover, his emphasis is on the most significant features and persons of *western* exegesis. However, the first two volumes still supply an admirable amount of reliable information on biblical interpretation in the patristic era.[29]

Concise, but highly useful and of supreme quality are both Manlio Simonetti's *Lettera e/o allegoria. Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica*, Roma 1985 and his *Profilo Storico dell'Esegesi Patristica*, Roma 1981. The latter book has been translated into English and appeared as *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church. An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, Edinburgh 1994. It is admirable for its selection of the main points and the acuteness of its diction. One can read, for example, many pages on Tyconius and his influences (real or supposed), but Simonetti provides a crystal clear exposé on both the seven hermeneutic rules of Tyconius' *Liber regularum* and the significance of his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* in one single paragraph.[30] And, as it might be expected, a reliable Scripture Index and a General Index conclude the book.

Concise as well, but outdated, are amongst others Karlfried Froehlich's *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church*, Philadelphia 1984, and Robert Grant's *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible* (with update on modern use by David Tracy), second edition revised and enlarged Philadelphia 1989. More recently, however, and with a number of generally dependable

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[28] This may be illustrated by its (partial) English translation as well: Bertrand de Margerie, *An Introduction to the History of Exegesis*, Volume I: *The Greek Fathers*, Petersham, Massachusetts 1993; Volume II: *The Latin Fathers*, Petersham, Mass. 1995; Volume III: *Saint Augustine*, Petersham, Mass. 1995.

[29] Henning Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, Band I: *Vom Alten Testament bis Origenes*, München 1990; Band II: *Von der Spätantike bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, München 1994.

[30] M. Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church. An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, Edinburgh 1994, 95-99.

patristic contributions is the *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* edited by Donald K. McKim and published by InterVarsity Press at Downers Grove, Illinois and Leicester, England in 1998. Part I deals with the patristic period and, after a fine introduction by C. Kannengiesser entitled 'Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church' (1-16), there are (in alphabetical order) contributions on Athanasius (J.J. Brogan); Augustine (Kannengiesser, but again with some *lapsus*, particularly in the historical account); Chrysostom (M.M. Mitchell); Clement of Alexandria (A.B. Wylie), Irenaeus (R.A. Norris Jr); Jerome (D. Brown); Justin Martyr (W.A. Shotwell); Origen (B. Nassif); Tertullian (R. Kearsley); Theodore of Mopsuestia (B.A. McDonald); and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (C.T. McCollough). This Part One comprises the first seventy pages of a remarkable and really impressive book of nearly 650 pages on all major (though only Christian) biblical interpreters from Justin Martyr up to the present time.

Perhaps the two best books currently in print and belonging to both the general and (to a certain extent!) concise genre, but with a strong focus on the patristic era and its backgrounds, are Alan J. Hauser & Duane F. Watson (eds.), *A History of Biblical Interpretation.* Vol. 1: *The Ancient Period*[31] and, in particular, Magne Saebø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. The History of Its Interpretation. Volume I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300).*[32]

As regards the first book, it may be stated that it is excellently edited and finely produced, as well as being written by internationally renowned experts from the English-speaking world. Its subtitle, 'The Ancient Period', refers to both a broad span of time and intellectual worlds, the description of which is necessary to understand the biblical interpretation in the later Christian communities like those of the patristic ages. Thus this book rightly starts with the earliest beginnings, truly aware of the fact that biblical interpretation began even before the texts came to be written down. After a fine introductory essay by the editors, this broad orientation is demonstrated by essays like those of Esther Menn, 'Inner-Biblical Exegesis in the Tanak' (55-79); Leonard Greenspoon, 'Hebrew into Greek: Interpretation In, By, and Of the Septuagint' (80-113); Peder Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria as Exegete' (114-143); Philip R. Davies, 'Biblical Interpretation in the Dead

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[31] Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2003, xxi + 536 pp., ISBN 0-8028-4273-9, US$ 45.00 / £ 32.95 (hardcover with jacket).

[32] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1996, 847 pp., ISBN 3-525-53636-4, € 112 (cloth with jacket).

Sea Scrolls' (144-166); Martin McNamara, 'Interpretation of Scripture in the Targumim' (167-197); Gary G. Porton, 'Rabbinic Midrash' (198-224); James A. Sanders, 'The Stabilization of the Tanak' (225-252); James H. Charlesworth, 'The Interpretation of the Tanak in the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha' (253-282); and Donald H. Juel, 'Interpreting Israel's Scriptures in the New Testament' (283-303). The only criticism one may perhaps offer is that—after the relative neglect of the importance of Jewish biblical interpretation for the Christian Church at the advantage of 'pagan' rhetorical influences that has occurred in so many previous studies—the balance may well have tipped too much in favour of the Jewish influences. The 'pagan imprint on Christian exegesis', to use an expression of Christoph Schäublin,[33] is not dealt with in a separate chapter.[34] However, notwithstanding this possible omission, the studies devoted to 'patristic' exegesis are more than worthwhile being all of a high scientific level: Joseph Trigg, 'The Apostolic Fathers and Apologists' (304-333); Frances Young, 'Alexandrian and Antiochene Exegesis' (334-354);[35] Dennis Brown, 'Jerome and the Vulgate' (355-379); Richard A. Norris, 'Augustine and the Close of the Ancient Period of Interpretation' (380-408). There is also a separate treatment of the canon issue in Harry Gamble's 'The Formation of the New Testament Canon and Its Significance for the History of Biblical Interpretation' (409-429), and similarly there is the deserved treatment of 'apocryphal' writings and the multi-faceted phenomenon of Gnosticism in Craig A. Evans', 'The Interpretation of Scripture in the New Testament Apocrypha and Gnostic Writings' (430-456). This latter contribution is divided in three nearly equal parts ('The use of Scripture in the apocryphal Gospels', 'Interpretation of the Old Testament in the Gnostic writings', and 'The use of the New Testament writings in apocryphal and Gnostic texts') and offers a reliable summary of new trends in research. Neither in this chapter, however, nor elsewhere in the book does the position of Marcion or Mani receive thematic treatment. As regards the former, reference may

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[33] Chr. Schäublin, 'Zur paganen Prägung der christlichen Exegese', in: J. van Oort & U. Wickert (Hgg.), *Christliche Exegese zwischen Nicaea und Chalkedon*, Kampen 1992, 148-173.

[34] And, possibly indicative, his name is spelled wrongly on all four occasions his studies have been mentioned, though there is of course some incidental treatment of the methods of the rhetorical schools, as for example in Frances Young's article.

[35] Though here, as in her well-known study *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, Cambridge 1997, she tends to downplay the fact that history for the 'Antiochene' exegetes first of all meant real historical, i.e. palpable and tangible data as the basis for their 'literal' exegesis.

now be made to several of the impressive studies in a new volume on Marcion;[36] with regard to Mani and his exegesis it may be notified that the first and updated edition of the dissertation of Alexander Böhlig on the Bible in Manichaeism,[37] together with some other pertinent studies of his pen, is soon to appear in the series *Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies.*

The volumes edited by Saebø are slightly older and, according to their title, more limited in scope. Nevertheless, one may argue that these two sizeable books still include the very best treatment of biblical interpretation in the patristic era currently in print. Indeed the focus in these volumes is on the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament, but this does not mean that not inconsiderable attention is paid to the New Testament writings as well. And, as in its recent counterpart, *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, Vol. 1, both the beginnings of Scriptural interpretation in the Jewish milieu and its subsequent afterlife in (early) rabbinic literature receive ample treatment.

It is impossible to indicate in a few sentences the extremely rich contents of the two volumes so admirably edited by the Norwegian scholar Magne Saebø. The first volume, i.e. 'Part 1: Antiquity' deals in section A with 'Beginnings of Scriptural Interpretation'. This section comprises important studies like 'Inner-Biblical Exegesis' by Michael Fishbane; 'The Interpretative Character and Significance of the Septuagint Version' by John W. Wevers; 'Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style' by Folker Siegert, who deals in this chapter with Philo among others; and 'Scripture and Canon in the Commonly Called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and in the Writings of Josephus' by Robert A. Kraft and Steve Mason. All these studies are of great importance for understanding the background and (a significant part of) the *Umwelt* of ancient Christian exegesis. The majority of section B: 'Parting of the Ways: Jewish and Christian Scriptural

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[36] *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung / Marcion and His Impact on Church History.* Vorträge der internationalen Fachkonferenz zu Marcion, gehalten vom 15.-18. August 2001 in Mainz. Herausgegeben von Gerhard May und Katharina Greschat, in Gemeinschaft mit Martin Meiser (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 150), Berlin-New York 2002. Besides, from many passages of the recent *Adolf Harnack: Marcion. Der moderne Gläubige des 2. Jahrhunderts, der erste Reformator. Die Dorpater Preisschrift (1870).* Kritische Edition des handschriftlichen Exemplars mit einem Anhang herausgegeben von Friedemann Steck (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 149), Berlin-New York 2003, one may learn how already young Harnack saw the immense influence of Marcion on 'patristic' exegesis.

[37] A. Böhlig, *Die Bibel bei den Manichäern*, Inaugural-Dissertation Münster i.W. 1947.

Interpretation in Antiquity' focuses on Christian exegesis and hermeneutics proper. It includes studies from leading scholars like Jarl Fossum, 'Social and Institutional Conditions for Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, with Special Regard to Religious Groups and Sects' (239-255); Hans Hübner, 'New Testament Interpretation of the Old' (332-372); Oskar Skarsaune, 'The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries—except Clement and Origen' (373-442); *idem*, 'The Question of Old Testament Canon and Text in the Early Greek Church', i.e. from the New Testament to Irenaeus, focusing on Justin Martyr (443-450); J.F. Procopé, 'Greek Philosophy, Hermeneutics and Alexandrian Understanding of the Old Testament', a chapter in which the Greek *Umwelt* of Christian exegesis is aptly delineated (451-477); J.N.B. Carleton Paget, 'The Christian Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Alexandrian Tradition', appropriately and admirably discussing the wide range of evidence reaching from the forerunners of Clement, Clement himself, the great Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius up to and including the Cappadocian Fathers Basil and Gregory of Nyssa (478-542); Sten Hidal, 'Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Antiochene School with its Prevalent Literal and Historical Method' (543-568); Günther Stemberger, 'Exegetical Contacts between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire' (569-586); Michael Weitzman, 'The Interpretative Character of the Syriac Old Testament', i.e. on the Peshitta, a rather technical article (587-611); Lucas Van Rompay, 'The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation' (612-641); Eva Schulz-Flügel, 'The Latin Old Testament Tradition' (642-662); René Kieffer, 'Jerome: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics' (663-681); Christoph Jacob, 'The Reception of the Origenist Tradition in Latin Exegesis' (682-700); David F. Wright, 'Augustine: His Exegesis and Hermeneutics' (701-730); and finally 'An Epilogue' by Magne Saebø entitled 'Church and Synagogue as the Respective Matrix of the Development of an Authoritative Bible Interpretation' (731-745). All of these essays are of a magnificent value and presently I do not know of studies better meeting the needs of both graduate and (first-rate) undergraduate students and, moreover, of many an advanced student of patristic exegesis as well.

Part II of the HBOT's first volume is entitled 'The Middle Ages',[38] but this title should not mislead patristic scholars. In point of fact one finds a number of topical articles like those of Stephen Ch. Kessler, 'Gregory the

[38] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2000, 729 pp., ISBN 3-525-53507-4, € 94 (cloth with jacket).

Great: A Figure of Tradition and Transition in Church Exegesis' (135-147); Claudio Leonardi, 'Aspects of Old Testament Interpretation in the Church from the Seventh to the Tenth Century' (180-195, dealing with Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede, among others); and again Lucas Van Rompay who in his second HBOT-contribution 'Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages' (559-577) discusses the exegetical contributions of later Syriac biblical scholars who more often than not heavily leant on their 'patristic' predecessors in the pre-Islamic period.

III. *New Projects*

At the end of our overview, we may conclude with a few words on new projects. While several of the series mentioned in the previous lines are being pursued and, moreover, a considerable number of separate studies on biblical interpretation in the patristic era will be published in the near future, two recent undertakings may be singled out.

The first is the large, rather popular, but nevertheless highly impressive project, 'Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture', which is based at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, with Thomas C. Oden acting as its general editor. When complete, the ACCS will comprise twenty-eight[39] volumes encompassing the entire canon of Scripture 'plus the Apocrypha' (i.e., the Old Testament Apocrypha according to the Protestant point of view). The books are finely published by InterVarsity Press and styled for durable use (cloth with jacket). Particularly interesting is that the material to illustrate a Bible text is not only taken from a wide range of patristic writings like sermons, homilies, letters and theological discourses roughly dating from the second to the eighth centuries, but also from a wide range of linguistic sources including Coptic and Syriac. As a rule the translations are taken from the best translation series already available, but a considerable amount of new translation work has been carried out as well. Besides, it is particularly impressive that—when needed from the original sources—the whole enterprise is scheduled to be translated into Spanish (General Editor Marcelo Merino Rodriguez, Navarra; responsible publishing house Ciudad

[39] According the latest information on the publisher's internetsite; in the introduction to the first published volume twenty-seven volumes are planned, i.e. fourteen on the OT, twelve on the NT, and one on the 'Apocrypha'.

Nueva), Italian (General Editor Angelo Di Berardino; in collaboration with Citta Nuova), Russian, Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, Russian, etc.[40]

A project of another kind and scope is the recently announced 'Novum Testamentum Patristicum. Ein patristischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament'. In principal this is a German language project and aimed at addressing a scientific audience. Unlike the ACCS, the results will not be presented in a sort of *catenae*, but full stress will be laid upon the original historical, theological and liturgical setting of the patristic exegesis of the subsequent books of the New Testament. Moreover, the development of a certain patristic exegesis will be outlined from its earliest appearances as well. Additionally, pivotal texts and key concepts will be rendered in their original language. The first volumes are expected to appear in 2006/7.[41]

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Postscriptum

After having completed the above lines, I happened to receive the following new volume in order to be reviewed in this journal: *1 Corinthians. Interpreted by Early Christian Commentators.* Translated and Edited by Judith L. Kovacs. The book is finely produced and published by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company in Grand Rapids, Michigan & Cambridge, U.K. in October 2005[42] and is part of the new series: *The Church's Bible*, under the general editorship of Robert Louis Wilken. Both this volume and the stated scope of the new series happily illustrate what has been said about patristic exegesis as a new (and ecumenical) trend of scientific research with an intended practical application in the article above.

As regards the scope of the Series, Robert Wilken in his 'Series Preface' *inter alia* remarks that the volumes are designed 'to present the Holy Scriptures as understood and interpreted during the first millennium of Christian history' and that in those times (later on he speaks about the first

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[40] See for more and most recent information www.depts.drew.edu/accs/

[41] Further info www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/Theologie/alte-kg/ntp/

[42] Judith L. Kovacs, tr. and ed., *1 Corinthians. Interpreted by Early Christian Commentators*, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2005, xxix + 340 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2577-X, US$ 35.00 / £ 19.99 (hardcover with jacket).

eight hundred years of Christian history) 'theology was called *sacra pagina* (the sacred page), and the task of interpreting the Bible was a spiritual enterprise' (vii). 'Early Christian thinkers moved in the world of the Bible, understood its idiom, loved its teaching, and were filled with awe before its mysteries. They believed in the maxim, "Scripture interprets Scripture." They knew something that has largely been forgotten by biblical scholars, and their commentaries are an untapped resource for understanding the Bible as a book about Christ' (viii).

From these quotes the intention of the Series may be clear, which purpose, moreover, is stated as being 'to make available the richness of the Church's classical tradition of interpretation for clergy, Sunday school and Bible class teachers, men and women living in religious communities, and all serious readers of the Bible' (vii) and is supported by 'the Center for Catholic and Evangelical Theology' (ix).

All this, however, should not be misunderstood. The volume edited by Judith Kovacs (like Wilken's fine introductory essay on 'Interpreting the New Testament', x-xix) aptly demonstrates that we are dealing here with sound scientific work made available for a wider audience. From a wide range of Greek and Latin patristic sources Kovacs has gathered together her material. She has divided this in well-balanced doses to illustrate the subsequent texts and passages of Paul's letter. As might be expected, a large amount of the patristic commentary comes from Augustine, Chrysostom, and Origen, but authors like Ambrose, the 'Ambrosiaster', Athanasius, Basil, Clement and Cyril of Alexandria or Tertullian, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoretus are represented as well. A fairly original feature of her work is the inclusion of a large portion of a 'Dialogue of a Montanist with an Orthodox Christian' to illustrate 1 Cor. 11:5. Generally speaking, it may be remarked that 1 Corinthians, with its discussion of true apostleship, divisions in the church, baptism, eucharist, eschatology, the place of women in the congregation, etc. is a rewarding subject for a 'patristic commentary'. But all the same, Judith Kovacs—evidently with the help of David Kovacs, 'who translated the excerpts form the Latin fathers' (ix)—has accomplished an excellent work.[43] Several excellent indices, moreover, disclose the book's rich contents.

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[43] A few minor flaws may be briefly indicated: it is not clear why for the translation of e.g. Augustine's *Against Faustus* use has been made of the antiquated and (since a long time already!) superseded edition in MPL; the information on Augustine ('He was a follower of Platonic philosophy and *then* of Manicheanism', p. 293) is incorrect; add after

By and large it may be concluded that a book and a series like this new one stands midway between the slightly more popular 'Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture'—which, however, has the widest scope—and the more scientific—but still only projected—'Novum Testamentum Patristicum' that, among other things, is announced to include the texts in their original languages.

In due course we hope to come back to the issue of 'Patristic Exegesis'. Evidently what seems to have become a new trend of research and impressive publication endeavours moves on. There's even a rumour that new projects are on the way.

Miscellanea Agostiniana (p. 318): Roma 1930; read 'Alypius' for 'Alpius' (320), 'Katenenhandschriften' for 'Katenhandschriften' (xxiii and 299) and 'Chavasse' for 'Charasse' as the editor of Leo the Great (319). Besides, the *Liturgy of James* was not published in 1974 but in 1947 (by B.-C. Mercier in PO 126 / 26.2; reprinted by Brepols in 1997).

REVIEWS

Daniel A. Keating, *The Appropriation of Divine Life in Cyril of Alexandria* (Oxford Theological Monographs), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, x + 315 pp., ISBN 0-19-926713-8, £ 55,00 (clothbound with book jacket).

Es scheint, daß sich die Bewertung Cyrills in den letzten 20 Jahren gewandelt hat. André de Halleux begann 1981 sein Kapitel über Cyrill von Alexandrien im Ersten Band der "Klassiker der Theologie" mit den Worten: "Cyrill von Alexandrien spielt die Rolle des Hauptangeklagten in dem gegenwärtigen Prozeß, der der Christologie gemacht wird. Trägt er nicht die Verantwortung dafür, die Kontroversen ausgelöst zu haben, die das Dogma in Scholastizismus erstarren ließen und die die Menschheit Jesu entpersönlicht haben? Man ist hinfort weit entfernt von der traditionellen Hochschätzung des Überwinders des Nestorius und des Theologen der hypostatischen Union". Die Stimmen mehren sich, die sich für "ein gerechteres Urteil" (B. Meunier, 1997, 289) über sein Werk aussprechen.

Im letzten Jahrzehnt sind eine Reihe neuer Arbeiten über Cyrill erschienen: zur Trinitätslehre M.-O. Boulnois (1994), zur Christologie A. de Halleux (1993) und die Monographien von J. A. McGuckin (1994) und B. Meunier (1997); zur Eucharistielehre Lawrence J. Welch (1994) und M.-O. Boulnois (1998); zur Exegese G. Münch-Labacher (1996)[1]; ein Themenheft der Tübinger Theologischen Quartalschrift 178 (1998) war allein Cyrill gewidmet.

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[1] M.-O. Boulnois, *Le paradoxe trinitaire chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie: herméneutique, analyses philosophiques et argumentation théologique*, Paris 1994; dies., Die Eucharistie, Mysterium der Einigung bei Cyrill von Alexandrien: Die Modelle der trinitarischen und christologischen Einigung, in: ThQ 178 (1998) 294-310; A. de Halleux, Cyrill von Alexandrien (gest. 444), in: H. Fries, G. Kretschmar, *Klassiker der Theologie: Erster Band von Irenäus bis Martin Luther*, München 1981, 130-149; ders., Le dyophysisme christologique de Cyrille d'Alexandrie, in: Logos, FS L. Abramowski = BZNW 67 (Berlin, New York 1993) 411-428; J. A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy. Its History, Theology and Texts* [= SVigChr; 23], Leiden, New York, Köln 1994; B. Meunier, *Le Christ de Cyrille d'Alexandrie: l'humanité, le salut et la question monophysite* [ThH; 104], Paris 1997; G. Münch-Labacher, *Naturhaftes und geschichtliches Denken bei Cyrill von Alexandrien. Die verschiedenen Betrachtungsweisen der Heilsverwirklichung in seinem Johannes-Kommentar* [Hereditas; 10], Bonn 1996; L. J. Welch, *Christology and Eucharist in the Early Thought of Cyril of Alexandria*, Lanham, New York, Oxford 1994.

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Zu denen, die sich engagiert für Cyrill einsetzen, gehört auch die Studie von Keating (= K.) über die Soteriologie Cyrills. Die apologetischen Züge erscheinen zuweilen sogar etwas übertrieben; Cyrill soll von Anschuldigungen befreit werden; in der Einleitung ("Introduction", 1-19) wird das Negativbild, das in der Forschung (angeblich) vorherrsche, so überzeichnet ("the image of Cyril as the amoral, Machiavellian plotter", 3), daß es dann wieder leicht ist, Sympathien zu wecken. Vor dem schwarzen Hintergrund erstrahlt das Bild Cyrills dann umso leuchtender. Ich fürchte, das wird der historischen Realität nicht gerecht. Dabei ist es sicher zu begrüßen, wenn der Cyrill der Bibelkommentare mehr gewürdigt wird.

Das Buch ging hervor aus einer Oxforder Dissertation bei Th. Weinandy. "Cyril's Narrative of Divine Life" (191) ist das Thema dieser Studie, die sich in vier Kapitel gliedert: über den göttlichen Heilsplan (20-53), die Gabe göttlichen Lebens (54-104), die Aufnahme göttlichen Lebens (105-143) und die Teilhabe an der göttlichen Natur (144-190), an die sich eine Zusammenfassung (191-205) anschließt. In einem sechsten Kapitel bietet der Verf. einen Vergleich von Cyrills Ansatz mit dem dreier Zeitgenossen Cyrills: Theodor von Mopsuestia (206-227), Augustinus (227-251) und Papst Leo I. (251-288). Damit erscheint die vorausgehende Analyse Cyrills mehr im Relief. Hilfreich sind die Zusammenfassungen am Ende eines Kapitels (Conclusions: 52-53, 89-104, 139-143; im 4. Kap. fehlt eine solche Conclusion, dafür ist das 5. Kap. eine Zusammenfassung der gesamten vorausgehenden Kapitel).

Inhalt des Hauptteils (1.-5. Kapitel)

Der fleischgewordene Christus ist für Cyrill zum einen der Repräsentant des Menschengeschlechts aber auch der Agens unserer Erlösung, und zum anderen das Muster und Modell für unseren Fortschritt im göttlichen Leben. Die Erlösung und Neu-Schöpfung der menschlichen Natur vollzieht sich zunächst in Christus selbst (Kap. 1: The Divine Plan of Salvation).

Wir können das göttliche Leben auf zwei Weisen annehmen (Reception), in einem engeren und einem weiteren Sinn. Im engeren Sinn ist die Vergöttlichung die Anteilhabe am göttlichen Leben durch das Handeln des einwohnenden Geistes in der Taufe und durch Christi lebenspendendes Fleisch in der Eucharistie. Die biblischen Ausdrücke dafür wie Rechtfertigung, Heiligung, Adoption, Teilhabe am Geist, Gemeinschaft in der göttlichen Natur, gehören für Cyrill zusammen. Christus in uns (durch seinen Geist und sein lebenspendendes Fleisch) ist die Quelle und der Grund unserer Vergöttlichung.

In einem weiteren Sinn meint Vergöttlichung unser fortschreitendes Wachsen in das göttliche Bild. Für beide Weisen ist die menschliche Annahme und Mitwirkung wesentlich. Kap. 2 (The Gift of Divine Life) (54-104) untersuchte die pneumatische und somatische Weise der Einwohnung als geordnete und komplementäre Mittel, durch die uns das göttliche Leben im fleischgewordenen Christus übereignet wird. Durch unsere freie Annahme des göttlichen Lebens werden wir nach und nach Christus gleichförmig. Ohne unsere freie Glaubenszustimmung und den Fortschritt in Tugend durch Gehorsam handelt es sich nicht um menschliches Leben, das vergöttlicht wird.

Kap. 3 (The Reception of Divine Life) behandelt diese Entwicklung der Vergöttlichung (105-143). Aufgrund der Untersuchungen von K. ist es nicht zu halten, daß Cyrill von einer vornestorianischen physikalischen Theorie der Vergöttlichung zu einer spiritualisierten wechselte (194). Für Cyrill gibt es immer eine Komplementarität von pneumatischer und somatischer Weise der göttlichen Einwohnung. Nach K. bemühte sich Cyrill bereits vor der nestorianischen Kontroverse, Göttliches und Menschliches deutlicher zu unterscheiden und die Terminologie der Vergöttlichung zu vermeiden. Möglicherweise hat ihn dazu die anthropomorphitische Krise oder aber die jüdische Polemik gegen das Christentum bewogen. Einleuchtend erscheint die Erklärung (194), angesichts des Vorwurfs des Nestorius (er, Cyrill, würde das Fleisch Christi zur Gottheit machen) habe Cyrill sein eigenes Verständnis von Vergöttlichung (der Logos habe sein eigenes Fleisch vergöttlicht) verteidigt und seinerseits Nestorius beschuldigt, dieser würde einen bloßen Menschen vergöttlichen.

Kap. 4 (Partakers of the Divine Nature) (144-190) untersucht, wie Cyrill das Konzept der Teilhabe gebrauchte, um zugleich den echten Anteil der Menschheit am göttlichen Leben auszusagen und doch die radikale Wesensdifferenz zwischen Göttlichem und Menschlichem aufrechtzuerhalten. Anstelle der Terminologie von der Vergöttlichung bezieht sich Cyrill häufig auf 2 Petr 1,4 (von der Teilhabe an der göttlichen Natur).

Wenn die Analyse von K. zutrifft, dann kann man Cyrills Soteriologie nicht mehr als physikalistisch oder somatisch qualifizieren (196). Der Einwohnung des Heiligen Geistes mißt Cyrill eine große Bedeutung zu. Zum anderen gehören Glaube, freie Wahl, Gehorsam wesentlich bei Cyrill zum göttlichen Leben.

Bei der Bewertung der theologischen Gestalt des Ansatzes von Cyrill hat K. sicher recht mit der Bemerkung, daß Cyrill kein systematischer Theologe (im modernen oder im mittelalterlichen Sinn) war (199). Die Christologie

stehe bei ihm im Zentrum, genauer die Lehre von der Inkarnation (d.h. die narrative und soteriologische Funktion des fleischgewordenen Wortes) (200). Im fleischgewordenen Logos ist für Cyrill zugleich der göttliche Agens der Erlösung wie der menschliche Empfänger der Erlösung lokalisiert. Wie beides zusammengeht will K. freilich im Rahmen seiner soteriologischen Studie nicht weiter untersuchen.

In der theologischen Anthropologie ist, so K., die Beziehung von Natur und Gnade bei Cyrill ungewöhnlich (einer der fruchtbarsten Aspekte bei ihm), aufbauend auf Gen 2,7. Menschlicher Zustand ohne die Gabe des einwohnenden Geistes ist gefallener Zustand (*psychikos*). In Christus kehrt der Geist zum Menschengeschlecht zurück. Wenn Christus seine Jünger anhaucht, stellt er den ursprünglichen Zustand wieder her, nun aber mit unerschütterlicher Festigkeit und größerer Würde (ohne daß Cyrill das Mehr näher erläutern würde). Es gehört zum vollen Menschsein für Cyrill, den Heiligen Geist zu haben und am göttlichen Leben Anteil zu haben (202).

Die Geschichte vom fleischgewordenen Sohn und die vom einwohnenden Geist sind bei Cyrill untrennbar verbunden. Damit stellt sich das Filioque-Problem, auf das K. nicht näher eingeht; zweifellos ist Cyrill ein griechischer Kirchenvater, der die innertrinitarische Beziehung des Geistes zum Sohn stark betont. Inkarnation ist das "vehicle", um das Leben des dreifaltigen Gottes zu übermitteln. Der inkarnierte Sohn tut das auf zweifache Weise, durch den einwohnenden Geist und sein lebenspendendes Fleisch (203).

"Cyril in Comparison" (6. Kapitel)

Durch die Ausführungen von K. wird für den Leser deutlich, wie manche Positionen wesentlich vom Hintergrund der jeweiligen Auseinandersetzung her zu verstehen sind: so bei Theodor die Rolle des Heiligen Geistes von seinem Kampf gegen die Makedonianer (212 und 217), bei Augustinus dann von der pelagianischen Kontroverse her (244 mit Anm. 115) und bei Leo von der Frontstellung gegen die Manichäer (271). Es ist nicht klar, ob K. selbst diese Abhängigkeit bemerkt hat.

Beim Abschnitt über Theodor stützt sich K. für die Christologie auf das Buch von R. Norris, Manhood in Christ (Oxford 1963). Leider scheint K. nicht die Kritik von L. Abramowski an Norris (ZKG 79, 1968, 244-245, hier 245) und seiner Darstellung von "Theodore's Christological Dualism" zu kennen: "Die 'Verteilung der (biblischen) Aussagen' auf die beiden Naturen geht bis auf Origenes zurück und wird nicht nur bei Antiochenern

praktiziert; ebenso ist die Rede von der Einwohnung des Logos in der Tradition verbreitet. Erst Kyrills Anathematismen haben beides perhorresziert – es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob die neuchalkedonische Interpretation des Chalkedonense mit Hilfe dieser Verdammungssätze [sc. Kyrills Anathematismen] ein Segen war; in welche Verlegenheiten der Theologiehistoriker gerät, wenn er sich die Anathematismen (oft wohl unbewußt) zum Maßstab nimmt, zeigt sich nur zu häufig. Mein Unbehagen am Terminus 'Dualismus' habe ich schon früher geäußert; 'strenger Dyophysitismus' ist trotz seiner Vielsilbigkeit der angemessenere Ausdruck." Auch bei der Bewertung der Henosis-Lehre Theodors übernimmt K. ganz die alte Wertung und sieht darin eine Einung nur dem Wohlgefallen nach, was durch Oñatibias Aufsatz von 1954 schon neu gesehen wurde (Abramowski, ebd. 244). Daß Theodor eine wesenhafte Einheit in Christus bereits voraussetzt (so Abramowski an der von K. zitierten Stelle), bleibt bei K. ohne Beachtung. Bei der Verwendung von Fragmenten aus De incarn. VIII fehlt das Bewußtsein für die Problematik, ob sie der Traditio genuina oder der Traditio alterata entstammen (214).

Was die Beziehung zwischen Cyrill und Theodor angeht, so vermutet K. einen Groll Cyrills gegen Theodors Theologie. Daß Theodor seinen Ijob-Kommentar Cyrill gewidmet hat (vgl. Bruns, CSCO 549, p. 30), weiß K. anscheinend nicht. Für eine genauere Beurteilung der Beziehung zwischen Cyrill und Theodor wären die Ausführungen von Facundus von Hermiane, Pro def. III 6, 33-45 (SC 478, 118-129) aufschlußreich.

Im Abschnitt über Augustinus kann man sich fragen, ob man so schnell sagen kann, Augustin stimme mit "Cyril's Conception of the Incarnation" überein (233). Erst recht nimmt es wunder, wenn es am Ende, im Anschluß an die Bemerkung, daß Cyrill die Mia-Physis-Formel verwendet, Augustinus aber die *una persona*-Terminologie (wobei die Zwei-Naturen-Terminologie bei Augustinus gar nicht mehr erwähnt wird), heißt: "the use of differing sets of terms does not necessarily indicate differing conceptions of the Incarnation ... two very similar conceptions of the Incarnation can be expressed in different terms" (236). Ich glaube nicht, daß man so leicht vom selben theologischen Konzept bei den beiden Autoren sprechen kann. Aussagen wie p. 240, Anm. 101, sind bei Cyrill schwerlich zu finden. Könnte es nicht sein, daß das, worin Augustinus und Cyrill übereinstimmen, schlicht die biblische Grundlage ist? Die Darstellung von K. wirkt harmonisierend (und geprägt von seiner eigenen Beschäftigung mit Cyrill).

Auch bei dem Vergleich mit Leo kann man sich fragen, ob K. nicht zu rasch zum Ergebnis kommt, daß die Christologien von Leo und Cyrill

trotz ihrer Unterschiede in Terminologie und Konzeption miteinander verträglich sind (288) und Leo recht hatte, wenn er schrieb, er lehre nur das, was Cyrill lehrte. Die Analyse der nach-chalcedonischen Christologie Leos in A. Grillmeier, Christ in Christian Tradition 2/1 (1986) 115-194, hätte hier noch nützlich verwertet werden können, auch was die Auseinandersetzung mit den Manichäern angeht.

Insgesamt wird durch die Studie K.s manches verständlicher auch in der nestorianischen Kontroverse. Die apologetische Haltung ist eigentlich unnötig.

Mit den ökumenischen Überlegungen ("Application to Perceived East-West Differences", 289-293) am Ende will K. die Unterschiede zwischen Ost und West etwas relativieren – darin ist durchaus ein Wahrheitsgehalt; doch sollte darüber andererseits nicht völlig vergessen werden, daß der lateinische Westen auch in gewisser Nähe zur antiochenischen Tradition steht, einer legitimen theologischen Ausprägung, die gerade durch die starke Persönlichkeit Cyrills nachhaltig ausgeschaltet wurde. Die ökumenischen Wirkungen sind gerade in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten wieder spürbar geworden[2].

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J.J. O'Donnell, *Augustine. Sinner and Saint. A New Biography*, Profile Books: London 2005, xiv + 396 pp., £ 20.-

This 'new biography' of Augustine of Hippo is intended by its author, James J. O'Donnell (hereinafter 'O.'), as a contribution to an old and venerable tradition, 'from Possidius to [Serge] Lancel, from 430 to 1999' (319). It sees as its model Peter Brown's classic biography of 1967, which O. characterises as 'marvellous, imperfect, and enduring' (325), and its author as the 'best biographer' (73). O.'s own approach is somewhat different from Brown's, more literary than historical. His interest in Augustinian biography

[2] Vgl. Cyrill von Alexandrien – Vater der Kirche im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert und in der Ökumene heute?, in: J. ARNOLD, R. BERNDT, R. M. W. STAMMBERGER (Hg.), *Väter der Kirche. Ekklesiales Denken von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* = FS H. J. Sieben (Paderborn 2004) 283-311.

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stems from a study of the *Confessions*. His magisterial commentary of this work was first published in 1992. In the mid-90s O. launched the first ever website dedicated to Augustine's life, work and world, www.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/augustine. His commentary on the *Confessions* and several other works are now available online there. Perhaps the present book too will soon be made accessible in this form.

O.'s efforts in developing and promoting electronic means of communication and publication influence his method and style. They are part of an agenda about which he comes clean (100 n. 183). He seeks to break the mould of conventional scholarship. This might explain the idiosyncrasies of this book, like the extensive use of colloquialisms and slang (e.g. 93: Jerome 'miffed'; 96: Paulinus of Nola a 'Teflon ascetic'; 251: Augustine having no 'gumption'), apostrophe ('I'm'; 'it's'; 'aren't', and others *passim*), parenthesis (e.g. 267: 'Paulinus (not yet of Nola)'), citation of lengthy passages (e.g. 155-157: *Io. ep. tr.* 9.5-8; 259-260: *ciu.* 19.12-13), use of fictional or counterfactual accounts (e.g. 51-52: Augustine's life told by a Donatist; 80-81: 'What if...'; 171-172: 'Augustine the Glunchist' and others), the latter technique vaguely reminiscent of the late Keith Hopkins.

If O. ever intended to develop a biographical narrative, he never really gets it going. The reader is frequently interrupted, e.g. by an inconclusive report about P.-M. Hombert's study on the chronology of the period between 397 and 411 in the light of the recently discovered 'Dolbeau sermons' (33: 'we must pause'), a discussion of the 'three-ishness' of God as a problem for Augustine (65: 'small interruption'), or by a reflection on Augustine's just war theory consisting of ten lines of text followed by a full citation of *ciu.* 19.12-13. The only biographically relevant remark in the latter case is the fact that Augustine wrote this passage 'in the 420s, a time of war fears' (259). Generally, long citations and discussions of research questions again and again distract from the topic.

This is of course not to say that the book is not interesting. It can be witty and fun to read. It is also full of interesting ideas concerning research and scholarship on Augustine. However granted all this it is more like a bulky biographical essay rather than the full blown new biography which the cover announces.

A glance at the table of contents confirms this. The book has twelve chapters. I. sets the scene in Hippo at Augustine's arrival. II. concentrates on the *Confessions* as a master narrative. III. discusses the modern reception of the *Confessions* (and with it Augustine and his world and thought as a whole). IV. is about Augustine's personal ambitions ('the social climber'),

V. about Augustine and his books. VI. is about Augustine's public role in his time, VII. about 'Augustine and the invention of Christianity'. VIII. is about the 'Putsch' (209) against the Donatists in 411. IX. about the backlashes following it ('Loomings'). X. is entitled 'Augustine's Great Failure' (it is about Augustine getting caught up in controversies and developing problematic positions in his later life). XI. discusses 'Augustine the Theologians' (sic!) and XII. Augustine's death. There is an epilogue with the philosophical title 'We are not who we think we are', a bibliographical essay, a section of endnotes and references, and a useful name and subject index.

Whatever the weaknesses of the book as a biography, it also has strengths as a pool of new ideas. In this respect the text on the dust cover is not far off the mark: This book is a 'starting point', perhaps not for an 'entire', but at least for a partial 're-thinking' of Augustine's life, work and thought. To mention a few: O. touches upon the role of oratory and orality in the context of oratory in the late empire and the question concerning the 'effectiveness' of oratory/preaching (30-34. 147-170. 255-258. 307-311 *passim*). He raises the question of the chronology between 397 and 411 and Augustine's public recognition during that period: Was he not much more obscure during that period than has traditionally been thought? Augustine's Manichaeism is taken seriously. O. points out that Augustine was a Manichee for longer than he would have his readers believe and calls Manichaeism 'the one truly impassioned religious experience of his life' (47). He also points to the impact of Manichaeism on Augustine's method of interpreting the Bible (121). Further, he sees Augustine the preacher, writer (or publicist) and public figure not so much as a philosopher manqué than as an accomplished performer (132-133). His church is depicted as a minority group which in the short term (for a few years after 411) gained the upper hand in Africa, but in the medium and long term was not able to succeed in the African context. The use of 'Caecilianist' in this context is thought provoking, especially in contrast to the use of 'catholic' in a wider context (312). At last O. sees Augustine's final years not as a time of triumph but of failure with old age closing in and crucial conflicts not resolved (261-286). O. is not the first to compare the late bishop of Hippo with the knight of La Mancha (202-208), as an almost tragi-comic target of invective and parody (285-286). O. also points to the importance and ambiguity of Augustine's legacy, first of all in relation to the *Confessions* (63-86), secondly in relation to his 'second *Confessions*', his work in its entirety, as recorded, revised, and distilled in the *Retractations* (317-318), and thirdly in relation to Augustine's traditional image as a saint,

teacher, and leading figure of western Christianity and western culture (287-332).

Beyond these strengths there are also weaknesses, not only of form and style, as mentioned earlier, but also of content. Only a few can be addressed: Although O. is sympathetic with Augustine's Manichaeism, he does not fully recognise the most recent developments in research in this field. Notes 75 and 92 are revealing. For the *Epistula ad Menoch* the edition and commentary by Markus Stein (1998) is missing, as is other more recent work (e.g. J. van Oort a.o., eds., *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, 2001), not marginal but essential titles! Does it matter? True, O. does mention in general that recent research is highlighting the literary and religious culture of Manichaean communities rather than discussing doctrinal issues (e.g. dualism) forced upon Manichaeism from outside (47). But only a few lines further on he revives the old cliché of Manichaeism as 'a new-age religion in its time, fashionable, exotic, with an up-to-date brand of humbug' and speaks of 'Augustine's affair with Manichaeism' (48). No mention of the extent to which recent research has actually brought to life the cultural and socio-economic conditions of late-antique Manichaeism, its literature (from biblical scholarship to hagiography), its hierarchy, its ritual cosmos, its social support structures. Clearly, O. could have said a lot more substantial things about Augustine's Manichaeism, even without substantially expanding his narrative.

Another sore point is O.'s account of Jerome and Augustine's relationship with him centred around their correspondence. As his notes (e.g. 92 n. 65) suggest O. relies for this on the dated studies of John Kelly (1975) and Ralph Hennings (1994). He does not mention any of the substantial recent works by Alfons Fürst (1995. 1999. 2002. 2004) or Stefan Rebenich (2002). Considering that Jerome is mentioned on more than fifty pages in the book this is a serious problem, and it is aggravated by the fact that, as in the case of Manichaeism, here, too, O. tends to resort to cliches, like Augustine and Jerome 'jousting', or Jerome being 'miffed' (93). Some details are also doubtful. Thus contrary to what O.'s account seems to imply, Jerome was at one point driven out of his home in Bethlehem, and later figures did accuse him of unchastity (92). Also, the story of *ep.* 40 is far more complex than O.'s account suggests. There are far more letters involved in the episode (Aug. *ep.* 28, probably a *salutatio* by Augustine and a response by Jerome, both no longer extant, *epp.* 39, 40, 67, 68, another lost letter, *epp.* 71-75, 81 and 82). Consequently there are also far more

technical problems to consider (couriers dying or going astray, problems with transport, delays—sometimes years rather than months—, letters crisscrossing each other, corrupt copies etc.), and far less intrigue than O. suspects. Of course it is possible to speculate about 'the war that Augustine and Jerome could have had' (272), but one could also ask whether biography as part of historiography should be in the business of such speculation, especially at the cost of a detailed account of what, according to the evidence, in the best of probabilities, actually happened. O. also falls for the cliché of the young Augustine and the old Jerome (94 n. 169), when at the time of the correspondence both were old men, and he fails to see the connection between the correspondence of Augustine and Jerome and Augustine's advice to Consentius about lying (144 n. 254). It was Jerome who first defended white lies against Augustine in the name of tradition (Origen had done so before) and it was Augustine, as so often, and as O. rightly points out, who went against tradition.

One could go on. As it is, just one more minor observation in connection with names and epithets: O. can be quite conscious of their use. Thus on one occasion he refers to Paulinus of Nola as 'Paulinus (not yet of Nola)' (267), pointing to the fact that he speaks about a time prior to Paulinus' final move to Nola. On another occasion he explains why Pope Gregory I. became to be called 'The Great' (278). But what is a modern, yet historically aware and interested, reader to think, when Orosius is called 'a Spanish priest' (250), John Cassian 'a Skythian monk' (270)—similarly Dionysius Exiguus (312: 'from Skythia'; though see p. 6: 'from what is now Moldova')—, or Memor, the father of Julian of Aeclanum (O. insists on the hybrid form 'Eclanum'), 'bishop of Beneventum' (58 and *passim*)? The fact that one can frequently read these phrases (and there are others!) does not make them less problematic. Of course, it is not easy to develop alternatives which are at the same time correct, precise, pithy and interesting in a contemporary biographical narrative. But maybe that is precisely the kind of standard by which a book that aspires to be a state of the art biography should be judged.

For the record, three typos: On p. 21, line 36 it should read 'prerequisites'; on p. 159 line 26, 'we've', and on p. 363 n. 440, 'will'.

On balance, this book has its flaws, but that does not mean that it is not worth reading or does not deserve serious and intensive consideration by all scholars of Augustine and his time, if only for its many interesting and stimulating ideas, its broad approach and its counterfactual speculations,

and not least because it may inspire some of its readers to sit down and write the next momentous Augustine biography.

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Bruce Chilton & Craig A. Evans (eds), *James the Just and Christian Origins* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 98), Leiden: Brill 1999, XII + 299 pp., ISBN 90-04-11550-1, €77.-/US$110.-.

This book contains the edited papers of a consultation on James, the brother of Jesus Christ. They originated from a discussion, which had been pursued at Bard College (NY) from 1996 to 1999. Part 1 deals with the issues of background and context; Part 2 is on the relation of James to Jewish Christianity.

In the introduction, Bruce Chilton lists data on the life and person of James. Only a few data have been transmitted about his life, so that a purely historical approach is not successful. Philip R. Davies asks whether the Scrolls of Qumran mention James. Is the theory of Eisenman correct, that James may be identified as the 'Teacher of Righteousness'? That James is a key figure in the Scrolls must be firmly denied; but that he might, like the Scrolls, hold a key to understanding the nature of first century Jewish religion in Palestine seems worth careful reflection. Peter H. Davids discusses the relation of James to the Epistle of his name. This Epistle was probably sent from the Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem, possibly by James himself, to the Jewish Christians in the Diaspora. This may hold true for at least a part of this letter. Though James's authorship cannot be proved, all evidence refers to a specific cultural milieu, namely Palestinian Jewish-Christianity. Jacob Neusner's contribution is very restricted and detailed. He wonders whether the advice of James' party to Paul that he should complete his Nazirite vow by sacrificing in the temple matches the halakhah of the Mishnah. According to Neusner, this is very dubious, as this halakhah admonishes to be responsible for what we say. It does not allow words to remain words; they should take effect as deeds. The only purpose of James's advice was that Paul should make a show of following the Law according to the Torah. Scot McKnight calls attention to the different ideas of Jesus and James about the place of Israel and purity. On the one hand, there are agreements between Jesus and James, so that the

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ideas of James seem to continue the ideas of Jesus; on the other hand, there are also differences. One must also distinguish the James of Acts and the Letters of Paul from the writer of the Letter of St James. Jesus and James agree in considering the restoration of Israel as the purpose of God's work of salvation and not the conversion of the Gentiles. The difference, however, is that Jesus mitigates the prescripts of the Torah, whereas James sticks to it concerning the purity of the people. For Jesus and the James of Acts, the commandment to love God is as important as the commandment to love one's neighbour. The James of the Letter restricts himself to the commandment to love one's neighbour. "Ambiguities apart, we can conclude that the vision of Jesus was substantially carried on in both the James of Acts and the James of James, but not without modifications and supplementations". William L. Farmer discusses the portrait of James that we encounter in the letters of St Paul, especially in the First Letter to the Corinthians and the Letter to the Galatians. The question is whether Paul gives us a reliable portrait of James. In contrast to the author of Acts, who lived later, Paul was an eyewitness. However, Paul cannot be called impartial. Nevertheless, we may assume that Paul may not give information that is far from the truth, because his contemporaries could verify it. Markus Bockmuel's paper focuses on the relation of James to the Christian community in Antioch. Why did James send messengers to Antioch to check whether the relation between the Jewish and Gentile Christians was ritually pure? The reason was that James felt himself responsible for the Christians in Antioch, as Antioch was considered in Jerusalem as being part of the Holy Land. It was still situated within the Biblical borders of the land that was promised to the Twelve Tribes of Israel and where mission among the Jews was permitted. Richard Baucham investigates the legal grounds for the execution of James. For what offences does the Torah and the Mishna prescribe stoning as punishment? Possibly the following offences: blasphemy, a prophet whose preaching and deeds instigate the people to serve other gods (named in rabbinic literature a *mesit*), a person who persuades a whole town into apostasy. James was probably stoned for the second offence. In the last contribution, Craig A. Evans compares the death of James with the death of Jesus. The agreements are remarkable. Both were condemned to death by a high priest from the same family. A difference is that the Roman government did not sanction the death sentence of James. Both were condemned for their negative attitude to the temple cult. And in their last appearance, Psalm 118 plays an important part.

This book offers a major contribution to our knowledge of early Christianity, especially of its most original form, namely Jewish Christianity. James was bishop of the first Christian community in Jerusalem. It is somewhat regrettable that from these fine papers we do not get a complete picture of James, which is in actual fact very difficult as the sources are not very clear and sometimes even contradictory. Yet more unity in the treatment of this subject is desirable. A move in the right direction has been made in a more recent study edited by Bruce David Chilton and Jacob Neusner under the title *The Brother of Jesus: James the Just and his Mission* (Louisville Westminster, John Knox Press 2001). In it, the person, the message, and the relations of James to Jesus and to the apostles Peter and Paul are described in a more clearly arranged way.

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Michael Hanby, *Augustine and Modernity*, Routledge: London & New York 2003, 292 pp., ISBN 0-415-28469-4, £ 19,99 (pb).

En 2003 est paru, dans la série 'Radical Orthodoxy', *Augustine and Modernity* de Michael Hanby. Avant d'aborder le contenu du livre lui-même, consacrons quelques lignes à cette Orthodoxie Radicale. Le mouvement débute avec la publication de deux manifestes: *Radical Orthodoxy: Twenty-four Theses* et *Radical Orthodoxy: Twenty more Theses*, suivie en 1998 par un livre intitulé *Radical Orthodoxy. A New Theology*. Les auteurs en étaient J. Milbank, C. Pickstock et G. Ward. Le but de cette nouvelle théologie – car l'intention était bel et bien d'en lancer une – était d'en finir avec le postmodernisme et de revenir à une théologie orthodoxe qui sache répondre aux défis de la modernité et du postmodernisme. D'ailleurs non seulement répondre, mais aussi réfuter. Une théologie donc sachant relever et dépasser les impasses dans lesquelles la pensée moderne s'était cantonnée. Les auteurs prétendaient que le début de cette impasse remonte au nominalisme, le moment où, au sein de la théologie, la séparation entre la foi et la raison commence à prendre forme. C'est le moment que l'individualisme et surtout le subjectivisme naquirent et où la notion platonicienne de la participation a été évincée. Cette dernière notion était pourtant l'idée qui formait le pont entre Dieu et l'homme, entre le monde de la grâce et celle de la nature. Elle était en plus le gage de la communauté, car dès que l'on conçoit une

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participation, il y a aussi une unité qui dépasse la fraction que recèle cette participation. L'Orthodoxie Radicale connut un véritable succès et d'autres publications suivirent, toutes d'un ton très ferme, fustigeant la nature et le développement de beaucoup de recherches théologiques. Le mouvement se dit œcuménique (bien que d'origine anglicane et catholique), mais il est clair qu'en se dressant fortement contre le nominalisme et le subjectivisme, le protestantisme devait se sentir visé.

Ce qui est important en revanche pour cette critique, c'est le fait que l'Orthodoxie Radicale n'acceptait pas non plus la division entre les disciplines théologiques, mais se voulait l'expression d'une encyclopédie théologique oubliée depuis trop longtemps. Pas question donc de séparer les recherches historiques de la réflexion systématique voire doctrinale. Le livre de Michael Hanby n'est donc ni une étude historique ni une œuvre systématique au sens propre du mot. Il propose en revanche de penser *avec* Augustin *sur* Augustin, ce qui revient en fait à une étude largement systématique qui ne se réfère guère aux recherches historiques et philologiques. Quel est alors le but principal de ce livre? Montrer comment le subjectivisme moderne n'est rien d'autre que l'autonomie d'une volonté humaine qui s'est défaite de la grâce divine. Un subjectivisme auquel la pensée cartésienne aurait beaucoup contribué, qui, à son tour, devait beaucoup à la pensée augustinienne. C'est-à-dire, tel est l'avis généralement accepté. Or, l'auteur conteste cette conception largement répandue. Là où l'on a cru reconnaître en Descartes des origines augustiniennes, celles-ci sont en vérité des éléments empruntés au Stoïcisme qui – et c'est là que se situe le problème – se serait traîtreusement installé dans la tradition chrétienne. Naturellement, on peut déjà le deviner, ce sont le pélagianisme et le sémipélagianisme qui en seraient les principaux coupables.

Si l'on essayait de déceler dans ce livre une primordiale question historique, ce serait d'abord celle de savoir si c'est bien le pélagianisme qui donne naissance au subjectivisme cartésien et non la pensée augustinienne? Deuxièmement, si le lien entre le pélagianisme et le cartésianisme s'avère vrai, repose-t-il alors sur un fond apporté par la philosophie stoïcienne? Notons-le bien, ces questions sont d'une grande ampleur et l'auteur n'envisage en vérité donc pas moins que de récrire l'histoire du subjectivisme occidental en passant par Augustin, Descartes et le Stoïcisme. Malheureusement, le matériel qu'il avance afin de soutenir son point de vue, ne suffit guère. En ce qui concerne les textes d'Augustin – car c'est notamment dans le livre X du *De Trinitate* qu'on trouve les schémas si proches de la pensée cartésienne – il ne l'analyse qu'à peine. Il avance que le pélagianisme

prétend pouvoir se passer de la grâce salutaire en Christ en qu'il fait donc tort à l'orthodoxie trinitaire. C'est correct. Mais l'auteur oublie entièrement que le subjectivisme augustinien prend son point de départ dans la question purement épistémologique de savoir si l'âme, dans sa quête de connaissance, ne se connaîtrait pas a priori elle-même. Cette question est largement étudiée dans le livre X du *De Trinitate*, mais il ne l'analyse pas. De plus, en ce qui concerne la littérature secondaire il y a le même type d'omissions. L'auteur ne discute nulle part (sauf en le mentionnant dans une note) les vues de P. Hadot, le spécialiste des origines philosophiques du subjectivisme occidental. Deuxièmement, est-ce bien le stoïcisme qui est à l'origine du subjectivisme cartésien? Et est-ce grâce au pélagianisme qu'il aurait pu semer son influence? De nouveau, l'auteur en donne trop peu de preuves. Car si tel est réellement le cas, pourquoi un Calvin, fortement influencé par le stoïcisme, n'aurait-il pas succombé au pélagianisme et au subjectivisme? En plus, l'influence du stoïcisme sur l'ensemble de la pensée chrétienne des premiers siècles, est beaucoup trop vaste pour le limiter au pélagianisme seul. Bref, dans l'ensemble il s'agit d'une étude qui esquisse avec un peu trop de facilité des soi-disant développements historiques. On ne peut pas récrire l'histoire du subjectivisme en prenant son point de départ dans la conception augustinienne du Christ, réunissant en lui la *scientia* et la *sapientia*, la foi et la raison. Certes, la foi et la raison doivent dialoguer et l'Orthodoxie Radicale fait un effort sincère. Mais les recherches augustiniennes ont besoin d'un peu plus de précision.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Les Apophtegmes des Pères, Collection systématique, Chapitres XVII-XXI. Texte critique, traduction et notes par Jean-Claude Guy † (Sources Chrétiennes 498), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 471 p., ISBN 2-204-07957-X, € 35 (broché, avec couvert).—Avec une Concordance entre la collection alphabétique et la collection systématique; un Index scripturaire des trois volumes; Index des noms de lieux; Index des noms de personnes; Index des mots grecs; Errata des volumes 1 et 2.

Bagnall, Roger S., *Later Roman Egypt: Society, Religion, Economy and Administration* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 758), Aldershot UK / Berlington, Vermont USA: Ashgate 2003, 332 pp. (incl. b&w ill.), ISBN 0-86078-899-7, £ 55.00 (hardback).—Preface; Acknowledgements; I: Slavery and Society in Late Roman Egypt; II: Women, Law and Social Realities in Late Antiquity; III: Missing Females in Roman Egypt; IV: Church, State and Divorce in Late Roman Egypt; V: Official and Private Violence in Roman Egypt; VI: The Population of Theadelphia in the Fourth Century; VII: An Owner of Literary Papyri; VIII: Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt; IX: Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply; X: Combat ou vide: christianisme et paganisme dans l'Égypte romaine tardive; XI: Charite's Christianity; XII: Landholding in Late Roman Egypt: The Distribution of Wealth; XIII: An Arsinoite Metropolitan Landowning Family of the Fourth Century; XIV: Military Officers as Landowners in Fourth Century Egypt; XV: Price in 'Sales on Delivery'; XVI: The Camel, the Wagon, and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt; XVII: Agricultural Productivity and Taxation in Later Roman Egypt; XVIII: P.Oxy. XVI 1905, SB V 7756 and Fourth Century Taxation; XIX: Bullion Purchases and Landholding in the Fourth Century; XX: The Taxes of Toka: SB XVI 12324 Reconsidered; XXI: The Periodicity and Collection of the Chrysargyron; XXII: Count Ausonius; XXIII: Property-holdings of Liturgists in Fourth-Century Karanis; XXIV: The Number and Term of the Dekaprotoi; Addenda; Index.

Bède le Vénérable, *Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais* (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*), Tome II (Livres III-IIII). Introduction et notes par André Crépin, texte critique par Michael Lapidge, traduction par Pierre Monat et Philippe Robin (Sources Chrétiennes 490), Paris: Les Éditions

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du Cerf 2005, 423 p., ISBN 2-204-08012-8, € 35 (broché); Bède le Vénérable, *Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais* (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*), Tome III (Livre V). Introduction et notes par André Crépin, texte critique par Michael Lapidge, traduction par Pierre Monat et Philippe Robin (Sources Chrétiennes 491), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 251 p., ISBN 2-204-08045-4, € 22 (broché)—'La présente édition (en trois volumes) offre pour la première fois aux francophones le texte du manuscrit de Saint-Petersbourg, très prôche de l'original de Bède. La traduction française se veut aussi proche du texte latin que possible. Les notes, tout en signalant sources et travaux, sont assez explicites pour satisfaire les éventuelles interrogations; elles font souvent référence à la traduction en vieil-anglais, du IXe siècle'. Cf. pour le premier tome *VC* 59 (2005) 469. Dans le dernier volume, on trouve une série d'*indices* cumulatifs, une carte, et une liste des *errata* des volumes I et II.

Brown, Judith Anne, *John Marco Allegro. The Maverick of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2005, xvi + 288 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2849-3, $ 25.00 / £ 15.95 (hardcover with jacket).—A moving biography written by his daughter, with many quotes from original letters and other documents, and throwing more light on Allegro's much disputed view on the Dead Sea Scrolls and 'the Christian Myth', and his likewise disputed opinions on Gnosticism and the Scrolls.

Bruns, Peter, *Von Athen nach Bagdad: Zur Rezeption griechischer Philosophie von der Spätantike bis zum Islam* (Hereditas 22), Bonn: Börengasser 2003, ISBN 3-923946-63-5, 179 S., € 27.20 /sFr 47,- (Geb.).—Vorwort (5-6); Sebastian Brock, Syriac Translation of Greek Popular Philosophy (9-28); Peter Bruns, Aristoteles-Rezeption und Entstehung einer syrischen Scholastik (29-41); Gerhard Endreß, Athen-Alexandria-Bagdad-Samarkand. Übersetzung, Überlieferung und Integration der griechischen Philosophie im Islam (42-62); Anthony Meredith, Plotinus and the Cappadocians (63-75); Friedrich Niewöhner, Polis und Madīna—Averroes' Platon-Lektüre (76-91); Rudolf Rieks, Konstanten paganer Ethik bei Augustinus (92-110); Christian Schröer, Boetius—der erste Scholastiker (111-131); Bernhard Steinhauf, Der Umbruch antiker Bildung in der ausgehenden Spätantike bei Cassiodor (132-160); Gotthard Strohmaier, Griechische Philosophen bei den arabischen Autoren des Mittelalters (161-179).

Buell, Denise Kimber, *Why This New Race? Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity*, New York: Columbia University Press 2005, xiv + 257 pp., ISBN 0-231-13334-0, $ 45.00 / £ 29.50 (cloth with jacket).—'The central argument of this book is that early Christian texts used culturally avail-

able understanding of human difference, which we can analyze in terms of our modern concepts of "ethnicity," "race," and "religion," to shape what we have come to call a religious tradition and to portray forms of Christianness as universal and authoritative' (p. 2). In her rather long-winded reasoning the author does not make sufficient clear why she choses this or that particular patristic writing to illustrate her argument. The important theme seems to deserve a more thorough (and less biased) treatment.

Burgsmüller, Anne, *Die Askeseschrift des Pseudo-Basilius. Untersuchungen zum Brief "Über die wahre Reinheit in der Jungfräulichkeit"* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 28), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2005, XI + 477 S., ISBN 3-16-148657-9, € 74 (kart.).—Ursprünglich Dissertation der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg im Breisgau (Promotor K. Suso Frank; Zweitgutachten Thomas Böhm). Kommentierung und Übersetzung einer Askeseschrift, die lange Zeit Basilius von Ankyra zugeschrieben wurde. Die Autorin deckt auf, 'dass der Autor dieses Briefes nicht wegen häretischen Gedankenguts in Vergessenheit geriet, sondern aufgrund seiner stark vereinfachenden Darstellung theologisch heikler Fragen und seiner Offenheit in Bezug auf Fragen der Sexualität'. Dennoch wurde den Pseudo-Basilius von Gregor von Nyssa geschätzt und er versuchte, ihn für eine großkirchlich akzeptierte Theologie fruchtbar zu machen: Vorwort; Einleitung; 1. Überlieferung der Schrift (8-15); 2. Theologiegeschichtliche Einordnung (16-69); 3. Inhaltliche Einordnung (70-194); 4. Mystik und Eschatologie im Werk des Pseudo-Basilius (195-207); 5. Virginitätsschriften—ein Vergleich (208-256); 6. Zusammenfassung (257-261); Griechischer Text [nach PG 30, 669-809] und deutscher Übersetzung (262-441); Literaturverzeichnis (442-459: leider mit vielen Fehlern in der Wiedergabe lateinischer Titel; außerdem sind öfters nicht die besten griechischen und lateinischen Texteditionen benutzt worden); Stellenregister (460-474); Sachregister (475-477).

Codex Theodosianus: *Les lois religieuses des Empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II (312-438).* Volume I: *Code Théodosien Livre XVI.* Texte latin de Theodor Mommsen [†], traduction de Jean Rougé †, Introduction et notes de Roland Delmaire, avec la collaboration de François Richard (Sources Chrétiennes 497), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 524 p., ISBN 2-204-07906-5, € 46 (broché).—Volume impressionnante et utile, avec une longe introduction et des annexes ('Héresies et schismes mentionnés dans le livre XVI'; 'La date des lois sur les juifs adressées à Evagrius'; 'Les lois contre les donatistes'; 'Notes sur *CTh* XVI, 10, 20') de Roland Delmaire. 'Le livre XVI du *Code Théodosien* rassemble un grand nombre des lois émises en

matière religieuse par Constantin et ses successeurs jusqu'à Théodose II, qui en fit faire le receuil. Sont concernés les cultes traditionnels, le judaïsme, mais surtout l'Église, dont les empereurs, eux-mêmes chrétiens, s'appliquent à consolider la position'. Mais, hélas, l'information donnée sur les 'hérésies et schismes' est souvent très datée et—partiellement—fausse, comme p.e. les renseignements sur les ariens (475), les encratites (477), les manichéens (479-480), les marcionistes (sic; 480-481) et Valentin (485-486).

Daub, Susanne, *Von der Bibel zum Epos. Poetische Strategien des Laurentius am geistlichen Hof von Durham*, Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag 2005, 283 S., ISBN3-412-14005-8, € 29.90 /SFr 52.20 (Geb.).—Analyse von Laurentius' *Hypognosticon*, mit Verweisen auf patristischen Autoren wie Augustinus.

Del Verme, Marcello, *Didache and Judaism. Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work*, New York: T&T Clark International 2004, XV + 291 pp., ISBN 0-567-02541-1, US$ 29,95 (pb).—Introduction (1-4); Ch. I: *Status Quaestionis*: Defining Terms and Perspectives Starting From an Annotated Bibliography (5-111); II. Benefice/Charity or Community of Goods? *A Propos* of Did. 4:8 (113-142); III. Defining Identities: Who are the People Labelled as "Hypocrites" and "the Others" in *Didache* 8? (143-188); IV. The ΑΠΑΡΧΗ of the Christian Jews (*Did.* 13:3-7) and Some Ancient Ecclesiastical Ordinances (189-220); V. Eschatology and/or Apocalypse? Did. 16 and the So-Called "Jewish Apocalyptic" (221-262); Conclusions (263-266); Indices (267-291).—An extensive VC-review will be published in due course.

Drobner, Hubertus R., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu den Büchern Exodus, Könige und Job (Sermones 6-12)*. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (Patrologia. Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter, Band X), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2003, 345 S., ISBN 3-631-50824-7, € 46,50 (pb).

Drobner, Hubertus R., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zu Kirch- und Bisschofsweihe (Sermones 336-340/A)*. Einleitung, revidierter Mauriner-Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (Patrologia. Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter, Band IX), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2003, 178 S., ISBN 3-631-50562-0, € 30,70 (pb).

Drobner, Hubertus R., *Augustinus von Hippo, Predigten zum Buch der Sprüche und Jesus Sirach (Sermones 35-41)*. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (Patrologia. Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter, Band XIII), Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2004, 299 S., ISBN 3-631-52884-1, € 48,10 (pb).

Eusebius von Caesarea, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen. Edition der syrischen Fassung mit griechischem Text, englischer und deutscher Übersetzung.* Eingeleitet, herausgegeben und mit Indices versehen von Stefan Timm (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 152), Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter 2005, VIII + 45* + 253 S., ISBN 3-11-018191-6, € 98 /sFr 157/US$ 134 (Geb.).—'Eusebs Lexikon der biblischen Ortsnamen ist das grundlegende Handbuch zur historischen Landeskunde des Heiligen Landes diesseits und jenseits des Jordans. In seiner lateinischen Fassung hat es das Abendland stark beeinflusst. Die syrische Fassung hat auf den Orient ähnlich stark gewirkt. Sie enthält die Weiterungen der lateinischen Fassung nicht und ist damit auch für die Textgeschichte der griechischen Fassung von erheblicher Bedeutung. Die syrische Fassung wird hier erstmals in einer interlinearen Form: griechisch und syrisch, samt englischer und deutscher Übersetzung geboten. Für den griechischen und für den syrischen Text werden vollständige Indices der Personennamen, der Wörter, der Zahlen und Enfernungsangaben geboten.' Eindrucksvoller Arbeit und nützliches Instrumentarium; s. auch unten, s.v. Notley and Safrai.

Feichtinger, Barbara & Helmut Seng, *Die Christen und der Körper. Aspekte der Körperlichkeit in der christlichen Literatur der Spätantike* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 184), München-Leipzig: K.G. Saur Verlag 2004, 212 S., ISBN 3-598-77736-1, € 88 (Geb.).—Vorwort (7); Barabara Feichtinger, Einleitung (9-28); Katharina Waldner, "Was wir also gehört und berührt haben, verkünden wir auch euch . . .". Zur narrativen Technik der Körperdarstellung in *Martyrium Polycarpi* und der *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (29-74); Timon Binder, Der Körper in der Vernichtung—Kommunikationsstrategien der frühchristlichen Märtyrerliteratur am Beispiel der *Passio Montani et Lucii* (75-99); Alfred Breitenbach, Ambrosius van Mailand: Ein Bishof für die Kranken? Eine Beurteilung anhand des *Lukaskommentars* und der Schrift *De officiis* (101-150); Stephen Lake, Fabiola and the Sick: Jerome, *epistula* 77 (151-172); Therese Fuhrer, Körperlichkeit und Sexualität in Augustins autobiographischen und moraltheologischen Schriften (173-188); Christoph Markschies, Körper und Körperlichkeit im antiken Mönchtum (189-212).

Frank, Günther und Friedrich Niewöhner, unter Mitarbeit von Sebastian Lalla (Hrsg.), *Reformer als Ketzer. Heterodoxe Bewegungen von Vorreformatoren*, Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: frommann-holzboog 2004, 384 S., ISBN 3-7728-2235-5, € 48 (Geb.).—Schöne (und billige) Ausgabe von Studien zum Thema 'Vorreformation', mit vielen Verweisen auf patristischen Autoren

wie Augustinus, und ausführlich über den sog. Paulikianismus: G. Frank, 'Wirklichkeit und Topik des sogenannten Vorreformatorischen. Der Paulikianismus' (57-71).

Funk, Wolf-Peter, Paul-Hubert Poirier, Madeleine Scopello, John D. Turner, *L'Allogène (NH XI,3)* (Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Textes" 30) Québec/Louvain-Paris, Les Presses de l'Université Laval/Éditions Peeters 2004, XIV + 289 pages, ISBN 90-429-1361-4, € 65 (broché).—New volume in the esteemed series: 'Avant propos' (par Louis Painchaud, VII-VIII); Bibliographie (IX-XIV); [English] Introduction (by John D. Turner, 1-188), Texte et traduction (189-239: texte copte par Wolf-Peter Funk, traduction française par Madeleine Scopello); Notes philologiques (par Wolf-Peter Funk et Paul-Hubert Poirier, 241-257); Index (par Wolf-Peter Funk, 259-285).

Grégoire le Grand, *Homélies sur l'Évangile*, Livre I, Homélies I-XX. Texte latin, introduction, traduction et notes par Rayond Étaix †, Charles Morel †, Bruno Judic (Sources Chrétiennes 485), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 482 p., ISBN 2-204-07691-0, € 41 (broché).—'Cette collection de quarante homélies (sc. les *Homélies sur l'Évangile*, des prédications liturgiques adressées aux fidèles de Rome), est l'œuvre de Grégoire le Grand lui-même. Le classement retenu est, dit-il, chronologique, ce qui n'est que partiellement exact. Grégoire semble avoir procédé à une sélection des homélies prononcées durant la première année de son pontificat, entre novembre 590 et janvier/février 592. Les vingt premières, présentées ici, auraient été dictées à des secrétaires et lues ensuite devant le peuple au cours de l'assemblée liturgique; les vingt suivantes, généralement plus longues, furent prononcées par Grégoire lui-même'. Texte latin reproduit celui de Raymond Étaix édité dans le *CCL* 141; traduction de Charles Morel; introduction et notes rédigées par Bruno Judic.

Haehling, Raban von (Hrsg.), *Griechische Mythologie und frühes Christentum*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2005, XIII + 401 S. (inkl. Abb.), ISBN 3-534-18528-5, SFr 98.80 / € 59.90 (Geb.).—Raban von Haehling, Einleitung (IX-XIII); Manfred Fuhrmann, Mythen, Fabeln, Legenden und Märchen in der antiken Tradition. Mit einer Einleitung: Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche im "Goldenen Esel" des Apuleius (1-20); Jan N. Bremmer, Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship (21-43); Kai Brodersen, "Das aber ist eine Lüge!" Zur rationalistischen Mythenkritik des Palaiphatos (44-57); Klaus Rosen, Der Mythos von Amor und Psyche in Apuleius' Metamorphosen (58-64); Wolfgang Speyer, Porphyrios als religiöse Persönlichkeit und als religiöser

Denker (65-84); Ruprecht Ziegler, Der Perseus-Mythos im Prestigedenken kaiserzeitlicher städtischer Eliten Kilikiens (85-105); Jutta Dresken-Weiland, Pagane Mythen auf Sarkophagen des dritten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts (106-131); Folker Siegert, Griechische Mythen im hellenistischen Judentum (132-152) Detlev Dormeyer, Bakchos in der Apostelgeschichte (153-172); Walter Burkert, Kritiken, Rettungen und unterschwellige Lebendigkeit griechischer Mythen zur Zeit des frühen Christentums (173-193); Christian Gnilka, Wahrheit und Ähnlichkeit (194-226); Christoph Markschies, Odysseus und Orpheus—christlich gelesen (227-253); Wilhelm Geerlings, Das Bild des Sängers Orpheus bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern (254-267[1]); Helga Scholten, Der Demeter- und Persephonemythos in der Auseinandersetzung christlicher Autoren (268-294); Stephanie Vanderheijden, Mythos zwischen Aberglauben und Philosophie in den *Stromateis* des Clemens von Alexandrien (295-310); Benedikt Oehl, Mythos und Häresie (311-338); Raban von Haehling, Voraussehung und Willensfreiheit: Die geistige Auseinandersetzung der frühen Christen mit dem Erzählgut der griechischen Tragödie (339-358); Jörg Rüpke, Bilderwelten und Religionswechsel (359-376); Stellenregister (377-399); Abbildungsnachweise (401).

Jensen, Anne, *Frauen im frühen Christentum*, unter Mitarbeit von Livia Neureiter, Bern: Peter Lang 2002, LXXX + 319 S., ISBN 3-906767-53-1, € 67,70 (Geb.). Sachkundige 'Hinführung' und eindrucksvolle Sammlung von originalen griechischen und lateinischen Texten mit deutscher Übersetzung in der bewährten Reihe *Traditio christiana*: Vorwort (IX); *Hinführung*: Vorbemerkungen (XIII-XV); I. Lebensentwürfe von Frauen: Apostolinnen; Prophetinnen; Martyrinnen; Asketinnen; Witwen und Diakoninnen; Lehrerinnen; Ehefrauen und Mütter (XV-XLII); II. Theorien über Frauen: Eva und Maria; Gleichheit und Ungleichheit; Ist die Frau Abbild Gottes?; Das Ideal der "männlichen Frau"; Geschlechterhierarchie und Arbeitsteilung (XLIV-L); III. Exemplarische Gestalten: Proba; Makrina; Marcella; Olympias; Pulcheria (L-LVII); Literaturverzeichnis (LIX-LXXIX); Abkürzungen (LXXX); *Texte und Übersetzungen*: Neutestamentliche Texte: Gal 3,26-29; Röm 1,26; 16,1-16; 1 Kor 11,2-16; 1 Kor 14,33-35; Eph 5,21-6,9; Kol 3,18-4,1; 1 Tim 2,9-15; 1 Tim 5,1-16; Tit 2,3-5; 1 Petr 2,11-3,7 (2-15); I. Lebensentwürfe von Frauen: Apostolinnen; Prophetinnen; Martyrinnen; Asketinnen; Witwen und Diakoninnen; Lehrerinnen; Ehefrauen und Mütter (16-205); II. Theorien

[1] Anders im Inhaltsverzeichnis: 'Orpheus in der vorkonstantinischen griechischen Theologie'.

über Frauen: Eva und Maria; Gleichheit und Ungleichheit; Ist die Frau Abbild Gottes?; Das Ideal der "männlichen Frau"; Geschlechterhierarchie und Arbeitsteilung (206-259); III. Exemplarische Gestalten: Proba; Makrina; Marcella; Olympias; Pulcheria (260-299); Register: I. Verzeichnis der biblischen Zitate und Anspielungen; II. Altchristliche Quellen; III. Sachregister; IV. Namensregister (303-319). In diesem gründlichen und bewundernswerten Buch vermißt man jedoch die vielen einschlägigen gnostisch-christlichen Texte (wie z.B. das *Philippus-Evangelium*; sogar das *Thomas-Evangelium* wird nirgends erwähnt) und ebenso eine Auswertung der wichtigen manichäisch-christlichen Texten (wie z.B. die Schriften aus Medinet Madi; s. z.B. J. Kevin Coyle, 'Mary Magdalene in Manichaeism?', *Le Muséon* 104 (1991) 39-55).

Kruger, Michael J., *The Gospel of the Savior. An Analysis of P.Oxy[.] 840 and its Place in the Gospel Traditions of Early Christianity* (Texts and Editions for New Testament Study 1), Leiden—Boston: Brill 2005, XV (incl. two plates) + 299 pp., ISB90-04-14393-9, € 79 / US$ 113 (hardback).—Originally Ph.D. thesis University of Edinburgh 2004; supervisor Larry W. Hurtado: Introduction to P.Oxy. 840; Ch. I: The Codicology and Palaeography of P.Oxy. 840; II: Text and Translation of P.Oxy. 840; III: The Historical Problems of P.Oxy. 840; IV: The Relationship of P.Oxy. 840 to the Canonical Gospels; V: Towards Placing P.Oxy. 840 Within Early Christianity; Appendix; Bibliography; Indices. It is argued, among others, that 'P.Oxy. 840 Jewish-Christian context was composed of four characteristics: (i) it was 'orthodox'; (ii) it was intimately aware of first-century purity practices; (iii) it was engaged in severe conflict with Pharisaic (rabbinic) Judaism; and (iv) it opposed the keeping of ritual purity laws as a requirement for entrance into the covenant community. As these four characteristics were compared with known Jewish-Christian groups, there seemed to be a possible (although by no means certain) match with the Nazarenes' (256-257).

MacKenzie, Iain M., *Irenaeus's Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching. A theological commentary and translation*, Aldershot UK / Berlington, Vermont USA: Ashgate 2002, vii + 241 pp., ISBN 0-7546-0842-5, £ 17.99 (pb).—Reprint of the translation of the text by J. Armitage Robinson (1885), with occasional revisions, followed by a *theological* (= inner-patristic) commentary in eighteen chapters.

Madigan, Kevin & Carolyn Osiek (ed. and transl.), *Ordained Women in the Early Church. A Documentary History*, Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press 2005, xiii + 220 pp., ISBN 0-8018-7932-9, US$ 48 (hardback).—Model book in its genre, with a considerable amount of

original translation and information, and many figures and plates: I. Introduction (1-10); II. New Testament Texts and Their Patristic Commentators (11-24); III. Women Deacons in the East: Literary Texts, Literary Allusions, Inscriptions (25-105); IV. Women Deacons in the East: Canons and Comments on Church Practice (106-132); V. Women Deacons in the East: Later Texts Bearing on Earlier Evidence (133-140); VI. Women Deacons in the West (141-149); VII. Women Deacons: *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* and Related Texts (150-162); VIII. Women Presbyters (163-202); IX. Conclusion (203-206); Appendixes: A. Locations of Deacon Inscriptions; Locations of Deacons in Literary Sources; Locations of Presbyters; Family Relationships Identified for Women in Inscriptions (207-212); Index of Ancient Names (213-216); Index of Deaconesses, Presbyters and Episcopa (217-218); Index of Modern Authors (219-220).

Miller, Patricia Cox, *Women in Early Christianity. Translation from Greek Texts*, Washington D.C.: The Catholic Univerity of America Press 2005, ISBN 0-8132-1417-7, US$ 29,95 (pb).—Collection of translated Greek texts—the translations are reprinted from existing collections; the text on Pelagia (238-247) is from a Latin version—from the second through the sixth century on Christian women and topically organized into five sections: Introduction (1-14); I. *Women's Roles in the Church*: Teachers; Prophets; Catechumens; Widows; Deaconesses (15-68); II. *Women and Virginity*: Female Comportment; Major Treatises on Virginity; The Subintroductae; Transvestism (69-151); III. *Portraits of Ascetic Women*: Ascetic Heroines in Literature; Biographies of Ascetic Leaders; Women in Desert Asceticism (153-249); IV. *Women and Domestic Life*: Marriage; Praise for Mothers and Sisters (251-286); V. *Female Imagery and Theology*: Eve-Mary Theme; Marian Literature; Female Images and Metaphors (287-321); Appendices and Indices: Timeline of Early Christian Women; Timeline of Early Christian Authors and Texts; Suggestions for Further Reading (323-332); General Index; Index of Biblical Passages (323-340).

Newman, Carey C., James R. Davila & Gladys S. Lewis (eds.), *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 63), Leiden—Boston—Köln: Brill 1999, XI + 373 pp., ISBN 90-04-11361-4, € 125 /US$ 179 (clothbound with jacket).—Presently one of the leading, authoritative and, indeed, best books on the theme: Part One: *Introduction*: James R. Davila, Of Methodology, Monotheism, and Metatron: Introductory Reflections on Divine Mediators and the Origins of the Worship of Jesus (3-18); Part Two: *Monotheism*: Michael Mach,

Concepts of Jewish Monotheism in the Hellenistic Period (21-42); Richard Bauckham, The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus (43-69); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Worship and Monotheism in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (70-89); Part Three: *Mediation*: Margaret Barker, The High Priest and the Worship of Jesus (93-111); Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, The Worship of Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus (112-128); Anders Aschim, Melchizedek and Jesus: QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews (129-147); R.G. Hall, Astonishment in the Firmament: The Worship of Jesus and Soteriology in Ignatius and the Ascension of Isaiah (148-155); Todd E. Klutz, The Grammar of Exorcism in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Some Cosmological, Semantic, and Pragmatic Reflections on How Exorcistic Prowess Contributed to the Worship of Jesus (156-165); Pheme Perkins, Identification with the Savior in Coptic Texts from Nag Hammadi (166-184); Part Four: *Veneration*: Larry W. Hurtado, The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Worship (187-213); P.M. Casey, Monotheism, Worship and Christological Development in the Pauline Churches (214-233); Adela Yarbro Collins, The Worship of Jesus and the Imperial Cult (234-257); Alan F. Segal, Paul's "*Soma Pneumatikon*" and the Worship of Jesus (258-276); Margaret Daly-Denton, Singing Hymns to Christ as to a God (Cf. Pliny *Ep.* X, 96) (277-292); David B. Capes, *Imitatio Christi* and the Early Worship of Jesus (293-307); April D. DeConick, Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century (308-341); Index of Modern Authors (343-347); Index of Ancient Sources (348-373).

Notley, R. Steven & Ze'ev Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon. The Place Names of Divine Scripture. Including the Latin Edition of Jerome.* Translated into English and with Topographical Commentary (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series, Vol. IX), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, xxxvii + 212 pp. + separate map 'Biblical Palestine according to Eusebius, ISBN 0-391-04217-3, € 125 /US$ 179 (hardback).—Imposing three lingual edition (Greek, English, Latin) printed in three columns, with commentary in the footnotes and supplemented with the required indices, of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, 'the most important book for the study of the Land of Israel in the Roman period', which, moreover, 'exerted decisive influence upon the knowledge of the Land of Israel in Christian literature during and following the Byzantine period, and constituted a primary source for the study of the Holy Land in Western literature until it was surpassed by modern scholarship'. The print of Eusebius' Greek text and Jerome's Latin translation is based upon the scientific edition of E. Klostermann, *Eusebius. Das Onomastikon der biblischen*

Ortsnamen (GCS 11/1), Leipzig 1904 (repr. Hildesheim/Darmstadt 1966). For the Syriac etc. text, see above s.v. Eusebius.

Porter, Stanley E. (ed.), *Paul and His Opponents* (Pauline Studies 2), Leiden—Boston: Brill 2005, XI + 257 pp., ISBN 90-04-14701-2, € 79 / US$ 107 (bound).—Second volume of the new series *Pauline Studies*, comprising eight studies of unequal standard and with only very limited discussion of Patristic sources (*Did.*, *Diogn.*, *Herm.*, Ignatius; but not the *Pseudo-Clementines*, among others).

Reemts, Christiana, *Origenes. Eine Einführung in Leben und Denken*, Würzburg: Echter Verlag 2004, 168 S., ISBN 3-429-02588-5, € 14.80/sFr 26.20 (broschur).—Sympathischer und sachkundiger Einführung in Origenes' Leben und Denken, in dem zweiten Teil meist in der Form von Fragen und Antworten.

Rogers Jr., Eugene F., *After the Spirit. A Constructive Pneumatology from Resources outside the Modern West*, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2005, xi + 251 pp. + 8 full-page-colour plates, ISBN 0-8028-2891-4, $ 22.00 / £ 12.99 (pb).—This 'constructive pneumatology' heavily draws on a wide range of Greek, Latin, and Syriac Patristic authors, thus being another promising sign of a kind of *ressourcement* in American Protestantism.

Ronconi, Marco, *«A maiestate humilitas». Il rilievo della retorica nella teologia di Leone Magno* (Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia 129), Roma: Editrice Pontifica Università Gregoriana 2005, 255 pp., ISBN 88-7839-047-X, € 17 (pb).

Rose, Els, *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CLIX D), Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2005, 601 pp. + 4 full-colour plates, ISBN 2-503-01599-9, € 265 (cloth).—New and very impressive volume in the distinguished CCL-series, originally a dissertation at Utrecht University in 2001, and designed and published by Brepols in an exemplary way: Introduction: Ch. I: The *Missale Gothicum*: Manuscript and printed Editions (11-22); II: Liturgical Latin (23-187); Appendix: Liturgical Commemoration of the Saints in the *Missale Gothicum* (189-328); Bibliography (329-348); Textvs (349-544); Indices (545-596). 'Enumerationem formarum, concordantium formarum et indicem formarum a tergo ordinatarum inuenies in fasciculo 176 seriei *Instrumentorum lexicologicorum latinorum*' (545).

Schenke Robinson, Gesine, unter Mitarbeit von Hans-Martin Schenke und Uwe-Karsten Plisch, *Das Berliner "Koptische Buch" (P. 20915). Eine wiederhergestellte frühchristlich-theologische Abhandlung* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum

Orientalium, vol. 610 + 611, Scriptores Coptici, tomus 39 + 50), Lovanii: in aedibus Peeters 2004, XLI + 461 p. + XV + 263 S., ISBN 90-429-1453-x + 90-429-1454-8, € 115 + 85 (pb).—Einleitung, Tafeln, Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Index usw. eines wichtigen neuen Textes: '. . . im Hinblick auf Arbeitsmethode, Quantität und Auswahl von Zitaten, sowie die spezifische Art des Umgangs mit diesen Zitaten., kann mit einiger Sicherheit gesagt werden, daß unser Verfasser nicht nur fest in alexandrinischer Tradition verankert ist, sondern aus der unmittelbaren Zeit und geistigen Umgebung des Clemens Alexandrinus zu stammen scheint' (611, XIV).

Scopello, Madeleine, *Femme, Gnose et Manichéisme. De l'espace mythique au territoire du réel* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 53), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, xiv + 406 p., ISBN 90-04-11452-1, € 109 / US$ 147 (hardback).—Collection impressionante d'études profondes, la plupart en français, une en anglais: Avant propos (ix-xiv); Première Partie: *Images et symboles*: Ch. I: Marie-Madeleine et la tour: ΠΙΣΤΙΣ et ΣΟΦΙΑ (3-27); II. «Ils leur enseignèrent les charmes et les incantations . . .» (29-47); III. Autour de Youel et Barbélo à Nag Hammadi (49-78); IV. Un rituel idéal d'intronisation à Nag Hammadi (79-113); V. Jacques de Saroug et l'*Exégèse de l'âme* (*Nag Hammadi* II, 6) (115-123); Deuxième Partie: *Passages*: VI. Titres *au féminin* dans la bibliothèque de Nag Hammadi (127-153); VII. Jewish and Greek Heroines in the Nag Hammadi Library (155-177); VIII. Âme et allégorie chez les gnostiques (179-200); Troisième Partie: *Histoire et réalité*: IX. Femme et société dans les polémiques contre les gnostiques: quelques notes sur Irénée et Tertullien (203-235); X. Julie, manichéenne d'Antioche (d'après la *Vie de Porphyre* de Marc le Diacre, ch. 85-91) (237-291); XI. Bassa la Lydienne (293-315); XII. Histoire de Charitiné (317-346); Bibliographie (347-367); Index des auteurs et des textes anciens (369-396); Index des auteurs modernes (397-402); Abréviations (403-406).

Thomassen, Einar, *The Spiritual Seed. The Church of the 'Valentinians'* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 60), Leiden—Boston: Brill 2006, xiii + 545 pp., ISBN 90-04-14802-7, € 129 / US$ 174 (hardback).—An impressive study providing a coherent account of 'Valentinianism' and having all the potentiality of becoming a classic: Part I: Valentinianism East and West; Part II: The Three Dimensions of Valentinianism; Part III: Valentinian Protology; Part IV: Valentinian Initiation; Part V: Valentinus and the 'Valentinians'; Bibliography; Index.

Tongerloo, Aloïs van & Luigi Cirillo (eds.), *[New Perspectives in Manichaean Research]: Il Manicheismo. Nuove Prospettive della Ricerca. Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Atti* (Manichaean Studies V), Turnhout: Brepols

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[2] Erstveröffentlichung in: C. Colpe, *Iraner—Aramäer—Hebräer—Hellenen*, Tübingen 2003, 244-259.

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Weingarten, Susan, *The Saint's Saints. Hagiography and Geography in Jerome* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity LVIII), Leiden—Boston: Brill 2005, XV + 317 pp., ISBN 90-04-14387-4, € 99 /US$ 139 (hardback).—Originally Ph.D. thesis Tel Aviv University; supervisor Ben Isaac. Looks 'at how Jerome dovetails his literary sources with his experience of the material world of the fourth century to write the Lives of the saints Paul, Hilarion, Malchus and Paula, effectively using them to write the Life of Jerome': Introduction; Ch. I: The *Vita Pauli*: The Holy Man in the Wilderness: Did Jerome appreciate Jewish *Aggadah*? (74-75: '. . . the sum total of a number of different pieces of evidence, even if some of them are incomplete and insufficient, adds up to more than the constituent parts, and the result is a convincing picture of knowledge of and use by Jerome of *aggadah* in presenting his picture of Paul the hermit. The parallels with and negations of Jewish material are such that it is possible to see Jerome's *vita Pauli* as being written as a hidden polemical dialogue with the traditions on R. Shim'on bar Yohai'); II: The *vita Hilarionis*: The Christianisation of the Roman world; III: The *vita Malchi*: Jerome's Christian Appropriation of the Human Body; IV: Jerome's *ep.* 108 and the Christian Appropriation

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Wilckens, Ulrich, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Band I: *Geschichte der urchristlichen Theologie*, Teilband 1: *Geschichte des Wirkens Jesu in Galiläa*, 2., durchgesehene Auflage, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 2005, XVI + 343 S., ISBN 3-7887-1894-3, € 29.90 (pb); Teilband 2: *Jesu Tod und Auferstehung und die Entstehung der Kirche aus Juden und Heiden*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 2005, XI + 289 S., ISBN 3-7887-1895-1, € 29.90 (pb); Teilband 3: *Die Briefe des Urchristentums: Paulus und seine Schüler, Theologen aus dem Bereich judenchristlicher Heidenmission*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 2005, XVIII + 389 S., ISBN 3-7887-1907-9, € 29.90 (pb).—Ziemlich allgemeine und traditionelle Einführung in verschiedenen Teilbänden unterteilt. Auf 'ausserkanonischen Schriften neben dem Neuen Testament' und Kirchenväter wird relativ wenig Bezug genommen. Die Reihe wird fortgesetzt.

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Willis, David, *Clues to the Nicene Creed. A Brief Outline of the Faith*, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2005, xii + 186 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2868-x, $ 16.00 / £ 9.99 (pb).—The clues of this brief outline are for the most part systematical, being written by a professor emeritus of systematic theology at Princeton who is perhaps best known by his magisterial historical study *Calvin's Catholic Christology* (Leiden: Brill 1966).

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ISSN 0042-6032 (print version)
ISSN 1570-0720 (online version)

This journal is printed on acid-free paper.

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A Review of Early Christian Life and Language

VOL. LX NO. 2 2006

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PUBLISHER: Brill Academic Publishers

PUBLISHED: Four times a year: February, May, August and November

SUBSCRIPTIONS: The subscription price of Volume 60 (2006) is EUR 229.– (US$ 286.–) for institutions, and EUR 71.– (US$ 89.–) for individuals, *inclusive of postage and handling charges*. All prices are exclusive of VAT in EU-countries (VAT not applicable outside the EU).

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IN MEMORIAM GILLES QUISPEL (1916-2006)

With great sadness the editors of *Vigiliae Christianae* announce the death of one of the founders of the review, Professor G. Quispel. He died on the 2nd of March at El Gouna in Egypt, where he had travelled to visit the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo in order to make preparations for an exhibition of Nag Hammadi manuscripts in Amsterdam scheduled for 2007/8.

Gilles Quispel was a member of the board of editors from the beginning until the fiftieth volume (1996). After this his interest in the review continued, as did his contributions to its content. The last of these can be found in the present issue.

From 1951 to 1983 he was Professor of the history of the early church at Utrecht University. His great learning and originality earned him a wide reputation, especially for his studies of Gnosis and Gnosticism. From the beginning he participated actively in the publication and interpretation of the Nag Hammadi Codices. His work in this field did not merely testify to a scholarly passion for what these texts offered, but was also characterized by a strong personal involvement. This was further enhanced by his great interest in the theories of Carl Gustav Jung and his own sympathy for all those who had been on the losing side during the history of the church. He was convinced that, in fact, the church itself had suffered a considerable loss of invaluable and authentically Christian insights. After his retirement he actively carried on his scholarly work, with the same commitment and force of argument. In the last six years of his life he published five books in his native language, partly in cooperation with some of his former students.

Because he usually put forward his ideas in vigorous terms, not eschewing polemics, this gave rise to some opposition. He took this in his stride, confiding that his ideas had elicited reaction, but were not refuted. On the other hand, his passionate empathy with the objects of his studies was precisely what inspired many pupils and led to Gnosis and Gnosticism (in the broad sense of these terms), Judaic Christianity, Diatessaronic studies, and the *Gospel of Thomas* figuring prominently in *Vigiliae Christianae.*

The editors record with gratitude the significance of Gilles Quispel as a founder and editor of the review. It is their intention to continue publishing contributions dealing with the subjects which he loved.

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'PASSIO CARITATIS' ACCORDING TO ORIGEN *IN EZECHIELEM HOMILIAE* VI IN THE LIGHT OF *DT* 1,31

BY

SAMUEL FERNANDEZ EYZAGUIRRE

ABSTRACT: The idea of divine impassibility, which was firmly established in philosophical traditions, was also sustained by early Christian thinkers. Biblical references to God's passions were regarded as anthropomorphic expressions, which had to be interpreted in a metaphorical sense.

Origen adheres to this type of interpretation, but in his sermons on Ezekiel he deals explicitly with God's *caritatis passio*, so that he appears to bring about un undeniable contradiction between divine impassibility and divine passibility. Origen solves this problem by arguing that the 'passion of charity' or 'philanthropy' must belong to the pre-existent Logos. In fact, it is the very reason for incarnation.

Biblical and patristic traditions contain abundant data on the passion of Christ as the incarnate Logos, and origenian doctrine follows such tradition.[1] Nevertheless, in some texts, the Alexandrian develops an interesting reasoning on the suffering of God the Father as well.

This reflection causes an apparent conflict between the philosophical and the biblical visions regarding God. Whereas divine impassibility is a concept typically associated to philosophy, God's passions are frequently shown in biblical texts, mainly proceeding from the Old Testament, endowing God with a human's image and passions (*anthropomorphisms* and *anthropopathisms*). This conflict gives a particular interest to reflections on divine suffering in an author who, as Origen, has been so influenced by Greek thought. In order to weigh these origenian statements, it is advisable to briefly look into the prior Christian tradition.[2]

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[1] On the theological relevance of Christ's passion, cf. M. Simonetti, "La morte di Gesù in Origene", in Idem, *Studi sulla cristologia del II e III secolo*. Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 44, 1993, pp. 145-182. Above all, go to pp. 164-167 on the expiatory character of the passion of Christ.

[2] Abundant material is found in H. Frohnhofen, *APATHEIA TOU THEOU. Über die Affektlosigkeit Gottes in der griechischen Antike und bei den griechischsprachigen Kirchenvätern bis zu*

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I. *Divine* passio *in Christian tradition prior to Origen*

The so-called Apostolic Fathers with their statements regarding God the Father's mercy, magnanimity, wrath, rage and passion, as well as the passible character of God the Son in his economy, do no more than repeat the biblical outlook.[3] Only Ignatius, in some of his writings makes direct reference to this subject. He proclaims the Logos as the impassible who, for our sake, turned passible,[4] and in the well known hymn of Ephesians, he reminds us that Jesus Christ was first passible and later impassible.[5]

Apologists frequently sustain divine impassibility. In their claims against Greek gods they insist on the lack of passions in the true God.[6] Thus, in the dialogue with contemporary culture, Athenagoras states that the God of Christians is uncreated, impassible and indivisible, and assimilates Christian faith regarding divine impassibility to the teachings of philosophers.[7] Justin emphasises as well divine impassibiliy in contrast with Greek gods, and reminds us that the Son first appeared passible and shall, in the parousia, show himself glorious.[8]

Among the Valentinians, Theodotus' statement regarding divine passibility should be underlined. As it is known, the complex Gnostic myth sustains that passion had begun within the *Pleroma*, in *Sophia*, the youngest of the Eons, and was later expelled therefrom. But Theodotus' reflection goes further when he states that the Supreme God is compassionate.[9] Clement finds this statement irreverent since the acceptance of compassion in Almighty God amounts to admitting his passion «*because compassion is one's passion for the passion of another*».[10]

Gregorios Thaumaturgos. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1987, pp. 117-212; W. Maas, *Unveränderlichkeit Gottes. Zum Verhältnis von griechisch-philosophischer und christlicher Gotteslehre*, Schöningh 1974, pp. 125-136.

[3] Cf. *1Clem.*, 18,1-2; 19,3; *2Clem.*, 1,7.

[4] Ignatius, *Policarp.*, III,2: «τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν».

[5] Cf. *Eph.*, VII,2: «πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής».

[6] Cf. Aristides, *Apol.*, I; IV; VIII-X. The apologist states that the Supreme God is beyond passions, and reacts against the conception of Greek gods.

[7] Cf. Athenagoras, *Legat.*, VIII,3; X,1; XXI,1. Only in *Legat.*, XXI,4 he tackles the subject of passibility, but referred to the Logos.

[8] Cf. Justin, *Dial.*, 34,2; 36,1; 39,7; *1Apol.*, 25,2. Other texts speak of the suffering of God made man, *Dial.*, 49,2; 126,1; 1Apol., 63,10.

[9] Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 30,1. Cf. A. Orbe, *Cristología gnóstica*, Madrid 1976, vol. II, pp. 281-293.

[10] *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 30,2. The same observation in Tertullian, *vide infra*, note 17.

Clement of Alexandria, loyal to stoical tradition and in opposition with pagan religion, insists on divine impassibility.[11] The apparent contradiction between divine impassibility, as proclaimed by philosophy, and God's passions, as described in the Bible, is considered a semantic problem: it is not possible to speak about God such as he is in himself, we must be content to speak about him as we understand him: God, for our salvation, has adapted himself to our human weakness. Thus, divine passions, shown in the Scriptures, must be allegorically interpreted.[12]

Another thought on this subject is found among monarchians.[13] In order to support God's unity, they pretended that God the Father suffered on the cross. Noetus said that «*Christ was the very Father, and the very Father had been born, had suffered and had died*».[14] Similar statements are also found in Tertullian's *Adversus Praxean*, which shows the unity of this doctrine.[15] A moderate monarchian such as Calixtus, in order to save divine impassibility declared, according to Ps.-Hippolytus, that «*the Father pities together with the Son*», and Ps.-Hippolytus expressly states that Calixtus makes this declaration «*because he does not want to say that the Father has suffered*».[16] Both the author of the *Refutatio* and Tertullian see in this use of compassion a ridiculous solution to avoid avowing God's passion, which would amount to blasphemy.[17] Though we find here more explicit statements on divine passibility, it is useful to remember that monarchians were not concerned directly with the passibility of the Father, but with the unity of God. Their debate is centred on divine unity, and the passibility of the Father is only a consequence of his unity with the Son.

Thus, according to available data, the teaching regarding God's impassibility, duly stated by philosophical tradition, is almost unanimously supported

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[11] Cf. Clement, *Strom.*, II,40,2; 81,1; IV,151,1-2; VI,73,6; 137,4; VII,13,3; 50,4; *Protr.*, 32,1; 36,1.

[12] Cf. Clement, *Strom.*, II,72,2-4; V,68,3.

[13] Unfortunately, H. Frohnhofen's monograph does not study monarchians.

[14] Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, I,2. Cf. II,3; III,2; Ippolito, *Contro Noeto*. A cura di M. Simonetti, Firenze 2000, p. 195.

[15] Cf. *Adv. Prax.*, I,1: «*Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in Virginem, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum*».

[16] Ps.-Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, IX,12,18-19.

[17] Cf. *Adv. Prax.*, XXIX,5: «*Si Filius quidem patitur, Pater vero compatitur. Stulti et in hoc. Quid est enim compati, quam cum alio pati? Porro, si impassibilis Pater, utique et incompassibilis. Aut si compassibilis, utique passibilis. Nihil ei vel hoc timore tuo praestas. Times dicere passibilem, quem dicis compassibilem*».

by Christian authors prior to Origen. Divine passibility or compassibility is maintained only by Theodotus among the valentinians and, with a different emphasis, by monarchians. In that period, to admit passions in God was considered blasphemous and was associated to pagan religion.

II. *Origen and divine* passio

Many biblical expressions regarding God, if literally read, are rationally unacceptable, and Origen, therefore, systematically interprets them in a spiritual sense.[18] The Scripture contains anthropomorphical references to God so that men may understand «*that all that operates divine power is shown with human names or soiled with well known common human feelings. It is in this sense that it is said that God rages, listens or speaks*».[19]

This attitude in Origen is foreseeable, as it intends to show the biblical message according to Greek thought, within a polemic atmosphere in which he had to face many opponents. He had to face millenarists (who imagined a corporal Godhead[20]); pagans like Celsus (who ridiculed biblical anthropomorphisms[21]); monarchians (who, to sustain divine unity, assumed God had suffered on the cross[22]), gnostics and marcionites (who endeavoured to prove the Creator's inferiority, based upon texts from the Old Testament which described his passions[23]).

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[18] Cf. *In Num. hom.*, XXIII,2: «*Haec autem omnia, in quibus vel lugere vel gaudere vel odisse vel laetari dicitur Deus, tropice et humano more accipienda sunt ab Scriptura dici. Aliena porro est divina natura ab omni passionis et permutationis affectu, in illo semper beatitudinis apice immobilis et inconcussa perdurans*» (*GCS* VII, pp. 213-214); *In Jer. hom.*, XVIII,6; *C. Celsum*, IV,72; *Princ.*, II,4,4; and, above all, *Sel. in I Reg., fr.* 4.

[19] *In Gen. hom.*, III,2 (*GCS* VI, p. 41).

[20] Cf. *C. Celsum*, IV,14; VI,71. According to *In Rom. Com.*, I,XIX, these millenarists belonged to the Church. Cf. A. Monaci Castagno, "Origene e Dionigi di Alessandria sulle promesse: continuità e differenze", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi*, Bologna, 15 (1998) pp. 101-123. They are conditioned by stoic materialism and by the literal exegesis of the Scripture.

[21] Cf. S. Benko, *Pagan Criticism of Christianity During the First Two Centuries A.D.*, in H. Temporini-W. Haase, Eds. (*ANRW*, II 23/2), Berlin-New York 1980, pp. 1055-1118 (cf. *C. Celsum*, IV,73; IV,72; VIII,13; IV,71; VI,62-64; VII,27).

[22] Cf. A. Orbe, "Orígenes y los monarquianos", *Gregorianum* 72 (1991) pp. 39-72; G. Uríbarri Bilbao, *Monarquía y Trinidad*, Madrid 1996, pp. 305-336.

[23] Cf. *In Mt. Com.*, XVII,17. The objections of gnostics and marcionites are based upon θυμός, ὀργή which is repeatedly applied to God in the OT, cf. Ex 32,12; Nm 12,9; 14,34; 25,4; 32,14; Dt 9,19; 29,22-23; 29,27; Sal 6,2; 37,2; Is 9,18; 13,9, etc.

In this scenery, Origen normally sustains divine impassibility and, in the midst of this polemic, he interprets symbolically all biblical anthropomorphisms. Nevertheless, even in this context, there are certain origenian statements supporting the passibility of God the Father.

a. *In Ezechielem homiliae*, VI

A very important development of this subject belongs to a homily which comments Ezekiel 16,5. In this biblical text God says he has not had enough mercy '*to suffer something for your sake*' (παθεῖν τι ἐπὶ σοί).[24] The context shows suffering as something positive in God, apparently contradicting the philosophical and Christian traditions which consider impassibility to be a divine quality. Origen here refers to an example:

> I am going to give an example of men which, if the Holy Ghost permits, I shall then apply to Jesus Christ and God the Father. When I speak to a man and beg him for something, so that he may have pity on me, if he has no mercy he will not suffer (*nihil patitur*) for what I have said; if on the contrary, he is sensitive and there is nothing in him to harden his heart, he will listen to me and have mercy on me and his entrails shall quiver with my pleading. I want you to understand something similar regarding our Saviour: He descended to earth because he had mercy on the human gender, and so bore our passions before suffering on the cross and deigning to assume our flesh (*passiones perpessus est nostras, antequam crucem pateretur et carnem nostram dignaretur assumere*). If he had not suffered, he would not have come to share our human life. He suffered first and then he descended and revealed himself (*primum passus est, deinde descendit et visus est*). Now, which was this passion he suffered for us? It is the passion of charity (*caritatis est passio*). For the very Father, God of the universe, *who is magnanimous, full of mercy and compassionate* (*Ps* 102,8), doesn't he also suffer in some way? Do you ignore that, when he manages human realities, he suffers human passions? Verily *the Lord, your God, assumed your manners* (*mores tuos*) *as a man would assume his son* (*Dt* 1,31). So God assumes our manners as the Son of God bears our passions. The Father himself is not impassible (*Ipse Pater non est impassibilis*). If begged, he pities and condoles, he suffers for a certain charity (*patitur aliquid caritatis*), and gets to [conditions] in

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[24] It is necessary to bear in mind the LXX version: *'not even my eye had compassion on you, so as to perform in you all these [benefits cf. Ez 16,4], so as to suffer something for your sake'* (οὐδὲ ἐφείσατο ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου ἐπὶ σοὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαί σοι ἓν ἐκ πάντων τούτων τοῦ παθεῖν τι ἐπὶ σοί), cf. Ez 5,11; 7,6; 7,8; 8,18; 9,5; 9,10. In other texts, Origen uses the metaphor of the physician who cuts and burns to justify the goodness of he who does not pity, cf. *In Ez. Cat.*, 7 (PG XIII, 789c); *In Jer. hom.*, XII,5; S. Fernández, *Cristo Médico, según Orígenes. La actividad médica como metáfora de la acción divina* (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum 64), Roma 1999, pp. 179-213.

> which He cannot agree with the magnitude of his nature and, for our sake, he bears human passions (*et fit in iis in quibus iuxta magnitudinem naturae suae non potest esse, et propter nos humanas sustinet passiones*).[25]

In order to show the positive character of passion, Origen reacts against the way of understanding divine impassibility which compares God with a man who lacks mercy and is not moved by pleadings (*si sine misericordia est, nihil patitur*). These homilies, perhaps his most anti-gnostic and anti-marcionist ones,[26] endeavour to show the mercy of the God of the Old Testament. In the first place, he ascertains the passibility of the Logos prior to his incarnation (he calls this 'the passion of charity'), and secondly, cautiously but clearly, he states that the God of the universe, in a certain way, also suffers (*quodammodo patitur; Ipse Pater non est impassibilis*[27]). These statements seem to contradict other origenian texts which proclaim, along with Greek philosophical and patristic traditions,[28] the absolute *apatheia* of both God the Father and the divine nature of the Logos.

b. *Other origenian texts on divine apatheia*

Other important statements are found in the rest of the origenian work to enlighten this subject. In *De principiis* he says '*God must be understood as completely impassible and devoid of all these passions*'.[29] In the *Commentary on Ezekiel* he declares «*God impassible, as well as immutable and uncreated*»,[30] and in a fragment on John, he also proclaims divine impassibility.[31]

Likewise, the divine nature of the Logos is also declared impassible: «*The Saviour suffers what his Body, the Church, suffers, being he himself impassible with regard to his divinity*».[32] So, in the Prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane, the request

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[25] *In Ezechielem homiliae*, VI,6 (*GCS* VIII, pp. 384-385).

[26] «*Alle exegetischen Werke sind ziemlich gleichmäßig durchzogen von Polemik gegen die Häretiker (vielleicht am stärksten die Ezechiel-Homilien)*»: A. v. Harnack, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes* (*TU*, 42/4), Leipzig 1919, vol. II, p. 54.

[27] The caution of these statements appears in the use of the adverb *quodammodo*.

[28] Cf. G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 2nd edn. London: SPCK, 1952.

[29] *Princ.*, II,4,4: «*adfirmantes Deum penitus inpassibilem atque his omnibus carentem affectibus sentiendum*» (*GCS* V, p. 131).

[30] *Sel. in Ez.*, XVI (*PG* XIII, 809d).

[31] Cf. *In Joh. Com.*, fr. 51: «οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον πάθος εἶναι θεοῦ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην αὐτοῦ ὀργήν. πῶς γὰρ δυνατὸν πάθος εἶναι περὶ τὸν ἀπαθῆ; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ πάσχει θεὸς ἀναλλοίωτος ὤν, ἑρμηνευτέον τὴν λεγομένην αὐτοῦ ὀργὴν καθ' ἃ εἴρηται» (*GCS* IV, p. 526). Cf. *In I Sam., fr.* 4 (*GCS* III, p. 296,2.12).

[32] *Ser. in Mt.*, 73 (*GCS* XI, p. 172).

that the cup be withdrawn, according to Origen, was «*non secundum substantiam eius divinam et impassibilem, sed secundum naturam eius humanam et infirmam*».[33]

Other texts deny human passions in God. Thus the *Commentary on Lamentations* states that when '*our passions*' are applied to God, that should be tropologically understood, and further on, denies '*human passions*' in God.[34]

On the other hand, however, Origen himself states that «*Out of mercy, God* '*co-suffers*' (συμπάσχει), *for God does not lack entrails*»,[35] and similarly in another homily on Ezekiel he exclaims, in an agnostic context: «*How good God is, who weeps even for those who have denied him! And this comes from a passion of love*».[36] And regarding the divine nature of the Logos, he declares: «*The impassible* (ὁ ἀπαθής), *as a lover of men, has suffered* (πέπονθεν) *through pitying*».[37] In another homily, Origen endeavours to save both extremes, presenting as dogmas, divine transcendence and immanence at the same time. The very transcendent God looks after human realities: «*As we profess that God is incorporeal, almighty and invisible, so we confess as a true and invariable dogma that God looks after mortals and that nothing, in heaven or on earth, happens outside his Providence*».[38]

How can this apparent contradiction between divine passibility and impassibility be solved? Following the same alexandrine method it is necessary to search for the solution in other origenian texts. It would not be fair to take this as mere rhetorical assertion, so opposed to Origen's habits. The question is to understand the meaning of *passio caritatis*, by Origen.

1. The *passio* of the pre-existent Logos

The origenian reflection on the passion of the pre-existent Logos has to do with the motives of incarnation. In the already mentioned homily on Ezekiel, Origen insists on the fact that the sufferings of the Logos in his preexistence are the cause and foundation of incarnation and, therefore, of his earthly sufferings: «*he suffered first and then descended*»; incarnation is based upon

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[33] *Ser. in Mt.*, 92 (*GCS* XI, p. 208). Cf. p. 210.

[34] *Com. in Lam., fr.* 31: «τροπικώτερον δεῖν ἐκλαμβάνεσθαι τὰ ὡς περὶ παθῶν ἡμετέρων λεγόμενα <περὶ> τοῦ θεου» (*GCS* III, p. 250,3); cf. *fr.* 48 (*GCS* III, p. 256,27).

[35] *Sel. in Ez.*, XVI: «Συμπάσχει ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἐλεῆσαι: οὐ γὰρ ἄσπλαγχνος ὁ Θεός» (*PG* XIII, 812a).

[36] *In Ez. hom.*, XIII,2: «*Quam bonus Deus, qui etiam eos qui se negaverunt, deflet! Et hoc venit ex amoris affectu*» (*GCS* VIII, p. 443).

[37] *In Mt. Com.*, X,23: «ὡς φιλάνθρωπος πέπονθεν ὁ ἀπαθὴς τῷ σπλαγχνισθῆναι» (*GCS* X, p. 23).

[38] *In Gen. hom.*, III,2 (*GCS* VI, pp. 39-40).

this passion: «*if he had not suffered, he would not have come to share human life*». The logic of the discourse shows that it deals with something further than a mere problem of language: there is a reality in the pre-existent Logos which causes incarnation, Origen calls this reality the *passion of charity*:

> Our Saviour who is the image of God, moved by his mercy towards man whom he had created in his resemblance, seeing that he, degrading such image, had taken that of the devil, impelled by mercy, assumed the image of man and came to him (*ipse motus misericordia imagine hominis assumpta venit ad eum*).[39]

Mercy is the cause of incarnation and, therefore, has to be admitted in the pre-existing Logos a certain passion (called *mercy*), which is not just a consequence of incarnation but its very motive. Passion in the incarnate Logos is commonplace in patristic, its novelty lying in the search of the roots of this passion in a disposition belonging to pre-existence. The *Commentary on Matthew* provides us with a text referring to this subject. Commenting on Mt 13,36 (*having abandoned the multitudes, he went home*), Origen points out:

> When Jesus is with the multitudes, he is not at home. And it is due to his love for men (φιλανθρωπία) that he leaves his house and goes to those who are unable to come to Him.[40]

The act of Jesus leaving his house to meet the sick is interpreted as the exit of the Logos from God to meet men, that is to say, incarnation. It is worth while emphasising once again that the passion experienced by the Logos is not a consequence of incarnation but, on the contrary, its very cause. As is said in the homily on Ezekiel: «*if [the Logos] had not suffered [in pre-existence] he would not have come to share human life*». Passion in divine nature is not the consequence but the cause of incarnation.

2. God the Father's *passio caritatis* in the light of *Nm* 23,19 and Dt 1,31

Regarding the passion of God, our homily on Ezekiel states that God, «*when managing human realities, experiences a human passion*», and in order to avoid the

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[39] *In Gn. hom.*, I,13 (*GCS* VI, p. 17).

[40] *In Mt. Com.*, X,1 (*GCS* X-1, p. 1). Cf. *In Joh. Com.*, I,121: «διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἀποθανεῖν» (*GCS* IV, p. 25); II,31,187; *C. Celsum*, IV,14-15. In *In Mt. Com.*, X,23 , it is said: «*And for these Jesus sallies, for those who are unable to approach him, so that having come [having become] for the outsiders he may introduce the outsiders within*». And *In Lv. hom.*, VIII,10: "*Semper enim ad eum, qui nondum potest 'introire in castra', 'exit' ille, qui potest 'exire extra castra', qui dicit: Ego a Deo exivi et veni in hunc mundum*" (*GCS* VI, p. 408). In other places, philanthropy is an attribute of God the Father: *De orat.*, XXIX,14; *C. Celsum*, VII,46; *In Jr. hom.*, I,3; IV,4; *In Joh. Com.*, XIII,369.

image of a severe and unmovable God, it goes on saying that «*The Father himself is not impassible. If begged for, he pities and condoles; he suffers for a certain charity*».

Nm 23,19 and *Dt* 1,31 give us a clue to understand the apparent contradiction between God's impassibility and passibility. To justify the impassibility of God, Origen recurs to *Nm* 23,19: '*God [is] not like a man*', and to justify his passibility, he uses *Dt* 1,31: '*The Lord, your God, adapted himself to you, as a man adapts himself to his son*'.

The verse of *Dt* 1,31 corresponds to the Septuaginta text, but with a meaningful change: «*The Lord, your God, fed you as a man feeds his son*»:[41] instead of τροφοφορέω (to feed), it uses τροποφορέω (lit. to assume the *tropos*, to assume the manner of, to bear with one's moods; to adapt oneself[42]), and τρόπος, as a technical expression in literature, means *way of saying*. Thus Origen read: «*The Lord, your God, adopted your way of speaking, as man adopts the way of speaking of his son*». This verse, along with *Nm* 23,19, is used by Origen, following Philo, to tackle the problem of language concerning God.[43] We possess some developments on this subject, kept in their original Greek.

a. *Homily on Jeremiah* XVIII,6. Its context is anti-marcionite, since it reacts against their purpose to deride the God of the Old Testament on account of his repentance and apparent ignorance.[44] Origen, here, tries to explain why the Scripture speaks of God in a human manner, referring to the aforementioned verses and reminding us that the Lord is not like a man (*Nm* 23,19) but adapts himself to men (*Dt* 1,31). He says:

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[41] *Dt* 1,31 (LXX): «ὡς ἐτροφοφόρησέν σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου, ὡς εἴ τις τροφοφορήσει ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ». *Dt* 1,31 according to Origen: «ὡς ἐτροποφόρησέν σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου, ὡς εἴ τις τροποφορήσει ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτου».

[42] Some manuscripts bear Origen's reading, cf. *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. III,2 *Deuteronomium*, J.W. Wevers (ed.), Göttingen 1977, p. 63. The verb τροποφορέω does not appear in any other text of the Old Testament (LXX) and is found only once in the New Testament (*Acts* 13,18), but with a different meaning (hold). In Christian tradition there is no other author who quotes this text thus, with the exception of Didymus the Blind who, naturally, followed Origen, cf. *In Ps. Com.*, 30,12; *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, p. 152. Cf. J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, Scholars Press, Atlanta 1995, p. 19.

[43] Cf. Philo, *De sacrificiis*, 101; Origen, *In Mt. Com.*, X,14; XVII,17; *In Jr. hom.*, XVIII, 6.

[44] It is typical of Marcion to insist on the imperfect character of divine repentance, as shown in the Old Testament.

> When the Scripture reasons theologically about God himself and does not blend his economy with human realities, it is said that *God is not like a man* [. . .]. But when divine economy is blended with human realities, it assumes human intelligence (νοῦς), mood (τρόπος) and language (λέξις).[45]

Origen pays great attention to the verb τροποφορέω. He thinks translators from the Hebrew did not find the proper word, and invented this expression which he understands, etymologically, to mean to assume the mood of, in other words, adapt oneself.[46] In this light, the Alexandrian proposes the following comparison: as a man who, when speaking to a child, adapts his language to make himself understood (and nobody who listens to him speaking thus, thinks he has gone mad or forgotten his beard), so God also condescends and adopts our language when talking to men. The discourse of the Scripture is a language adapted to men.

b. *Contra Celsum* IV,71-72. Celsus ridicules the biblical image of a God who experiences human passions. Reacting against this, Origen insists on the pedagogical character of biblical expressions and, alluding to divine passions which he calls anthropopatisms, states: «*The Logos speaks thus, assuming the manner of men* (ἀνθρώπου τρόπους . . . φορῶν), *for the benefit of men*».[47] The so called ire of God is not a passion but rather a pedagogical procedure.[48]

c. *Commentaries on Matthew* XVII,17-19. Apropos *Mt* 22,2, which literally says *'The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man king'*, Origen tackles the question of why the Scripture here compares God with a man. He uses *Dt* 1,31 and *Nm* 23,19 to maintain that the Scripture in some instances says that God is like a man (*Dt* 1,31), and in other, states that God is not like a man (*Nm* 23,19).

According to Origen, the Scripture declares God like a man, when he leads men,[49] and so in many parables God is compared with man. Warning us against *simpliciores* and heretics who, for different reasons, attribute passions to God, the Alexandrian states that the Scripture, when speaking

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[45] *In Jer. hom.*, XVIII,6 (*GCS* III, p. 158).

[46] Cf. *In Jer. hom.*, XVIII,6: «καὶ ἐοίκασιν οἱ ἀπὸ ἑβραϊσμοῦ ἑρμηνεύσαντες, μὴ εὑρόντες τὴν λέξιν κειμένην παρ' Ἕλλησιν, ἀναπεπλακέναι ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ταύτην καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὴν "ἐτροποφόρησέν σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου", τουτέστι τοὺς τρόπους σου ἐφόρεσεν» (*GCS* III, p. 159). Cf. *In Mt. Com.*, X,14.

[47] *C. Celsum*, IV,71 (*GCS* I, p. 341). Cf. Dt 1,31. The expression ἀνθρωποπαθής is frequently used by Origen. Apparently it is a neologism created by Philo of Alexandria. Clement of Alexandria employs it thrice but always in negative references to pagan religion.

[48] Cf. *C. Celsum*, IV,72.

[49] Cf. *In Mt. Com.*, XVII,17.

anthropologically about God, must be understood as a parable.[50] In our current existence God uses this language «*to talk to men as men, and to lead men who are not able to be led by a God who remains wholly God*».[51] This situation shall cease at the end of times, when we become worthy of listening to the words «*I have told you, you are Gods*» (*Ps* 81,6 cf. Jn 10,34). Only then shall God allow himself to be seen such as He is (καθώς ἐστιν, 1Jn 3,2). This development ends with an interesting reasoning:

> Now then, even having been created worthy to see God with our intelligence and our heart (βλέπειν τὸν θεὸν τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ), we do not see him such as He is (καθώς ἐστιν), but such as He becames to us according to our economy (καθὼς διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκονομίαν ἡμῖν γίνεται). But in the end of realities, *'in the universal restoration of which he spoke through his saints and prophets for centuries'*, we shall see Him, not as we see Him now: that which [He] is not (ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν), but as He will then show himself: that which [He] is (ὅ ἐστιν).[52]

The uncertainty of our present knowledge affects not only those with less instruction, but all of us. Even those who have been worthy to see God with the *noûs* have a limited knowledge which will only be full in the life to come. We here have a development of negative theology.

In the current situation we know what God has become for us, on account of his economy. But this is not a problem concerning only God's language, it concerns the very being of God as well.

Origen makes a difference on how God is in himself and how He appears to us due to his economy. And further on, in the same text, the Alexandrian remarks: «*As God, when managing men, is called man in parables, he perhaps, in a certain way, also becomes [a man]*».[53] The statement is cautious (τάχα, πως), but clearly suggests that, for Origen, the problem does not lie exclusively in what *is said* about God (λέγεται) but, also, in what *happens* in God (γίνεται), that is to say, in the very being of God.

III. *Conclusions*

We have ascertained the coexistence of expressions supporting divine passibility as well as divine impassibility in the works of Origen: «*God must be*

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[50] Cf. *In Mt. Com.*, XVII,18: «ἐν παραβολῇ ἀκούειν τῶν ἀνθρωποπαθῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπαγγελλουσῶν γραφῶν» (*GCS* X-2, p. 636).

[51] Cf. *In Mt. Com.*, XVII,19.

[52] *In Mt. Com.*, XVII,19 (GCS X-2, p. 640). Cf. Acts 3,21.

[53] *In Mt. Com.*, XVII,20: «ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπους οἰκονομῶν ὡς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἄνθρωπος λέγεται, τάχα δέ πως καὶ γίνεται» (*GCS* X-2, p. 641).

understood as completely impassible», but «*God 'co-suffers'*», and, besides, «*the Father himself is not impassible*». How are we to solve this apparent contradiction? Faced by this problem, Origen tackles the issue of the biblical language concerning God: The Scripture speaks *anthropopathically* about God, that is to say, it endows him with human passions. Origen insists on the pedagogical nature of these expressions: God *adapts* his language just as a man adapts his to that of a child (cf. *Dt* 1,31).

When the Scripture endows God with passions, Origen insists on the need to understand these expressions metaphorically (*tropice, humano more*, τροποφορέω, ἑρμηνεύω, παραβολή). Nevertheless it must be remembered that metaphor, for Origen, is not void language but rather the only way by which God can communicate with men: «*it is impossible for man, who lives in the flesh, to know what is hidden and invisible if he does not conceive an image or resemblance based upon what is visible*».[54] The anthropomorphic language of the Scripture is not only a gift for the ruder and ignorant, it is the only way by which God can address man in his current condition. Even those who have known God with the *noûs*, only manage a partial knowledge during this life.

But the analysed question is more than a mere matter of semantics: There is indeed a reality in God himself which is imperfectly expressed by means of metaphors, symbols, anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms. Consequently, Origen, though he metaphorically interprets God's passions as shown in the Scripture, thus supporting perfect divine *apatheia*, seasons nevertheless his expressions on impassibiliy, declaring that '*God is not impassible*'.

1. Regarding the passion of the Logos, Origen discovers a reality in the eternal Son of God which impels him to '*leave his home and go to those who are not able to come to Him*'; a reality prior to incarnation, for it is its very cause. This reality, which is also called *philanthropy* and mercy, is what, in the homily of Ezekiel, is called '*passion*'. This *'passion'* belongs to the Logos in his pre-existence: '*if he had not suffered, he would not have come to share human life*'. The doctrine according to which Christ is passible in his human nature and impassible in his divine one, is unable to explain the reasons for incarnation. There is a reality prior to incarnation, that affects the Logos in his pre-existence, which allow us to qualify the Logos as *passible.*

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[54] «*Quia ergo impossibile est homini in carne viventi agnoscere aliquid de 'occultis' et invisibilibus, nisi imaginem aliquam et similitudinem conceperit de visibilibus*» *In Ct. Com.*, III,13,17 (*GCS* VIII, p. 209).

2. Concerning God the Father, Origen wishes to avoid two extremes: on the one hand, he wants to reject that *God be like a man who rages*, by stating that God is impassible; on the other hand, he wants to reject that *God be like a man who lacks mercy*, by stating that God is not impassible. And so *'God is not like a man'* (*Nm* 23,19), and, at the same time, *'God is like a man'* (*Dt* 1,31). Thus, in the works of the Alexandrian, God is proclaimed passible and impassible, without renouncing either qualification.

The heart of the matter lies, obviously, on the subject of language about God. Based upon these statements, it can be said that neither the terms 'passible' nor 'impassible' can describe properly God's being. To describe God with our human language we are to inadequately declare that he is impassible and passible. We must, then, remember on this matter something that is usually forgotten: the statement that God is impassible is true, but it is not the whole truth.

But Origen goes further and states that this *adapted language* has its foundation in God's doing and being. There is a reality that provokes and fundaments the economy: something *'happens'* in God (γίνεται—fit). That reality is called *'passion'* by the Alexandrine. This shocking statement is best understood in the light of the relation established by Origen between being and freedom.[55] He admits that God, out of mercy, exercising his liberty, surpasses the limits imposed upon him by the greatness of his being, since, for the economy, God becomes what is incompatible with the magnitude of his nature: *et fit in iis in quibus iuxta magnitudinem naturae suae non potest esse.*

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[55] As pointed out by T. Kobusch: «*Die Freiheit determiniert das Wesen*», in "Kann Gott leiden? Zu philosophischen Grundlagen der Lehre von der Passibilität Gottes bei Origenes", *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992), p. 330; also, J. Galot: «*Selon la grandeur de sa nature, Dieu ne peut pas être impliqué dans les passions humaines, mais en vertu de sa miséricorde il s'y engage*», in "Le Dieu Trinitaire et la passion du Christ", NRTh 114 (1982), p. 72.

DER INTERPOLIERTE JUVENCUS DES CODEX AUGIENSIS 112 UND SEVERUS VON MALAGA

VON

CORNEL HEINSDORFF

ABSTRACT: Near the end of the sixth century A.D. Severus of Malaga wrote an epic on the basis of the Gospels. In this paper it is shown that he used an interpolated text of Juvencus' biblical epic *Evangeliorum libri IV*. The codex Augiensis 112, which contains only a part of Juvencus' work (3.1-4.387), bears testimony to this version. Some literal similarities, which can hardly be ascribed to chance, point to Severus' use of the interpolated version. This is the more likely, because they occur in the comparatively small part of Juvencus' text which is found in the codex mentioned.

Der Codex Augiensis 112 (= A)[1] ist eine frühe Minuskelhandschrift, die von Huemer in das achte, von Holder, Hansson und Lowe[2] in das achte bis neunte Jahrhundert datiert wird. Vom Bibelepos des Juvencus überliefert

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[1] R. Fürst von der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe danke ich, daß mir ein Mikrofilm vom Juvencustext dieses Codex und darüber hinaus sehr gute Photographien der hier besprochenen Textabschnitte zur Verfügung gestellt werden konnten.

[2] J. Huemer, *Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci Evangeliorum libri quattuor recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Iohannes Huemer* (CSEL 24, Wien 1891) XXVII; A. Holder, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, V. Die Reichenauer Handschriften. Erster Band: Die Pergamenthandschriften* (Wiesbaden 1970, Neudruck mit bibliographischen Nachträgen der Ausgabe Leipzig 1906) 289; N. Hansson, *Textkritisches zu Juvencus. Mit vollständigem Index Verborum* (Lund 1950) 19; E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A paleographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century* (Oxford 1959) Nr. 1081. – Neben Huemer und Hansson werden nachfolgend abgekürzt zitiert: E. Reusch, *C. Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci Hispani presbyteri, historiae evangelicae libri IIII, cum notis integris Georgii Matthei Koenigii, Magni Danielis Omeisii, et Christiani Schoettgenii; itemque Iodoci Badii Ascensii, Georgii Fabricii, aliorumque selectioribus* (Frankfurt/Leipzig 1710); F. Arevalo, *C. Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci presbyteri Hispani historiae evangelicae libri IV* (PL 19, Rom 1792; mit Kommentar); K. Marold, *C. Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci libri evangeliorum IIII* (Leipzig 1866); M. Petschenig, Rez. Huemer (Juvencusedition), *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 1 (1891) 137-44; A. Knappitsch, *Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci evangeliorum libri quattuor. In serm. Germ. transt.* (Programm Graz 1910-3; mit Kommentar); B. Bischoff, W. Schetter, O. Zwierlein, *Severi Episcopi <Malacitani (?)> in Evangelia Libri XII. Das Trierer Fragment der Bücher VIII-X. Unter Mitwirkung von Reinhart Herzog erstmalig herausgegeben und kommentiert von Bernhard Bischoff und Willy Schetter; bearbeitet von Otto Zwierlein*

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dieser Codex den Abschnitt 3,1-4,387. Nachlässig geschrieben und voller Fehler,[3] verdient er dennoch unsere Aufmerksamkeit aufgrund zahlreicher Ersatzfassungen und einiger Zusätze, die zumeist in keiner der übrigen Handschriften erhalten sind. An einige der interpolierten Abschnitte in A wird man bei der Lektüre des Severus von Malaga erinnert, der sein Bibelepos im letzten Drittel des sechsten Jahrhunderts schrieb[4] und von dem wir wissen, daß er aus Juvencus schöpfte.[5] Wenn nun Übereinstimmungen auch zwischen dem unechten Juvencus und Severus zu finden sind, liegt die Vermutung nahe, daß schon Severus einen interpolierten Juvencus las. Im folgenden werden die betreffenden Abschnitte vorgestellt, die Interpolationsmotive dargelegt sowie die Nutzung des gefälschten Juvencustextes durch Severus aufgezeigt:[6]

(1)

Matthäus, Kapitel XXI

(21) *respondens autem Iesus ait eis: „amen, dico vobis: si habueritis fidem et non haesitaveritis, non solum de ficulnea facietis, sed et si monti huic dixeritis: ‚tolle et*

(Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen N.F. 109, München 1994); M. Castillo Bejarano, *Juvenco: introducción, traducción y notas* (Biblioteca Clásica Gredos, Vol. 249, Madrid 1998); J. Bauer, Philologischer Kommentar zum Dritten Buch der *Evangeliorum libri* des Juvencus (Diss. Wien 1999); Ch. Gnilka, Der Seesturm beim echten und unechten Juvencus, *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* N.F. 25 (2001) 213-27; C. Heinsdorff, *Christus, Nikodemus und die Samaritanerin bei Juvencus. Mit einem Anhang zur lateinischen Evangelienvorlage* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, Bd. 67, Berlin/New York 2003).

[3] Vgl. Hansson 25.

[4] Vgl. Zwierlein 27-34, der den Nachweis anhand literarischer Vergleiche sowie prosodischer und metrischer Untersuchungen führt.

[5] Besonders offensichtlich ist der Einfluß des Juvencus auf Severus in den Fällen, wo beide dieselbe Bibelstelle wiedergeben, vgl. Zwierlein zu S. 8, 3; 28; 30 f.; 33; 42; 50 f.; 62; 82 (die bisher genannten Verse betreffen die Lazarusperikope; vgl. unten zu Iuvenc. 4, 330 ff. und S. 8, 24 ff.); 206; 9, 5; 7; 225; 298; 301; 310; 312 f.; 355 (betrifft den Streit mit den Sadduzäern; vgl. unten zu Iuvenc. 4, 29 ff. und S. 9, 367 ff.); vgl. noch die (wenn auch unterschiedliche) Verwendung von *docere* in Iuvenc. 2, 326 und S. 8,2). Auch Ergänzungen des oft lückenhaften oder schwer lesbaren Textes ergeben sich zuweilen zwanglos durch einen Blick auf die Parallelstelle bei Juvencus, vgl. 8, 210; 9, 404 f.; 10, 20 f.; über verwandten Sprachgebrauch siehe sonst etwa zu 8, 22 (Metrik); 25; 40; 104; 116; 224; 9, 41; 100; 117; 162; 232; 237; 248; 373; 399; 10, 10; 27; 47; 81 f.

[6] Die Heilige Schrift zitiere ich nach der Vulgata (ed. Weber, Stuttgart 1983³), Juvencus nach Huemer (lese jedoch in 4, 33 *iusta* statt *iuxta*), Severus nach Bischoff/Schetter/Zwierlein.

iacta te in mare', fiet. (22) *et omnia, quaecumque petieritis in oratione, credentes accipietis".*

Juvencus, Buch III

662	*sed Christus stupidis adsistens talia fatur:*	Mt. 21, 21
663	*„nunc ligni istius nostro stupuistis honore,*	(20)
664	*desisse ad vires terrenos ducere sucos.*	
665	*sed veris verbis iterumque iterumque monebo:*	
666	*namque fides si certa animi consistet in arce*	
667	*nec dubiis nutans vitiis tremebunda iacebit,*	
668	*arboris istius vobis substantia cedet.*	
669	*nec tantum istius, sed montis celsa revelli*	
670	*credentum verbo poterunt undisque profundi*	
671	*cum silvis pariter saxisque ferisque recondi.*	
672	*et quaecumque fides robusto pectore poscet,*	22
673	*credentum semper digna virtute tenebit".*	

Juvencus, Buch III, von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung[7]

662	*sed Christus stupidis adsistens talia fatur:*	Mt. 21, 21
663a	*„cernitis en ligni istius defecisse vigorem*	(20)
664a	*et* (a) *verbum nostrum magna* (b) *virtute peractum.*	
665a	*sed veris verbis iterumque iterumque* (c) *docebo:*	
666	*namque fides si certa animi consistet in arce*	
667	*nec dubiis nutans vitiis tremebunda iacebit,*	
668a	*non tantum* (d) *imperiis vestris substantia cedet*	
669a	*arboris istius, sed montis celsa revelli*	
	...".	

664a *pactũ* A (p ist Abkürzung von *per.* Huemer gibt in Proleg. XXXIX unpräzise *pactum = peractum* an und schreibt im Apparat gar einfach *pactum*) **665a** *iterũ iterũque* A (so lese ich in A gegen Huemer, der aber *iterum iterumque* für M K L Mp P V_1 B^1

[7] Bereinigt von offenkundigen Verschreibungen und Versehen, über die der jeweils unmittelbar unter dem Text stehende Apparat informiert (nur in diesen Fällen oder bei fehlerhaften Angaben der Herausgeber werden die in A verwendeten Abkürzungen eigens angegeben), wird hier und im folgenden der Text von A als die von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung zitiert (anders verhält es sich bei den Versen 4, 330 ff., wo ein Interpolament, das der Juvencustext des Severus enthielt, in A nur bruchstückhaft überliefert ist, in anderen Handschriften dagegen vollständig, und wo der Überrest eines weiteren Interpolaments, das Severus kannte, in einer anderen Handschrift überliefert ist).

Bb H verzeichnet). Derselbe Fehler ist für Verg. *Aen.* 2, 770; 3, 436; Sil. 10, 364; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 355; 10, 133; Iuvenc. 4, 615 bezeugt.

Sprachliches:[8] **663a cernitis en**. Vgl. Ov. *met.* 15, 776 *en acui sceleratos cernitis enses?* (Riese, *en me acui* h, *in me acui* A, *in mea cui* E v, *in mea* [*viscera latos* in ras.] P^3); Lucan. 4, 659 *en veteris cernis vestigia valli.* **defecisse vigorem** ähnelt (trotz anderer Konstruktion) Ov. *met.* 10, 194 *defecta vigore (cervix)*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 375 *iam viribus defecta (Phaedra)* **664a virtute peractum**. Vgl. Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1, 293 *quae Genitor socia Nati virtute peregit*; 296 *quae Natus socia Patris virtute peregit*; Carm. adv. Marc. 2, 174 *iussumque Patris virtute peregit*; Ven. Fort. *Mart.* 4, 233 *haec quoque mira loquar parili virtute peracta.* **668a imperiis vestris cedet**. Vgl. für diese Verbindung in derselben Bedeutung („jem. gehorchen") Sen. *benef.* 3, 38, 2; Sil. 1, 192.

Severus, Buch IX

98	*siccavit* (a) *verbo florentes arbore ramos*	Mt. 21, 19
...		
100	*quae* (a) *verbo citius demum siccata remansit*	20
...		
102	*laudare aeternum* <(a) *Verbum*>, *quod cuncta peregit.*	
103	*hoc quoque tractanti praebet* (c) *documenta decora,*	
104	*quod signo fecit, qui scivit cuncta priora.*	
...		
107	*quo cunctos* (c) *doceat clementia numina sancta*	
...		
115	*a Christo siccata* (c) *doce{n}t, quod cuncta reformat*	
...		
120	*ut* (c) *doceat se posse feros damnare, ...*	
...		
143	*quis Christus super haec addit: „vos credite iuste,*	Mt. 21, 21
144	*subque fide maiora dabo perficere signa.*	
145	*nam qui non dubitat, montes migrare* (d) *iubebit*	
146	*aequoribusque natare simul, cur<r>antque repente*	
147	*naturam vincente fide* (b) *virtute peracta:*	
148	*quam recte peragens* (d) *iussu mutaverit orbem".*	

Beim überlieferten Wortlaut der Verse 663 f. vermißten Herausgeber und Kommentatoren einen Subjektsakkusativ innerhalb eines von *stupuistis* abhängig gedachten aci, der sich über beide Verse erstreckt. Das hat zu starken Eingriffen geführt. Omeis liest *ligni stirpem*, Reusch und Marold

[8] Sprachliche Hinweise, die für die jeweils nachfolgende Argumentation nicht von Belang sind, werden jeweils in einem eigenen Apparat geliefert.

lignum istius (sc. *arboris*). Arevalo erwägt zunächst gedankliche Ergänzung von *arborem* zu *ligni istius*, schlägt dann aber vor, *ad* zu tilgen und *vires* als Subjektsakkusativ zu fassen (doch in seinem Text steht *ad vires*), wobei er die Längung der Endsilbe von *desisse* angesichts der Zäsur für hinnehmbar hält.[9] Knappitsch und Bauer entscheiden sich ebenfalls für die Athetese von *ad*. Huemer dagegen hält an dem überlieferten Wortlaut fest, setzt aber nach *honore* ein Komma. Dieser Interpunktion folgt Castillo Bejarano in seiner Übersetzung: „Ahora os habéis quedado estupefactos por el milagro[10] mío del leño, por el hecho de que haya dejado de extraer como alimento jugos de la tierra". Von *stupuistis* ist also kein aci abhängig, sondern es steht in Verbindung mit *ligni istius . . . honore*. An letzteres schließt dann aber *desisse ad vires terrenos ducere sucos* als epexegetischer aci an,[11] dessen Subjektsakkusativ aus *ligni istius* gedanklich ergänzt werden muß.[12] Der Interpolator vereinfachte nun die schwierige Syntax von 663 f., indem er zwei leicht erkennbare und durch *et* verbundene aci-Konstruktionen von *cernitis en*[13] abhängig machte (663a f.). Zudem löste er den kunstvollen, aber nicht leicht verständlichen Ausdruck *ligni istius nostro . . . honore*[14] auf, wobei er *ligni istius* mit *vigorem* verband und *honore* in *(magna) virtute* aufnahm. – In den

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[9] Zur Dehnung kurzer Endsilben im Hexameter (vor allem vor den männlichen Hauptzäsuren und bei konsonantisch auslautenden Silben) vgl. etwa Crusius, *Römische Metrik* (neu bearb. v. H. Rubenbauer, München 1967[8]) 28; E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI* (Darmstadt 1957[4]) 450-2. Für Juvencus nennt Huemer, Index 164 s.v. *metrica et prosodiaca*, nur praef. 25 *ergo age! sanctificūs adsit mihi carminis auctor* und 27 *dulcis Iordanīs, ut Christo digna loquamur*.

[10] 663 *honore* erläutert Knappitsch mit „miraculo". Für diese Bedeutung ist bei Juvencus am ehesten zu vergleichen 4, 400 *pars credens sequitur tantae virtutis honorem* (Knappitsch übersetzt „glaubte ein Teil an Christi Macht, solche Wunder zu wirken", im Kommentar erläutert er *t. v. h.* mit „tam excellentem egregiamque miraculorum patrandorum vim").

[11] Man muß hier allerdings schon von einer dichterisch-freien Form des epexegetischen aci sprechen. Sonst kennt man den epexegetischen aci, der ein vorausgeschicktes Demonstrativpronomen erläutert; vgl. LHS II 413 (§ 218), 572.

[12] Ausfall des Subjektsakkusativs, wenn er aus dem Zusammenhang ergänzt werden kann, ist nicht selten, vgl. KS II 1, 700 f. (§ 127, 1); LHS II 362 (§ 198) (überwiegend umgangssprachlich, aber auch bei Dichtern); J.T. Hatfield, *A study of Juvencus* (Diss. Baltimore 1890, gedruckt in Bonn) 24 (§ 101d) nennt für Juvencus 1, 45; 269; 2, 598; 4, 397 (4, 448 gehört aber nicht hierher).

[13] An *cernitis en* erinnert das ebenfalls interpolierte *pergitis en* in 2, 457 (textkritische Angaben bei Hansson 89).

[14] Auch in 2, 355 erschien einem Interpolator *virtutis honore* offenbar zu kompliziert, und er schrieb dafür *viresque ministrat* (textkritische Angaben bei Hansson 89).

Versen 669 f. paßt der Plural *poterunt* eigentlich nur zu *montis celsa* im *sed*-Teil, nicht aber zu dem Singular *(arboris) istius (substantia)* im *nec tantum*-Teil. Auch diese syntaktische Schwierigkeit ist in der interpolierten Fassung nicht mehr anzutreffen, da der Vers 668 ganz in das nachfolgende Satzgefüge integriert wurde, wie die Verse 668a f. zeigen. – Neben den Vereinfachungen bei Satzbau und Wortwahl fällt in der interpolierten Fassung auf, daß 664a *verbum nostrum* und 668a *imperiis vestris* parallelgesetzt werden: Wie das Wort Christi den Feigenbaum verdorren ließ, so wird das Wort der Gläubigen Berge versetzen. Zudem unterstreicht die Parallele 664a *magna virtute* und 673 *digna virtute* (vgl. auch 672 *robusto pectore*), daß in beiden Fällen eine starke Kraft wirksam wird. – Die Bearbeitung zeugt von großem sprachlichem und kompositorischem Geschick. Allerdings ist der Vers 663a metrisch unbefriedigend. Denn *istius* müßte zweisilbig gemessen werden. Diese Messung kommt zwar bei Plautus und Terenz vor, in der epischen Dichtung scheint sie aber nicht belegt.[15]

Wie der Interpolator des Juvencustextes, so verwendet auch S. 98, 100 und 102 *verbum* auf Christus bzw. sein Wirken bezogen. Und auch bei ihm sind das Wort Christi und das Wort der Gläubigen parallelgesetzt, wobei für das Wort der Gläubigen nicht unmittelbar *verbum*, sondern S. 145 *iubebit* und 148 *iussu* steht, was besonders an 668a *imperiis vestris*, aber auch an 672 erinnert. Wenn man in S. 102 mit Klein *Verbum* ergänzt, wird passend zum Kontext Christus selbst als das Wort bezeichnet. Für Kleins Ergänzung spricht zudem die Verbindung von *Verbum* mit *peregit*, denn die Junktur *verbum peragere* findet sich bereits beim unechten Juvencus, nämlich in 664a, wenn auch in passivischer Konstruktion. S. 147 *(fide) virtute peracta* ist in Anlehnung an 664a *virtute peractum* gebildet. Das häufige Vorkommen von *docere* bzw. einmal *documenta* im Kontext des Severuspassus geht auf 665a *docebo* zurück. – 661 *caelebrem (mortem)* (man kann verstehen: das Erlöschen der Lebenskraft des Baumes ist großartig, weil es allein durch das Wort Christi bewirkt wird) in A (mit nachträglich gesetztem und als Durchstreichung dienendem Punkt unter dem *b*) ist wahrscheinlich keine bewußte Änderung, sondern aus *celerem* verschrieben (vgl. 1, 178 V_2 *celebris* [?] statt *celeris*). Falls Severus *caelebrem* las, hat er vielleicht S. 103 *documenta*

[15] Allerdings ist die Form *istius* in den daktylischen Versmaßen ohnehin selten (Prop. 4, 5, 58; Verg. *Aen.* 12, 648; Ov. *Pont.* 4, 6, 38; Mart. 14, 171, 2; Lydia 159 [bzw. 56]). Eine Ausnahme bildet Juvencus mit immerhin acht Fällen, wo *istius* aber stets dreisilbig zu messen ist.

decora, 140 *pulchra*, 142 und 150 *insignia facta* (vgl. 144 *maiora ... signa*) in Anlehnung daran gebildet.

(2)

Matthäus, Kapitel XXI

(24) *respondens Iesus dixit illis: „interrogabo vos et ego unum sermonem, quem si dixeritis mihi, et ego vobis dicam, in qua potestate haec facio*: (25) *baptismum Ioannis unde erat? e caelo an ex hominibus?“. at illi cogitabant inter se dicentes: „si dixerimus: ‚e caelo‘, dicet nobis: ‚quare ergo non credidistis illi‘*; (26) *si autem dixerimus: ‚ex hominibus‘, timemus turbam; omnes enim habent Ioannem sicut prophetam“*. (27) *et respondentes Iesu dixerunt: „nescimus“. ait illis et ipse: „nec ego dico vobis, in qua potestate haec facio“.*

Juvencus, Buch III

677	*ollis Christus ait: „quaerentibus omnia vobis*	Mt. 21, 24
678	*dicere iam facile est, si vobis vestra vicissim*	
679	*percontata prius paucis sententia solvat.*	
680	*nuper Iohannes, puro qui gurgite lavit*	25
681	*sordentis populi maculas, divina potestas*	
682	*an hominis potius vobis fallacia visa est?“.*	
683	*haec ait ancipiti verborum pondere claudens*	
684	*captantum procerum mentem; nam magna profetam*	26
685	*plebis Iohannem veneratio suscipiebat,*	
686	*nec poterant eius fallacem dicere vitam.*	
687	*rursum sublimem dixissent esse profetam,*	25
688	*occidisse illum traheret confessio culpam.*	
689	*se nescire tamen respondit factio fallax.*	27

Juvencus, Buch III, von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung

684	.... *nam magna profetam*	Mt. 21, 26
685	*plebis Iohannem veneratio suscipiebat,*	
686	*nec poterant eius fallacem dicere vitam*	25
686a	*humanoque ortu* (a) <u>*trepidant*</u> (b) <u>*baptisma*</u> (c) <u>*fateri*</u>.	
687a	*aetherio quodsi loquerentur fonte venire,*	
688a	*<quaereret is,>* (d) <u>*cur non caperent*</u> *<baptisma decorum.> {traherent confessio culpam}*	
689	*se nescire tamen respondit factio fallax.*	27

684 *propheta* A **686a** *trepident* A

Sprachliches: **686a humano . . . ortu**. Diese Junktur findet sich auch in Varro *ling.* 7, 17 (bei Varro heißt *h.o.* „Beginn des menschlichen Lebens", im interpolierten Juvencustext „menschliche Provenienz"). **trepidant**. Für *trepidare* mit inf. in der Bedeutung „Angst haben, etwas zu tun" vgl. Stat. *Theb.* 1, 639 f. *non . . . /. . . certae trepidas occurrere morti* (OLD 1970 s.v. 4b). **688a** Der Vers wurde von mir nach Ausscheidung von *traherent confessio culpam* nur vorschlagsweise ergänzt (wegen des Monosyllabons vor der Penthemimeres wird man vielleicht *cur non caperent* lieber an eine andere Stelle setzen wollen, doch vgl. Ov. *met.* 7, 35; Stat. *Theb.* 8, 51; Iuvenc. 3, 690. Unabhängig davon kann man natürlich nicht wissen, was der Interpolator für metrisch korrekt hielt).

Severus, Buch IX

224	*quem cum viderunt primi, coepere rogare:*	Mt. 21, 23
225	*„haec quomodo tu signa facis? responde docens nos!*	
226	*quive dedit tibi tam clara perficere signa*	
227	*crebra nimis magnaque?". Deus respondit ad illos*	24
228	*cognoscens sensus hominum, quos corde superbo*	
229	*invidia stimulans perfecit voce suavi*	
230	*dissimulare dolos et crimina nectere verbis*	
231	*responsis propriis ipsum damnare putantes:*	22, 15
232	*„si vultis memet vobis proferre rogata:*	21, 24
233	(b) *babtisma dudum factum quem ferre putatis,*	25
234	*ut faciat iustus, hominem superumve?". (a) remissi*	
235	*illi tractabant: „superum si diximus, ipse*	
236	*respondet nobis:* (d) *‚cur non cepistis ab illo*	
237	*sub fide captantes celestia munera iusto?'*[16]	
238	*ausi si fuimus mortalem dicere, plebes*	Lc. 20, 6
239	*nos perimet omnes, que iusta mente fuisse*	
240	*egregiumque simul sancta sub voce prophetam*	
241	*credentes* (b) *babtisma Dei cepere decorum",*	
242	*et dubii dicunt: „nos hoc nescire* (c) *fatemur."*	27
243	*et Christus: „nec ego, per quem mihi data potestas,*	
244	*respondere volo vobis".*	

[16] Schetter notiert zu 235-7 am Rand unrichtig Mt. 21, 26. Denn diese Verse sind noch Mt. 21, 25 zuzuordnen, und erst 238 ff. basieren auf Mt. 21, 26 bzw. genauer Lc. 20, 6.

Wenn auch die Johannestaufe in 680 f. hinreichend umschrieben ist, aufgewertet sogar durch ihre Christianisierung,[17] vermißte der Interpolator in 684 ff. doch die Erwähnung des Taufbegriffs, der im Mittelpunkt von Mt. 21, 25f. steht. Und an 688 *occidisse illum traheret confessio culpam* störte ihn, daß in der Bibel nirgends etwas davon zu lesen ist, daß die Pharisäer den Johannes getötet hätten.[18] Natürlich ist dem Dichter aber aus seiner Gestaltung kein Vorwurf zu machen. Denn er gibt nur eine mögliche Spekulation der Pharisäer wieder, welche Folge die Aussage, Johannes sei ein großer (d.h. für ihre Lehre und sie selbst gefährlicher) Prophet gewesen, hätte nach sich ziehen können, nämlich die Beschuldigung, ihn getötet zu haben. – Abgesehen von der Aufnahme des Taufbegriffs spiegelt sich in 686a *humanoque ortu trepidant baptisma* (sc. *esse*) *fateri* auch Mt. 21, 26 *ex hominibus* (sc. *erat baptismum*) (vgl. *humano . . . ortu*) klarer als in 686. Und 687a *aetherio quodsi loquerentur fonte venire*[19] hat deutlicheren Anklang an Mt. 21, 25 *e caelo* als 687. 688a *cur non caperent <baptisma decorum>* scheint der Interpolator aus Mt. 21, 25 *dicet nobis: „quare ergo non credidistis illi?"* entwickelt zu haben. 688a *traherent confessio culpam* (mit *traherent* statt *traheret*) ist ein Bruchstück des echten Verses 688, das an *cur non caperent* als Überrest des interpolierten Verses 688a angeschlossen wurde, wobei letzteres, sollte es zuvor an metrisch passender Stelle gestanden haben (wie es bei der vorgeschlagenen Ergänzung des Verses der Fall ist), durch Verschiebung unmetrisch wurde. Möglicherweise wurden infolge von Mißdeutung diakritischer Zeichen oder infolge eines Versehens, als die Verse 686a-688a in den fortlaufenden Text aufgenommen wurden, von den echten Versen nur 686 f. ausgelassen, was dazu führte, daß 688a und 688 unmittelbar aufeinander folgten. Die Aufeinanderfolge der Verse 688a und 688 ergab aber keinen Sinn, was ihre Verstümmelung und Verschmelzung zu einem gleichfalls unsinnigen (und auch unmetrischen) Vers nach sich zog. –

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[17] Zur Christianisierung der Johannestaufe bei Juvencus vgl. Heinsdorff 32-9 (auf S. 34, 19. Zeile von oben, sind „vor" und „erst nach" aus Versehen vertauscht, worauf mich Gnilka brieflich hinweist).

[18] Vgl. Bauer zu V. 685 „Daß sie (sc. die Priester und Schriftgelehrten) jedoch eine Mitschuld an Inhaftierung und Ermordung des Täufers hatten, ist im biblischen Text nicht explizit ausgesagt." Spekulativ ist Knappitschs (zu V. 688) Annahme, daß Johannes zweimal, zuerst auf Veranlassung der Pharisäer, danach auf Befehl des Herodes ins Gefängnis geworfen worden sei.

[19] *venire* ist Interpolatorenausdruck auch in 2, 285 *venit* (Hansson 88, Heinsdorff 290 f.); vgl. aber auch Stat. *Theb.* 4, 37 f. *neque enim altior ulli/ mens hausto de fonte venit* (von Calliope).

baptisma (686a) ist eine von Juvencus nie verwendete Form, die zudem von *baptismum* in Mt. 21, 25 abweicht (wobei freilich im Griechischen βάπτισμα steht; vgl. auch VL d l *baptisma*). – *quodsi* (687a) kommt bei Juvencus nicht vor.

S. 233 und 241 *baptisma* erinnern an den Wortgebrauch in 686a, ebenso S. 234 *remissi* („kleinmütig", Zwierlein), welches *trepidant* aufgreift, sowie S. 242 *fatemur* (vgl. aber auch 688 *confessio* im echten Juvencus). Besonders aber sticht bei S. 236f. *. . .respondet nobis: „cur non cepistis ab illo/ sub fide captantes celestia munera iusto?"* der wörtliche Anklang an 688a *cur non caperent. . ..?* ins Auge.[20] – S. 237 *celestia (munera)* läßt sich zwar mit 687a *aetherio (fonte)* vergleichen, geht aber wegen der Wortwahl vermutlich unmittelbar auf Mt. 21, 25 *e caelo* zurück.

(3)

Matthäus, Kapitel XXI

(41) *aiunt illi: „malos male perdet et vineam locabit aliis agricolis, qui reddant ei fructum temporibus suis".* (42) *dicit illis Iesus: „numquam legistis in Scripturis: ‚lapidem, quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli; a Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris'?* (43) *ideo dico vobis quia auferetur a vobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus eius".*

Juvencus, Buch III

733	*post haec iam dominus veniet poenasque reposcet*	Mt. 21, 40f.
734	*tantorum scelerum. sed vobis tradita quondam*	43

[20] Zu vergleichen ist aber auch Hier. *comm. in Mt.* 21, 25 (CCL 77, 193, 1485 f.) *. . . consequens erat responsio: „quare ergo non estis baptizati a Iohanne?"*, (l. 1489) *receperant baptisma.* Wegen der viel größeren wörtlichen Übereinstimmung mit dem unechten Juvencus ist aber sicherlich dieser als Quelle des Severus anzusehen. Unabhängig davon ist nicht auszuschließen, daß Hieronymus selbst einen interpolierten Juvencus las. Das würde dann allerdings für das vorliegende Interpolament bedeuten, daß es bereits aus den ersten Jahrzehnten nach Entstehung der Evangeliendichtung des Juvencus stammt. – Auch wenn Severus bei *cur non cepistis. . ..?* und bei den anderen besprochenen Formulierungen aus dem unechten Juvencus schöpfte, hat er möglicherweise zugleich den Matthäuskommentar des Hieronymus benützt. Denn S. 231 *responsis propriis ipsum damnare putantes* erinnert an Hier. *comm. in Mt.* 21, 25 (l. 1482 f.) *sed prudenter interrogat, ut suo ipsi vel silentio vel sententia condemnentur*, wobei aber die Perspektiven vertauscht sind, d.h. bei Severus heißt es, daß die Gegner Jesus zu verurteilen glauben, bei Hieronymus dagegen, daß die Gegner sich selbst verurteilen sollen. Eine noch weiter reichende wörtliche Überstimmung erkennt Bischoff zwischen S. 231 und Hier. *comm. in Mt.* 21, 40 (p. 197, 1598 f.) *ut propria responsione damnentur.* Hieronymus kommentiert hier jedoch das Gleichnis von den bösen Winzern.

735 *fulgentis regni sedes translata feretur*
736 *ad placidam gentem, possit quae reddere fructus.*

Juvencus, Buch III, von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung

733	*post haec iam dominus veniet poenasque reposcet*	Mt. 21, 40f.
734a	*tantorum scelerum. sed vobis tradita regna*	43
735a	*diversam in gentem iuste translata ferentur,*	
736a	*praepingues Domino possit quae reddere fructus.*	

733 *veni*^{t} A **735a** *diversã ingente* A **736a** *possitq:* A

Severus, Buch IX

275	*. . . vos nunc edicite: quidnam*	Mt. 21, 40
276	*his faciet?" „veniet" perhibent „cunctosque necabit*	41
277	*externisque suos agros mandaverit illis*	
278	*sic male defunctis" . . .*	

In der Auslegung des Gleichnisses von den bösen Winzern sagt Jesus, daß das Reich Gottes von den Juden auf ein friedliebendes Volk übergehen wird, das Früchte wird liefern können. In der interpolierten Fassung fällt zunächst schlichtes *regna* (734a) anstelle von *fulgentis regni sedes* (735) auf. Grund für diese Änderung war vielleicht der Unwille des Interpolators darüber, daß der hochpoetische Ausdruck *fulgentis regni sedes* auf die Juden bezogen wird. Doch der Dichter hat die Herrlichkeit des Reichs Gottes gerade deswegen so stark betont, damit der zukünftige Verlust für die Juden um so stärker hervortritt. – Mit 735a *diversam . . . gentem* zur Bezeichnung der Heiden wie in 3, 429 *sit tibi diversae multatus nomine gentis* (vgl. Mt. 18, 17 *sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus*), woher der Ausdruck wohl auch genommen wurde,[21] findet *(vineam locabit) aliis agricolis* in der zweiten Hälfte von Mt. 21, 41 anders als beim echten Juvencus noch Berücksichtigung. Und zwar wirkt die Abwendung Gottes von den Juden um so schärfer, wenn das andere Volk, auf welches sein Reich übergeht, explizit heidnisch genannt wird – auch wenn natürlich jedes nichtjüdische Volk heidnisch ist.[22] Auffallend ist das hohe Niveau der gefälschten Fassung, denn *diversae . . . gentis* ist nicht

[21] Zur Junktur *diversa gens* vgl. sonst rein formal etwa Ov. *epist.* 17, 7; II Chron. 9, 14; Esther 3, 12; II Macc. 12, 27; Paul. Nol. *carm.* 21, 684.

[22] Zum Verständnis von Mt. 21, 43 als Übergang vom Reich Gottes auf die Heiden vgl. Orig. *comm. in Mt.* 17, 6 (GCS 40, 593 f.) *ita prophetans gentium fidem dicit non credentibus sibi doctoribus Iudaeorum: „tolletur a vobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus eius"*) (ich verzichte hier und nachfolgend auf die Angabe des griechischen Textes).

schlichte Paraphrase, sondern allegorische Ausdeutung von *aliis agricolis*. – 736a *praepingues* kann man mit der Neigung der Fälscher zu Verstärkungen erklären. Vielleicht wollte der Interpolator aber auch das biblische *eius* sc. *regni* noch irgendwie umsetzen. Die Früchte, die dem Reich Gottes zukommen und seiner würdig sind (so scheint mir *eius* zu verstehen), sind *praepingues*, sehr üppig.[23] *dignos* liest man stattdessen in R L P_2 C_2 B V_2 Ma C_3 *ad gentem dignos possit quae reddere fructus* und in M *ad placidam dignos gentem p. q. r. fructus* (Angaben nach Hansson 92).[24]

S. 277 *externis*[25] entspricht 735a *diversam . . . gentem*. Man könnte nun sagen, Severus habe ganz unabhängig vom gefälschten Juvencustext Mt. 21, 21 *aliis agricolis* wiedergegeben, zumal er überhaupt nur Mt. 21, 41 folgt. Doch handelt es sich bei Severus nicht um eine beliebige Umformung von *aliis agricolis*, sondern *externis* gibt den biblischen Ausdruck in Anlehnung an *diversam . . . gentem* im unechten Juvencus in der Bedeutung „Heiden" wieder.[26]

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[23] Von der reichen Frucht des Weinbergs Israel ist die Rede in Ezech. 19, 10; Hos. 10, 1. Hatte der Interpolator diese Stellen im Auge, auch wenn an der bearbeiteten Stelle nicht Israel, sondern die Heiden reiche Frucht bringen sollen?

[24] *dignus* ist Interpolatorenwort auch in 1, 458; 3, 705 (Angaben bei Hansson 87, 92) und in einem in A im Anschluß an 4, 270 überlieferten Vers, welcher *qui coluere* (sc. *Deum*), *metant dignos pro tempore fructus* lautet und 269-71 *huc veniant sancti, iamdudum debita sumant/ dona Patris, mundi quae sunt aequaeva nitentis/ et iustis primo promissa parantur ab ortu* ersetzen sollte. In knappen und leicht verständlichen Worten gibt der unechte Vers wieder, was Juvencus hochpoetisch ausgedrückt hat. Die Junktur *dignos . . . fructus* kennt man aus dem besprochenen Ersatzvers 3, 736a (vgl. noch Mt. 3, 8 *fructum dignum paenitentiae* [Iuvenc. 3, 330 *fructum . . . aptum*]; Lc. 3, 8 *fructus dignos paenitentiae;* Bell. Alex. 32, 3).

[25] Für *externis* von den Heiden bei Severus vgl. Bischoff 134 zur Stelle und Thes. V, 2 c. 2023, 71 ff.

[26] Allerdings ist das Verständnis von Mt. 21, 41 als Übergang des Weinbergs auf die Heiden auch sonst anzutreffen, vgl. Iren. *adv. haer.* 4, 36, 2 (SC 100 II, p. 884-6) *quapropter* (d.h. weil die bösen Winzer den Sohn töteten) *tradidit eam* (sc. *vineam*) *Dominus Deus, non iam circumvallatam sed expansam in universum mundum, aliis colonis reddentibus fructus temporibus suis, turre electionis exaltata ubique et speciosa, ubique enim praeclara est Ecclesia; et ubique circumfossum torcular, ubique enim sunt qui suscipiunt Spiritum. quoniam enim Filium Dei reprobaverunt et proiecerunt eum, cum eum occidissent, extra vineam, iuste reprobavit eos Deus, et extra vineam exsistentibus gentibus dedit fructificationem culturae* (der Weinberg als *vinea humani generis* [pp. 882, 45]), Orig. *comm. in Mt.* 17, 7 (GCS 40, 602f.) *id est legem et prophetas et omnes divinas scripturas, quam tradidit dominus vineae primum quidem colonis populo illi priori, quoniam et primis „credita sunt eloquia Dei"* (Rom. 3,2), *secundis autem gentibus facientibus fructum* (der Weinberg als die Schrift), Chrysost. *hom. in Mt.* 68, 1 (PG 58, 367); 68, 2 (c. 641) (der Weinberg wird nicht genauer erklärt). Bei Severus scheint zwar in 277 der Weinberg als das Evangelium verstanden, das die Heiden annehmen (vgl. Bischoff z.St.), doch in 279 wird der Weinberg auf das jüdische Volk gedeutet (vgl. Bischoff z.St.).

(4)

Matthäus, Kapitel XXII

(29) *respondens autem Iesus ait illis: „erratis nescientes Scripturas neque virtutem Dei;*
(30) *in resurrectione enim neque nubent neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli Dei in caelo.*
(31) *de resurrectione autem mortuorum non legistis, quod dictum est vobis a Deo dicente:*
(32) *‚ego sum Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Iacob'? non est Deus mortuorum sed viventium.“*

Juvencus, Buch IV

29	*ollis Christus ait: „errori obnoxia pravo*	Mt. 22, 29
30	*legibus et iussis Domini mens dura resistit.*	
31	*namque secunda dehinc laetae reparatio vitae*	30
32	*non thalamos novit, non terrae gaudia vana,*	
33	*sed similes levibus Genitoris iusta ministris*	
34	*constituet regni virtus sublimis in aula.*	
35	*nec Deus illorum dominum se ponere mavult,*	32b
36	*qui tetram proni meruerunt sumere mortem*	
37	*sed potius vitae possunt qui prendere lucem.“*	

Juvencus, Buch IV, von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung

29a	*illis Christus ait: „errori obnoxia pravo*	Mt. 22, 29
30a	*pectora* (a) *concertant crebris se iungere taedis.*	
31	*namque secunda dehinc laetae reparatio vitae*	30
32	*non thalamos novit, non terrae gaudia vana,*	
33a	*sed similes* (b) *claris* (c) *aeterna in luce ministris*	
34	*constituet regni virtus sublimis in aula.*	
35	*nec Deus . . .“*	32b

29a *errore* A, *prabo* A (vgl. Hansson 74 Anm. 52; Huemer liest in A falsch *prabi*) **30a** *se iungeret aedis* A (Huemer und Hansson [74 Anm. 52] lesen *seiungeret aedis*) **32** ^{no}vitae A

Sprachliches: **30a** Das Kompositum *concertare* ist bei Juvencus nicht belegt, vgl. aber Manil. 5, 292; Coripp. *Iust.* 2, 394. So wie hier *concertare* ist in 3, 401* *certare* Interpolatorenwort. **33a aeterna in luce.** Die Junktur *aeterna lux* findet sich schon in Ov. *met.* 14, 132.

Severus, Buch IX

367	*quis Christus: „falsa vosmet dementia cepit*	Mt. 22, 29
368	*talia tractantes fore tum* (c) *sub luce futura*	
369	*qualia nunc mundus inbutus morte malisque*	

370 *corruptus suadet, qui post sub fine sequenti*
371 *exutus labem pellat cunctosque beatos,*
372 *quos facta egregia* (a) *studiumque fidesque decorant,*
373 *loetantes teneat regnum celeste tuentes,*
374 *iam puros factos, quos nulla oblivia vexent,*
375 *caelicolum similes* (b) *clara sub mente ministrum.* 30
376 *quod vero surgent omnes sub morte retenti* (Mc. 12, 26; Lc. 20, 37) 31
377 *Moses praedixit: . . .".* 22, 32

Sprachliches: **368 sub luce futura.** Ähnliches Hexameterende hat Ven. Fort. *carm.* 8, 8, 9 *in luce futura.*

Die Sadduzäer haben die Auferstehung geleugnet und Jesus zu dem Fall, daß sieben Brüder der Reihe nach verstarben, wobei dem Gesetz entsprechend jeweils einer der Überlebenden die Frau des zuletzt Gestorbenen heiratete, gefragt, welchen von ihnen die Frau bei ihrer Auferstehung zum Mann haben werde. Jesus schilt darauf die Sadduzäer wegen ihrer Unkenntnis der Schrift und wegen ihres Unglaubens und fügt hinzu, daß die Menschen bei der Auferstehung nicht heiraten werden. Während Jesus aber bei Matthäus die Sadduzäer unmittelbar anspricht, ist das bei Juvencus nicht mehr der Fall. Die Kritik bleibt also nicht auf die Sadduzäer beschränkt, sondern sie gilt allen, die nicht an die Auferstehung glauben. Der Interpolator nun wollte den Vorwurf 29 f. *errore obnoxia pravo/ legibus et iussis Domini mens dura resistit* (Mt. 22, 29 *erratis nescientes Scripturas neque virtutem Dei*) mit 29a f. *errore obnoxia pravo/ pectora concertant crebris se iungere taedis* konkretisieren und einen unmittelbaren Bezug zur Wiederheirat herstellen. Die Wiederheirat wird in der Fälschung als Fehlverhalten der Ungläubigen abgelehnt. Der Interpolator schließt sich damit offenbar einem in der Alten Kirche weitverbreiteten Urteil an, wonach die Wiederheirat nach Versterben des Ehegatten abzulehnen ist,[27] und er verschärft es noch.[28] Doch so gerät völlig aus den Augen, worauf die Frage der Sadduzäer zielt. Den Sadduzäern geht es nämlich nicht um die moralische Bewertung der

[27] Vgl. zu dieser negativen Einstellung gegenüber der Wiederheirat B. Kötting, RAC 3, Art. *Digamus* 1020 ff.

[28] Schon im echten Juvencus wird in *terrae gaudia vana*, welches das vorangehende *thalamos* zu kommentieren scheint, eine gewisse Distanz zur Ehe erkennbar. Wenn auch die Gleichsetzung von Wiederheirat und Unglauben nicht dasselbe ist, mag der Interpolator durch den Ausdruck *terrae gaudia vana* zu seiner strengen Bewertung der Wiederheirat ermutigt worden sein. – Vermutlich ist mit den *terrae gaudia vana* im besonderen die kör-

Wiederheirat, sondern darum, die Auferstehungslehre durch den konstruierten Fall gleich sechsfacher Wiederheirat ins Lächerliche zu ziehen. Denn die Frau hätte demnach (aus Sicht der Sadduzäer) sieben potentielle Ehemänner im Jenseits. – Bei der Wortstellung ist in der unechten Fassung eine Vereinfachung zu bemerken. Während beim echten Juvencus 29 *(errori) obnoxia (pravo)* und 30 *mens dura* weit auseinanderstehen, bezieht sich beim unechten Juvencus das nun als Neutrum Plural zu verstehende *obnoxia* auf das schon zu Beginn von 30a stehende *pectora*. – 29a *illis* beseitigt den Archaismus *ollis*.[29] – 33 *levibus (ministris)* ist mehrdeutig. Denn es kann negativ „minderwertig" bedeuten oder aber positiv „ätherisch". Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist noch die Übersetzung mit „flink, behende" (Knappitsch, Castillo Bejarano), was ebenfalls positive Färbung hat. Jedenfalls wurde der Ersatz 33a *claris* gewählt, damit ein eindeutig positives Adjektiv vorliegt. 33a *claris* harmoniert zudem mit 33a *aeterna in luce* (Lichtmotivik). – 33 *iusta*[30] bereitete aufgrund der weiten Sperrung *iusta* . . . /. . . *virtus* Schwierigkeiten, und zwar vor allem dann, wenn man *sublimis* mit *virtus* statt mit *regni* verband.[31] Daher ließ der Interpolator *iusta* aus.

Bei Severus schilt Jesus die Sadduzäer, sie meinten, in der Ewigkeit werde die Welt so sein wie in der Gegenwart. Vielmehr wird, wie er sagt, die in der Gegenwart sündenbefleckte Welt am Ende der Zeiten die Sünde ablegen. Daß mit der Sünde in Anlehnung an den unechten Juvencus die Wiederheirat gemeint ist, wird man aber eher bezweifeln. Der Leser würde dann wohl doch eine gezieltere Antwort Jesu auf die Argumentation der

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perliche Vereinigung gemeint. In diesem Sinn greift jedenfalls Hil. *comm. in Mt.* 23, 4 (SC 258, 156, 16) *inania haec corporum gaudia* die Juvencusstelle auf (zur Juvencusrezeption bei Hilarius vgl. etwa A.P. Orbán, Juvencus als Bibelexeget und als Zeuge der „Afrikanischen" Vetus-Latina-Tradition, *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 [1995] 334-52 passim).

[29] Über die Beseitigung von Archaismen in der Überlieferung des Juvencustextes siehe Heinsdorff 233 f.

[30] Es sei denn, der Interpolator las bereits das verderbte *iuxta* (textkritische Angaben bei Hansson 32). Doch wenn der Vers metrisch sein soll, muß *iuxta* am Ende kurz gemessen werden. Zwar nennt der Thesaurus als Beleg für solche Messung nur den vorliegenden Vers, doch bei LHS I 110 wird für den Wechsel von *-ā* und *-ă* im absoluten Auslaut *iuxta* in einer Reihe mit *contra* und *frustra* genannt. Bei Juvencus läßt sich auf *-ă* im absoluten Auslaut bei *triginta* und *quadraginta* verweisen.

[31] Für die Verbindung mit *regni* sprechen die Parallelen in 1, 455; 2, 795. – Zur Konstruktion beim echten Juvencus vgl. Petschenig 141 „Man verbinde *iusta genitoris virtus (eos) similes levibus ministris constituet in aula regni sublimis*, d.h. *similes faciet angelis suis in caelo*". *iuxta* hält Petschenig auch unabhängig von der metrischen Problematik für unpassend. Doch wäre Verbindung von *iuxta* mit *constituet* nicht abwegig. Die Menschen, welche in das Reich Gottes gelangen, werden engelgleich sein und folglich ihren Platz auch in der Nähe der Engel einnehmen dürfen.

Sadduzäer erwarten, mit der sie die Wiederheirat rechtfertigen (u.a. dreimaliger Verweis auf das Gesetz in S. 354, 361, 364). Vielleicht ist Jesu Antwort also eher in einem allgemeinen Sinn zu verstehen. – S. 368 *sub luce futura* wird man von der Bildung des ganzen Ausdrucks her eher mit 33a *aeterna in luce* als mit 37 *vitae ... lucem* in Verbindung bringen, obwohl natürlich auch letzteres Vorbild gewesen sein könnte. – S. 372 *studium* wurde wohl durch 30a *concertant* angeregt. Doch bezeichnet *concertant* im gefälschten Text den (nach Meinung des Interpolators) falschen Heiratseifer, *studium* bei Severus dagegen den wahren Eifer der Gläubigen. – S. 375 *caelicolum similes clara sub mente ministrum* erinnert an 33a *claris ... ministris*. Bei Severus ist *clara* Bestandteil einer Metaphorik, welche die Sünde als Befleckung darstellt, die Sündlosigkeit dagegen als Reinheit.[32]

Noch ein Wort zu 30* *legibus et virtute Dei mens decolor exit*. Hansson (74) sagt zur Überlieferung: „Der Plusvers folgt auf V. 30 in M^2 R^2 S P K_1 B P^3 Ca Bx, steht hinter 34 in R^1, am Rande (wie auch 30) in Ph, ersetzt 30 in Av K_2^1 T^1 Bb^1, fehlt in den übrigen Hss." Der Interpolator wollte mit *exit* wohl dem biblischen *nescientes* näherkommen (im Thesaurus ist noch am ehesten die Rubrik „ab ecclesia sive corpore christ. recedere" zu vergleichen, V, 2 c. 1363, 3-14) und mit *virtute Dei* die gleichlautende Wendung aus Mt. 22, 29 übernehmen (so auch Hansson 75), für die bei Juvencus eine Entsprechung fehlt. *decolor*, das hier moralische Schlechtigkeit bezeichnet (Thes. V, 1 c. 199, 44 ff.), nahm er vermutlich aus 2, 683 (*decolor alter*, von Hansson 75 mit „Antichrist" wiedergegeben [cf. Thes. V, 1 c. 199, 46 „de Antichristo"], von Castillo Bejarano mit „otro menos resplandeciente"). *exire* hat Juvencus nie. Die Verbindung mit *virtute Dei* wirkt unpassend (Hansson 75 „Mit *legibus* paßt *exit* einigermaßen zusammen, aber mit *virtute* ergibt es ein hartes Zeugma").

(5)

Matthäus, Kapitel XXIII

(13) *„vae autem vobis, scribae et Pharisaei hypocritae, quia clauditis regnum caelorum ante homines! vos enim non intratis nec introeuntes sinitis intrare.* (15) *vae vobis, scribae et Pharisaei hypocritae, quia circuitis mare et aridam ut faciatis unum proselytum, et cum fuerit factus, facitis eum filium gehennae duplo quam vos!* (16) *vae vobis, duces caeci, qui*

[32] Bischoff (zu S. 9, 368 f.) vermutet bei Severus Einfluß von Orig. *comm. in Mt.* 17, 33 (GCS 40, 688, 22) ... *putantes* (sc. *Sadducaei*) *omnia sic futura esse illic, quomodo sunt in saeculo isto, viri et uxores, patres et filii, fratres et sorores* ... (p. 689, 19) *debuerunt enim considerare tunc Sadducaei ea, quae sequebantur opinionem eorum: quoniam si sunt nuptiae, et partus, si partus, et mortes et infirmitates; ... si autem haec omnia, erit et malitia* ... Das schließt aber die gleichzeitige Nutzung des unechten Juvencus nicht aus. Tatsächlich erinnert *sub luce futura* viel stärker an *aeterna in luce* beim unechten Juvencus als an *omnia sic futura esse illic, quomodo* ... bei Origenes.

dicitis ‚quicumque iuraverit per templum, nihil est; qui autem iuraverit in aurum templi, debet'. (17) *stulti et caeci! quid enim maius est: aurum an templum, quod sanctificat aurum?* (18) *et: ‚quicumque iuraverit in altari, nihil est. quicumque autem iuraverit in dono, quod est super illud, debet'.* (19) *caeci! quid enim maius est: donum an altare, quod sanctificat donum?* (20) *qui ergo iurat in altare, iurat in eo et in omnibus, quae super illud sunt.* (21) *et qui iuraverit in templo, iurat in illo et in eo, qui inhabitat in ipso*; (22) *et qui iuraverit in caelo, iurat in throno Dei et in eo, qui sedet super eum.*"

Juvencus, Buch IV

69	*deflendi semper scribae et lacrimabilis aevi*	Mt. 23, 13
70	*caeca Pharisaeae cunctis fallacia plebis.*	(16)
71	*nam vobis itiner clausum quia iure negatur,*	
72	*non sinitis quemquam penetrare per ardua lucis*	
73	*et cunctos trahitis saevae ad consortia flammae.*	15

Juvencus, Buch IV, von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung

69	*deflendi semper scribae et lacrimabilis aevi*	Mt. 23, 13
70	*caeca Pharisaeae cunctis fallacia plebis.*	(16)
71	*nam vobis itiner clausum quia iure negatur,*	
73a	*intrandi regnum quibus est aversa voluntas*	
73b	*contrahitis miseros saevae ad consortia flammae*	
72a	*nec sinitis quemquam penetrare in ardua lucis.*	15

Die in A überlieferte Versfolge ist 69, 70, 73a, 72a, 71, 73b **70** *fariseę* A **73b** *contra histis* A, *flãma* A

Sprachliches: **71 ff.** heißen im Deutschen: „Denn weil euch zu Recht der Weg verschlossen ist, zieht ihr diejenigen, denen der Wille, ins Himmelreich zu gelangen, (von euch) genommen wurde, elend mit euch ins wütende Feuer hinab und laßt keinen (von ihnen) nach oben zum Licht gelangen." **73a aversa voluntas** steht in Verg. *Aen.* 12, 647 (v.l. *adversa*) und Val. Fl. 6, 463 (Gronovius, codd. *adversa*) an derselben Versstelle. Allerdings liegt dort adjektivisches *aversus* = „abgeneigt, feindlich" vor, während man es in 73a mit dem Verb *avertere* = „wegnehmen" zu tun hat. In 73a ist *a vobis* gedanklich zu ergänzen. **73b miseros** ist prädikativ zu dem aus dem vorangehenden Relativsatz zu ziehenden Objekt zu verstehen. Prädikatives *miser* hat der echte Juvencus in 1, 270; 3, 361.

Severus, Buch X

30	*cultu]s dum peragunt, sese caelestis honoris*	Mt. 23, (13-)15
31	*atque ali]os fraudant sic subdola cuncta moventes*	
32	*unus ut pro]selytus hominem formetur in unum*	
33	*nec poteri]t doctus regnum caeleste tenere.*	(13)
34	*iurantes verba spectant, sed caeca voluntas*	16

35	*nescit sub] his aurum non templi numen habere*	17
36	*esseque plus] nimiumque magis altaria quam quae*	18 f.
37	*munera] sanctificant. quae si quis, numen et ipsum*	20 f.
38	*in istis memorat. caelum si dixerit alter,*	22
39	*cum caelo sim]ul et summum sublime sedentem.*	

Ich habe die von Zwierlein vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen übernommen.

Sprachliches: **34 caeca voluntas**. Vgl. Arator *act.* 2, 111; Prosp. *carm. de ingrat.* 559.

In Mt. 23, 13 wirft Jesus den Pharisäern vor: *vos enim non intratis* (sc. *regnum caelorum*) *nec introeuntes sinitis introire.* Juvencus ist bei der Umsetzung wie folgt verfahren. Erstens hat er *non intratis* in 71 *nam vobis itiner clausum quia iure negatur* umgewandelt, um sozusagen ein Rachemotiv zu erhalten. Weil den Pharisäern das Himmelreich verwehrt ist (dies ist ihnen offenbar bewußt), ziehen sie die Menschen mit sich in die Hölle hinab. Zweitens hat er *nec introeuntes sinitis introire* durch 72 f. *non sinitis quemquam penetrare per ardua lucis/ et cunctos trahitis saevae ad consortia flammae* in größerer Anschaulichkeit wiedergegeben und die Allgemeinheit der Aussage, die schon in *nec introeuntes sinitis introire* anklingt, mit *non ... quemquam* und *cunctos* unterstrichen. Aber den Interpolator irritierte die Uneingeschränktheit der Aussage. Seiner Ansicht nach durfte es nicht heißen, daß die Pharisäer alle Menschen am Aufstieg zum Reich Gottes hindern. Daher gestaltete er den Text entsprechend um. In der gefälschten Fassung sagt Jesus nur noch von denjenigen, die sich von den Pharisäern ihres Willens berauben lassen, in das Reich Gottes zu gelangen (73a), daß sie von jenen mit in die Hölle hinabgezogen werden. Doch hat der Interpolator den wahren Sinn der echten Verse nicht erfaßt. Denn natürlich meint Jesus bei Juvencus nicht, daß zwangsläufig alle Menschen am Ende der falschen Lehre der Pharisäer erliegen. Er spitzt seine Worte vielmehr bewußt als Drohung zu, die aber im Sinn einer Aufforderung zu verstehen ist, im Glauben beharrlich zu sein und sich von den Pharisäern nicht irreführen zu lassen. Dann nämlich wird der Aufstieg ins Himmelreich sehr wohl möglich sein.[33] – Ähnlich wie 73a *aversa* ist 2, 451* *adversa*[34] Interpolatorenwort. – *intrare*, das der Fälscher

[33] Vgl. Orig. *comm. in Mt.* ser. 14 (GCS 38, 28, 1 ff.) *et ipsi quidem* (zuvor war verallgemeinernd von den *mali* die Rede) *non permittuntur introire, illi autem, qui sobrii sunt mente et animo vigilantes, vincentes sua patientia et longanimitate tyrannides eorum, quamvis vetiti tamen intrant et hereditant regnum caelorum.*

[34] Hansson 66 liest gegen Huemer u.a. auch in C *adversa* statt *aversa* (der Text ist wegen Rasur schwer lesbar).

ebenso wie *regnum* aus Mt. 23, 13 übernommen hat,[35] kommt bei Juvencus nicht vor. – Das Kompositum *contrahere* ist zwar episch, aber bei Juvencus nicht belegt. – Da 72a auf 73b folgt, mußte *non* zu *nec* geändert werden. – 72a *in ardua lucis* ist Vereinfachung von 72 *per ardua lucis*. In der Originalfassung muß man *penetrare per ardua lucis* gedanklich durch *ad Deum* ergänzen.[36]

S. 34 *caeca voluntas* erinnert an 73a *est aversa voluntas* (vgl. aber auch 70 *caeca . . . fallacia* und Mt. 23, 16 *caeci duces*, dort aber von den Pharisäern).

(6)

Johannes, Kapitel XI

(16) *dixit ergo Thomas qui dicitur Didymus ad condiscipulos: „eamus et nos, ut moriamur cum eo.“* (17) *venit itaque Iesus et . . .*

Juvencus, Buch IV

330	*. . . Didymus tum talia fatur:*	Ioh. 11, 16
331	*„pergamus pariterque omnes procumbere leto*	
332	*cogamur, totiens quod gens Iudaea minatur.“*	
333	*iamque aderat Christus, fuerat sed forte sepulto*	17
334	*quarta dies, . . .*	

Juvencus, Buch IV, von Severus benützte interpolierte Fassung

330	*. . . Didymus tum talia fatur:*	Ioh. 11, 16
331a	„(a) *heia,* (b) *exultemus, <pariter pergamus et omnes*	
332a	*opperiamur iam letum, quod gens Iudaea minatur.“>*	
332*	*haec ait et* (c) *Christo* (d) *cuncti* (c) *praeeunte* (d) *sequuntur.*	
333	*iamque aderat Christus, fuerat sed forte sepulto*	17
334	*quarta dies, . . .*	

[35] Die Verbindung *intrare regnum* erinnert an die in der Hl. Schrift öfter anzutreffende Formel *intrare / introire in regnum caelorum / Dei*. Man vermißt einen Zusatz wie *caeli* (vgl. in Mt. 23, 13 *regnum caelorum*) oder ähnlich. Die in der Bibel regelmäßige Konstruktion mit *in* (vgl. aber Marc. 10, 24 *regnum* [VL außer aur q: *in regnum*] *Dei introire*) ist mit Imitation des griechischen εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς . . . zu erklären (Thes. VII, 2 c. 58, 72 f.). Im Epos findet sich *intrare* sowohl mit *in* + acc. als auch transitiv (zu letzterem vgl. Ov. *met.* 4, 479 *caelum intrare*).

[36] Knappitschs Angabe „*per = ad* uti saepe“ ist nicht einsichtig. Der Thesaurus vermerkt eine solche Bedeutung von *per* jedenfalls nicht.

330 *Didimus* A **331a f.** Die Verse sind von mir vorschlagsweise ergänzt. **331a, 332*** *hexultent cristo cuncti pereunte sequentur* Ma (J. Jimenez Delgado, „Juvenco en el Códice Matritense 10.029", *Helmantica* 19 [1968] 277-332, dort 304[37]) **332*** *haec ait et Christo cuncti praeeunte sequentur* haben sämtliche von Hansson 83 untersuchten Codices mit Ausnahme von C S Mp P C_2 Mb P_3 Am C_3 Ca (in M und V_2 ist 332* laut Hansson 63 ergänzt; über A siehe genauer zu 332*, 333) **332*, 333** *haec ait et p̄ xp̃ī, fuerat sed forte sepulto* A (*p̄* ist Abkürzung für *pro*; ein Punkt oberhalb oder unterhalb eines Zeichens bedeutet dessen nachträgliche Tilgung)

Sprachliches: **332* Christo cuncti praeeunte sequuntur**. Obwohl sich bei *sequi* (unabhängig von metrischen Erwägungen) der Akkusativ, also hier *Christum praeeuntem*, anbietet, setzt der Interpolator den Ablativus absolutus *Christo . . . praeeunte*; vgl. aber Val. Fl. 7, 348 *te ducente sequor.*

Severus, Buch VIII

24	*„. . . nunc nunc pergamus, ut illum*	Ioh. 11, 15
25	*surgere praecipiam." Thomas cum verba superna*	16
26	*audivit, propriis fatur sodalibus*: (a) *„heia,*	
27	*nos pariter pergamus* (c) *eo ducente secuti;*	
28	*saevi sub gladio* (b) *bacchant letumque minantes*	
29	*substrati<s>, quos poena gravis crudeliter angit."*	
30	(d) *devenere tamen mortis sub lumine quarto*	17
31	*ipsius. . . .*	

Bei den Versen 331a f. handelt es sich um eine Ersatzfassung für die Verse 331 f., in welcher Mut und Eifer des Thomas noch deutlicher werden sollten als im echten Juvencus. Vers 332* ist ein präzisierender Zusatz, wie gleich gezeigt wird. Spuren beider Interpolamente, die vermutlich nicht aus

[37] Ebenso wie die Tatsache, daß zahlreiche der in A überlieferten Varianten von den Editoren nicht vermerkt sind, läßt auch das von Jimenez Delgado gesammelte Material aus dem Codex Matritensis 10.029 darauf schließen, daß trotz Hanssons verdienstvoller Untersuchung eine Neukollationierung sämtlicher Handschriften u.a. für das Interpolationswesen bei Juvencus noch viele Neuigkeiten bringen würde. So ist das auffälligste Interpolament in Ma der sonst nirgends (auch nicht bei Hansson) vermerkte Vers *mandatis animus vigilat celestibus aptis* (*aptis* aus *aptus* verschrieben?) im Anschluß an 1, 137 *talia tractanti torpescunt membra sopore.* Der interpolierte Vers sollte offenbar 1, 137 ersetzen. Die Wortwahl erinnert an Homer. 124 (vgl. Hom. *Il.* 2, 22 ff.), wo der Schlafgott zu Agamemnon sagt *vigila et mandata . . . / . . . / accipe.* In der lateinischen Ilias wie schon bei Homer wird Agamemnon vom Schlafgott in gewisser Weise geweckt. Auch Joseph in dem interpolierten Juvencusvers gerät aus dem Schlaf in eine Art Wachzustand. 1, 138 *super horrida somnia* erscheint im Anschluß daran allerdings nicht ganz passend.

der Hand ein und desselben Bearbeiters stammen,[38] finden sich allein in Ma, wo sie unter großem Substanzverlust miteinander verschmolzen sind.[39]

Vers 332*, der in mehreren Handschriften überliefert ist, wird für echt gehalten von Petschenig (138), Knappitsch, Hansson (83) und Zwierlein (73), athetiert dagegen von Huemer, Marold und Castillo Bejarano.[40] Der Vers läßt sich nicht auf die Johannesvorlage zurückführen. Petschenig sieht jedoch in 480 *circa discipuli Iuda fugiente sequuntur* eine Parallele.[41] Durch 332* wirkt der Passus sehr pedantisch: Zuerst fordert Christus die Jünger auf, mit aufzubrechen (330). Dann nimmt Thomas diese Aufforderung auf und wiederholt sie, allerdings verbunden mit dem übertragenen Sinn, daß man Christus in den Tod folgen wolle (331 f.[42]). Danach wird mitgeteilt, die Jünger unter der Führung Christi aufbrechen (332*). Und schließlich wird noch die Ankunft Christi am Grab erwähnt (333). Viermal hintereinander ist so in irgendeiner Weise vom Gang nach Jerusalem die Rede. Bei Johannes und dem echten Juvencus ist das „nur" dreimal der Fall. Anlaß

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[38] Man würde sich sonst fragen, warum so viele Handschriften allein Vers 332* überliefern, unmittelbar davor aber 331 f. und nicht die bei Annahme ein und desselben Interpolators auch zu ein und demselben Interpolament gehörenden Verse 331a f.

[39] *heia, exultemus* als Überbleibsel von 331a f. wurde zunächst zu *heia, exultent* durch Angleichung von *exultemus* an die nachfolgende dritte Person Plural *sequuntur*. Danach verschmolzen *heia* und *exultent* zu *hexultent*. – Daß *heia, exultemus* am Versanfang stand, wird hier nur angenommen. Doch wäre die Iktierung *heía, exúltemús* ganz in der Ordnung. So steht *heia* (das im echten Juvencus nicht vorkommt) mit Elision am Versanfang auch etwa in Stat. *Theb.* 12, 406; *Ach.* 1, 508. Und viersilbige Formen von *exultare* begegnen an derselben Versstelle wie hier *exultemus* in Verg. *Aen.* 8, 663; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 659; Sil. 9, 380.

[40] Castillo Bejarano, der fast immer Huemers Text zugrunde legt, meint unrichtig, Huemer habe sämtliche nicht in den Text aufgenommenen Verse für unecht gehalten (Introducción 47), während Huemer in Wirklichkeit einige von ihnen für Autorvarianten hielt (vgl. etwa Proleg. XXXVII). Es scheint, daß Castillo Bejarano von diesem Mißverständnis ausgehend auch selbst sämtliche von Huemer unterhalb des Textes abgedruckten Verse tilgen will. Jedenfalls setzt er sie (innerhalb des fortlaufenden spanischen Textes) sämtlich in eckige Klammern. In allen Fällen ist die Athetese freilich das einzig Richtige. Denn die Theorie der Autorvarianten, der auch Hansson zuneigt, muß wie für viele andere Autoren so auch für Juvencus als überholt gelten (Gnilka 220 f., Heinsdorff 235).

[41] Petschenigs Behauptung, daß 480 wie 332* keinen Anhaltspunkt im Bibeltext habe, ist aber unzutreffend. Denn *circa discipuli . . . sequuntur* basiert auf Mt. 26, 36 *(tunc venit Iesus) cum illis (in villam quae dicitur Gethsemani)* und *Iuda fugiente* auf Ioh. 13, 30 *(cum ergo accepisset ille bucellam,) exivit continuo* (vgl. 13, 31 *cum ergo exisset*); vgl. Heinsdorff 7.

[42] Möglich ist auch, daß der Verfasser von 332* statt 331 f. bereits die Ersatzfassung 331a f. las. Aber auch sie wird die Aufforderung zum Aufbruch enthalten haben, die durch*heia, exultemus* eingeleitet worden zu sein scheint.

für den Zusatz dürfte gewesen sein, daß in 333 *iamque aderat Christus* (= Ioh. 11, 17 *venit itaque Iesus*) nur noch von Christus die Rede ist, obwohl Thomas in 331[43] gerade noch das *omnes* im Mund führte. Der Interpolator unterstrich mit *cuncti* die Begleitung durch sämtliche Jünger. Für Johannes bzw. Juvencus war eine solche Pedanterie freilich nicht angebracht, zumal die Jünger im weiteren Verlauf der Lazaruserzählung ganz zurücktreten und nicht mehr erwähnt werden. – In A ist der Vers 332* nur rudimentär überliefert. Man liest *haec ait et ꝑ xr̃o^s, fuerat sed forte sepulto/....* Von 332* blieb also nur *haec ait et ꝑ xr̃o*, daneben trat die zweite Hälfte von 333. Vermutlich war *ꝑ* ein Überbleibsel von *ꝑeunte* (der Interpolator wird *praeeunte* geschrieben haben, was später mit *proeunte* vertauscht wurde). Ein Korrektor, der damit nichts mehr anfangen konnte, setzte Punkte unterhalb bzw. oberhalb von *o* und *ꝑ*, die durchstreichende Funktion haben, und fügte nach *xr̃o* oben *s* ein. Man liest dann *haec ait et Christos* etc.

Dem Severus lag offenbar ein Text vor, der beide besprochenen Interpolamente enthielt. Insofern steht er in diesem Fall Ma noch näher als A. 331a *heia* übernahm Severus in 26 unmittelbar, 28 *bacchant* dürfte auf 331a *exultemus* zurückgehen. Doch Subjekt von *bacchant* sind nicht Jesus und die Jünger, sondern die Feinde. Und während *exultemus* auf Christus und die Jünger bezogen eine positive Nuance hat („kampfesmutig sein"[44]), schwingt bei dem auf die Feinde bezogenen *bacchant* des Severus ein negativer Unterton mit („rasen, wüten"). Die Verse 331a f., die Severus als Ersatzfassung für 331 f. las, müssen aber ganz ähnliches Wortmaterial wie die echten Verse enthalten haben, wie die Formulierungen S. 27 *nos pariter pergamus* (vgl. S. 24) und S. 28 *letumque minantes* zeigen. Daraus ergibt sich auch, daß die Ersatzfassung tatsächlich (mindestens) zwei Verse umfaßt haben muß. An den Vers 332* erinnern S. 27 *eo ducente secuti* und der Plural S. 30 *(cuncti) devenere.*

Fazit: Man mag die in dieser Untersuchung vorgebrachten Indizien, daß Severus einen interpolierten Juvencustext benützte, dessen Spuren uns in A (und im zuletzt besprochenen Fall überdies auch in anderen Handschriften) erhalten sind, im Einzelfall anders werten. Doch mit Blick auf ihre Summe und die Tatsache, daß sogar wörtliche Übereinstimmungen bestehen (vgl.

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[43] bzw. in 331a f., falls der Verfasser von 332* schon die Ersatzfassung 331a f. für 331 f. las und auch dort die Gesamtheit von Christus und den Jüngern betont wurde.

[44] Vgl. Thes. V, 2 c. 1947, 77 ff. „ad pugnam cum clamore et gaudio congrediendi prosilire, advolare, aggredi sim." mit Verweis auf Verg. *Aen.* 10, 550; 643; Sil. 5, 556; 8, 413 usw. Die Übergänge zur erstgenannten Bedeutung sind aber fließend.

besonders 3, 664a *virtute peractum* – S. 147 *virtute peracta*; 3, 688a *cur non caperent* – S. 236 *cur non cepistis*), und zwar bei Wiedergabe jeweils desselben Bibelpassus, kann man nicht mehr von Zufälligkeiten sprechen. Hinzu kommt, daß die Vergleichsmöglichkeiten nur auf wenige Perikopenausschnitte beschränkt sind. Die Zahl der erkennbaren Übereinstimmungen wäre also sicherlich um ein Beträchtliches größer, wenn A nicht nur einen Ausschnitt (3,1-4,387), sondern den gesamten Juvencustext enthielte, und wenn auch das Epos des Severus nicht nur zu einem kleinen Bruchteil, sondern vollständig auf uns gekommen wäre. Um so größeres Gewicht ist also den heute noch nachweisbaren Übereinstimmungen zwischen dem interpolierten Juvencus und Severus beizumessen.

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EINE HERBE ERMAHNUNG ZUM GEISTLICHEN KAMPF: PACHOMS BRIEF 4

VON

CHRISTOPH JOEST

Geistliche Väter haben zu allen Zeiten die Herausforderung gespürt, die ihnen Anvertrauten vor Entgleißungen zu warnen und vor Fehltritten zu bewahren. Nicht anders sah der oberägyptische Mönchsvater Pachom (287-347),[1] den man auch den "Vater der Koinobiten" nennt, weil er das gemeinsame Leben von Mönchen programmatisch gefördert und geformt hat,[2] seine Aufgabe. Der vierte Brief des pachomianischen Schriftencorpus, der hier erstmals in deutscher Übersetzung vorgelegt wird, ist ein beredtes Beispiel dafür.

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[1] Die letzte umfassende Monographie zu Pachom: Ph. Rousseau, *Pachomius. The Making of a Community in Fourth Century Egypt*, Berkeley, Kalifornien ²1999. Vgl. ferner: Ch. Joest, "... alle Tage den Menschen dienen." Pachomius und seine ursprüngliche Inspiration zum koinobitischen Leben, *Erbe und Auftrag* 67 (1991) 35-50; F. Ruppert, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge des klösterlichen Gehorsams* (MüSt 20), Münsterschwarzach 1971; A. Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle* (StAns 57), Rom 1968. Zur Datierung s. A. Camplani, Sulle date di sinodo di Latopolis e della morte di Pacomio, *Studia Monastica* 37 (1995) 7-17; Ch. Joest, Ein Versuch zur Chronologie Pachoms und Theodoros', *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 85 (1994) 132-144.

[2] Unter dem Namen Pachoms ist uns die erste schriftlich fixierte Mönchsregel überliefert, welche nachweislich die des Basileios d. Gr. (330-379) und des Benedictus († 547?) beeinflußt hat, vgl. H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs*. Studien zum frühen Mönchtum II. Pachomius – Der Mann und sein Werk, Würzburg 1983; Th. Baumeister, Der aktuelle Forschungsstand zu den Pachomiusregeln, *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 40 (1989) 313-321; Ch. de Clercq, L'influence de la règle de Saint Pachôme en Occident. In: *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age, dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, Paris 1951, 169-176; M. M. van Molle, Confrontation entre les règles et la littérature pachômien postérieure, *Vie spirituelle*, Suppl 21 (1968) 392-424; dies., Essai de classement chronologique des premières règles de vie commune connue en chrétienté, ebd. 108-127; A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, Bd. 4, Paris 1997, 325-390.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 171-200

Die Echtheitsfrage und die Bedeutung von Brief 4

Das vollständige Briefcorpus Pachoms ist uns nur durch die Übersetzung ins Lateinische bekannt, die Hieronymus (ca. 347-419) auf Bitten einiger Pachomianerbrüder im Jahre 404 anfertigte.[3] In griechischer Sprache besitzen wir nur sechs dieser Briefe, z.T. nicht ganz vollständig, nämlich Brief 1, 2, 3, 7, 10 und die erste Hälfte von Brief 11.[4] Dazu gibt es einige spärliche koptische Fragmente mit den Briefen 8, 11b, 10, 11a und 9 (in zwei Teilen), die ganz oder teilweise erhalten sind.[5] Von Brief 1 haben wir auf koptisch nur ein kurzes Zitat bei Schenute v. Atripe (333/334-351) und ein weiteres bei Horsiese († nach 387), dem zweiten Nachfolger Pachoms in der Leitung der Brüdergemeinschaft.[6]

Unser Brief 4 existiert also nur auf Latein. Damit stellt sich die Frage seiner Echtheit. Diese wird in der vorliegenden Arbeit aus zwei Richtungen angegangen. Erstens: Wenn der Brief wirklich von Pachom stammt, muß er ursprünglich auf Koptisch geschrieben worden sein. Wir haben ihn daher in "doppelter Brechung" vor uns, denn Hieronymus fertigte seine Übersetzung von einer griechischen Vorlage an. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt den Bibelzitaten besondere Bedeutung zu. In einigen Fällen läßt sich nämlich zeigen, daß die Form, in der die Schriftworte dargeboten werden, auf die koptische, genauer: die sahidische Bibelversion zurückgehen muß. Damit wird der Beweis erbracht, daß auch Brief 4 auf einem koptischen Original beruht, ein entscheidendes äußeres Kennzeichen seiner Authentizität. Dieser Nachweis wird hier erstmals geführt.

Die andere Richtung betrifft die inneren Merkmale der Echtheit: Wir werden darauf zu achten haben, ob sich auch in diesem Brief Charakteristika finden lassen, die unterscheidend pachomisch sind: vor allem die unbedingte Rückbindung aller asketischen Übungen und mona-

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[3] Er berichtet es selbst im Vorwort zu seiner Übersetzung: Boon, *Pachomiana latina.* Règle et Épitres de S. Pachôme etc., Texte latine de S. Jerôme, Löwen 1932, 3,2-5,10.

[4] Text: H. Quecke, *Die Briefe Pachoms.* Griechischer Text der Handschrift W. 145 der Chester Beatty Library (TPL 11), Regensburg 1975, zur Überlieferung der Briefe ausführlich 41-72.

[5] Abgedruckt bei Quecke, *Briefe* (Anm. 4) 112-118.

[6] Beide Zitate angeführt und diskutiert bei Quecke, *Briefe* (Anm. 4) 44-48; vgl. auch H. Quecke, Ein Pachomiuszitat bei Schenute. In: *Probleme der koptischen Literatur*, hg. v. P. Nagel, Halle 1968, 155-171; Ch. Joest, Die Pachom-Briefe 1 und 2. Auflösung der Geheimbuchstaben und Entdeckungen zu den Briefüberschriften, *Journal of Coptic Studies* 4 (2002) 25-98, hier: 74-76.

stischen Tugenden an das vorrangige Gebot der Bruderliebe.[7] Es wird sich zeigen, daß auch der vorliegende Brief das Herzensanliegen Pachoms deutlich zur Sprache bringt. Wir lernen die typische Denkweise Pachoms kennen, die in seinen berühmten Regeln nur ungenügend zum Ausdruck kommt, weil diese einem anderen Zweck dienen. Damit wird der Brief auch inhaltlich im Gesamt des pachomianischen Schriftencorpus verankert. Jeder Nachweis dieser Art ist ein Schritt zur Erhellung der Authentizität der Pachomschriften insgesamt, weil wir für *alle*, auch die Katechesen, lediglich die Bezeugung der sekundären Überschriften haben und bei der komplizierten Tradierungslage methodische Zweifel in jedem Fall angebracht sind. Indem wir für jeden einzelnen Brief und also hier auch für Brief 4 eine gedankliche Kohärenz mit anderen Pachom zugeschriebenen Schriften aufzeigen, wächst das Vertrauen in die Überlieferung, zugleich aber erhellt sich für uns die spezifische Botschaft, ja das Persönlichkeitsprofil des großen Koinobitarchen.

Die Bedeutung von Brief 4 liegt zuletzt darin, daß er durch die Zuschreibung an Syrus mit den Briefen 2 und 6 verbunden ist. Diese aber sind vollständig verschlüsselt durch den überreichen Gebrauch der pachomischen Geheimbuchstaben.[8] Ein entscheidendes Kriterium für die Echtheit auch dieser Briefe war der Aufweis, daß sie nach Entschlüsselung in Ton und Inhalt mit dem uncodierten Brief 4 übereinstimmten.[9] Die Besprechung dieses Briefes bildet gewissermaßen die nachträglich Grundlage für diese These und muß sie erhärten oder entkräften. Für das Verständnis der Briefe 2 und 6 ist Brief 4 jedenfalls unverzichtbar, weil er der Prüfstein für deren Echtheit ist.

Der Text von Brief 4

Als Grundlage dient der lateinische Text nach der Ausgabe von D. Amand Boon,[10] *wo sich auch die folgende Überschrift findet: "Brief unseres Vaters Pachom an Syrus,*

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[7] Siehe dazu: Ch. Joest, "Das Herz dem Bruder öffnen". Pachoms Brief 7: Deutsche Übersetzung und Deutung, zugleich ein Versuch zur Echtheitsfrage der Pachombriefe, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 107 (1996) 300-318, bes. 302-310.

[8] Zum Phänomen s. Quecke, *Briefe* (Anm. 4) 18-40; Joest, Pachom-Briefe 1 und 2 (Anm. 6) 25-33.

[9] Ch. Joest, Pachom-Briefe 1 und 2 (Anm. 6) 92-93; ders., Der sechste Brief Pachoms, *Journal of Coptic Studies* 6 (2004) 107-140, hier: 132-132.

[10] Boon (Anm. 3) 86,1-89,11; engl. Übersetzung bei A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, Bd. 3: Instructions, Letters, and Other Writings of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples

den Vater des Klosters Chnum,[11] *und an Johannes, einen Haus-Vorsteher desselben Klosters."*

1. Wir sind bei dir durchgereist und konnten wegen der allzugroßen Eile kein geistliches (*divinum*) Gespräch mit dir führen; daher reden wir jetzt durch einen Brief.

2. Ringe mit aller Kraft, die klösterliche Lebensweise (*consuetudinem monasterii*) zu erfüllen und die Regeln einzuhalten (*facias quae praecepta sunt*), damit du dich nicht für die Strafe der künftigen Zeit bereitest und in den Fesseln der Sünden festgehalten wirst, um verurteilt und Gott ausgeliefert zu werden wegen der Nachlässigkeit, nicht allein deiner eigenen, sondern auch der der Brüder, die mit dir sind und mit dir zusammenarbeiten, obwohl sie wissen, daß wir ihnen getreuestens überliefert haben, was Gott uns gegeben hat.

3. Und gedenke des Dienstes und der Mühe der Heiligen (vgl. 1 Thess 2,9), du und deine Freunde, die zusammen mit dir den Willen Gottes erkannt haben, damit auch sie "Miterben derselben Verheißung werden" (Hebr 11,9) und von Gott unsterblichen Glauben haben, der geschaffen wurde durch den Geist der Propheten und von den Aposteln gestärkt wurde, die um seinet (s.c. des Glaubens) willen alle Bedrängnisse und Verfolgungen erduldet haben (vgl. Hebr 11,37).

4. Sie glaubten nämlich seiner Verheißung, und darum bereiteten sie sich einen gut riechenden <Opfer>duft (*fragrantiam boni odoris*, vgl. Eph 5,2; Phil 4,18).

5. Denken wir also an die, welchen Gott die Herrschaft gegeben hat, ob wir nicht dessen würdig sind, ihnen zu dienen und ihrer Lehre anzuhangen, indem wir jeden Hochmut hinter uns gelassen haben und der Sünde aufs Kräftigste widerstehen ⸗, die ohne Furcht in den Leibern wirkt: denn "verschlungen ist der Tod vom Sieg" (1 Kor 15,54).

6. Und andererseits – wie schwach sind wir in dieser Zeit, die wir wissen, daß die Kirche standhalten wird (vgl. Mt 16,18) und zum Guten zu leiten ist, wie ich es dir vorher gesagt habe!

(CistSS 47), Kalamazoo, Michigan 1982, 59-62. Im Unterschied zu der Abschnittseinteilung von Veilleux numeriere ich die einzelnen Sätze, wie sie in Boons Ausgabe gekennzeichnet sind, um präzisere Referenzen zu ermöglichen. Herrn Dr. phil. Falk Swoboda sei an dieser Stelle für die Durchsicht der deutschen Übersetzung und für seine wertvollen Hinweise dazu herzlich gedankt, ebenso auch dem Redaktionsteam dieser Zeitschrift.

[11] Der Name des Klosters ist verschrieben: Es muß "Phnum" heißen.

7. Du weißt, daß die Axt sich nicht rühmt ohne den, der mit ihr (*in ea*) schlägt (Jes 10,15 LXX), und daß uns die Schriften lehren, eine Antwort auf den Tod zu haben (vgl. 2 Kor 1,9):[12] wenn wir den verschlungen haben werden, retten wir unsere Seele.

8. Wir dürfen nicht den Untergang befürchten am Ort unserer Pilgerschaft, sondern wir müssen darum kämpfen, daß wir Frieden haben können mit denen, welche die Gebote Gottes bewahren (vgl. Röm 8,30.33). **H.**

9. Wenn du die ganze Welt gewinnen würdest (vgl. Mt 16,26 par.), aber Feindschaft gegen Gott hättest (vgl. Röm 8,7), was nützt es?

10. Daher gebührt es sich, daß wir einmal erkennen, was uns gesagt wird, in dem Wissen, daß "die Welt vergeht und ihre Lust" (1 Joh 2,17).

11. Wachet und "sehet zu, wie ihr wandelt" (Eph 5,15[13]).

12. Wir wissen, daß in den Gelehrten der Tod begegnet; so erkennet die Zeiten, in welchen Irrtum und Verführung herrschen!

13. Bedenke die Stunden, die Augenblicke und die Zeiträume der Monate, in deren Lauf das menschliche Leben dahinsinkt (vgl. Pred 3,1); und durch ihre Zahl weiß man, wie lange ein jeder gelebt hat, um seine Frucht sammeln, mit ihnen die Scheuern füllen und den Samen künftiger Ernten bereiten zu können, so daß er zur Zeit der Ernte das Bemühen um den Ackerbau findet[14] und vor Gott und den Menschen das Notwendige besitzt, nachdem er die Furcht vor dem Tode besiegt hat, und wenn die Welt vergeht keine Feste in alten Kleidern feiert (vgl. Mt 22,11-13).

14. Städte sind zerstört und von Fremden bevölkert; die aber fromm sind, haben weisen Rat gefunden.

15. In der Wüste "floß Wasser" (Jes 48,21 LXX), und Lastvieh wie Vögel frohlockten.

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[12] *Responsum mortis* ist wörtliches Zitat aus 2 Kor 1,9, wo es übersetzt werden muß mit: "Rechtsbescheid zum Tod", also "Todesurteil"; im Zusammenhang des Pachombriefes ist die Übersetzungsmöglichkeit "Antwort auf den Tod" sinnvoller, doch der Anklang an Paulus ist sicher beabsichtigt.

[13] Boon (Anm. 3) 87 gibt versehentlich Eph 4,5 an.

[14] Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* 3 (Anm. 10), 61 übersetzt erweiternd: "he (sc. 'jeder einzelne') will find the fruit of his zealous tilling" und versucht so, den Sinn des Satzes leichter zugänglich zu machen. Außerdem – und darin folge ich ihm – fährt er nach "each man" (*unusquisque*) konsequent im Singular fort, obwohl der lateinische Text ab "sammeln" auf den Plural springt, da *unusquisque* als Kollektivbegriff eine Mehrzahl von Menschen, nämlich alle, umfaßt. Im Englischen und Deutschen wäre der Numeruswechsel verwirrend.

16. Ein weiser und enthaltsamer Mensch wird nicht mit einer "Salbe" gesalbt werden, die "sterbende Fliegen verdorben haben" (vgl. Pred 10,1) und die für die Söhne des Ackers bereitet ist.

17. Deswegen müssen wir wachsam sein und mit aller Sorgfalt für künftige Festmähler sorgen, damit wir nicht verwirrt werden zu der Zeit, wenn "die Zeiten der Erfrischung gekommen sind" (Apg 3,20), und damit wir nicht als der Knechtschaft unterworfen gefunden werden (vgl. Gal 5,1), sondern damit wir "ein neuer Teig" sind (1 Kor 5,7) in dem Wissen, daß "die Schönheit des Ackers" mit uns ist. (Ps 49,11 Vulg.)

18. Und anderswo sagt das göttliche Wort: "Esse ich denn das Fleisch von Ochsen und trinke das Blut von Böcken?" (Ps 49,13 Vulg.)

19. Deswegen laßt uns "nicht von jedem Wind der Lehre umhergetrieben werden" (Eph 4,14), weil die Zeit kommt, daß die Heiligen die Herrschaft empfangen (1 Kor 6,2; Offb 20,6).

20. "Zion streckt seine Hände aus; da ist keiner, der sie tröste." (Klgl 1,17 Vulg.)

21. Jünglinge sind entkräftigt unter Stockschlägen (*plagis lignorum*), "sie werden die Wasser ihres Weges versprengen" (vgl. Hab 3,10 LXX[15]).

22. "Der Ameisenlöwe kommt um, weil er keine Speise hat." (Hiob 4,11 LXX)

23. "Wer mit einem Dieb <die Beute> teilt, haßt seine eigene Seele." (Spr 29,24)

24. "Meide weltliche" und neue Lehren! (vgl. 2 Tim 2,16)

25. Der Fremde sei unter euch wie ein Einheimischer! (Vgl. Ex 12,48; Lev 19,34; Ez 47,22)

26. "Er schlug mit Hagel ihre Weinstöcke und ihre Maulbeerbäume mit Frost." (Ps 77,47 Vulg.)

27. "Ein verständiger Diener ist dem König angenehm." (Spr 14,35)

28. "Wenn du Honig findest, iß <nur>, was du brauchst, damit du ihn nicht vor Übersättigung ausspeist." (Spr 25,16)

29. Gedenke "des Gerichts, der Barmherzigkeit und des Glaubens" (Mt 23,23): des Gerichts, durch das die Landschaften bewohnbar werden; der Barmherzigkeit, durch die Gott verherrlicht wird; des Glaubens, der die Grundlage der Toten und Lebenden ist, damit wir dadurch die Hoffnung zu besitzen vermögen (*spem possidere valeamus*).

30. Kämpfe und streite, du und die Brüder, die mit dir sind, weil ich euch in Bildern und Gleichnissen geschrieben habe, damit ihr sie in Weisheit

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[15] Den Hinweis auf diese Stelle verdanke ich Herrn Dr. phil. Falk Swoboda.

erforscht und den Fußspuren der Heiligen folgt, damit ihr nicht dem Gericht Gottes anheimfallt, die ihr durch sein Wort belehrt seid.

31. Der Winter des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters hindere uns nicht, zu gehen; laßt uns vielmehr unablässig die Gerechtigkeit Gottes immer wirken, indem wir seines Zeugnisses eingedenk sind, bis der Winter vergeht und der Regen aufhört und sich zurückzieht (vgl. Hld 2, 11).

32. Gott sei unser Helfer im Frieden, dessen Größe kein Maß hat (vgl. Phil 4,7) und der in euch allen sei, bis die Abendzeit vergeht.

33. Dies alles habe ich euch geschrieben, damit ihr, wenn ihr jetzt Mühe auf euch nehmt, in der Zukunft Ruhe haben könnt (vgl. Mt 11,29).

Der Charakter des Briefes

Echt pachomisch ist der auch noch in der lateinischen "Brechung" deutlich erkennbare *aspektivische Stil*:[16] Satz reiht sich an Satz, ohne erkennbare Komposition des Ganzen. Der Autor fällt gewissermaßen mit der Tür ins Haus, strenge Mahnungen wechseln sich mit allegorisch zu verstehenden Bibelzitaten ab und gehen wieder in Mahnungen über. Die Argumentation ist "flächig", enthält keine Hinführung, keine Steigerung, keinen Ausblick, höchstens in den allerletzten sechs Worten.

Diese Schreibweise ist typisch für Pachom. Sie macht es schwer, eine Gliederung des Briefes darzustellen. Mit aller Vorsicht und mancher Unklarheit in der Abgrenzung im Einzenen lassen sich einige Schwerpunkte ausmachen, die jedoch fließende Ränder haben:

1. 4,1	Einleitender Satz
2. 4,2	Anklage und Ermahnung
3. 4,3-7	Die Verheißung des Lebens für die geistlichen Kämpfer
4. 4,8-13	Aufruf zum geistlichen Kampf
5. 4,14-28	Allegorische Hinweise und Ermahnungen
6. 4,29-32	Abschließender Aufruf zum geistlichen Kampf
7. 4,33	Schlußsatz

Kommentar zu Brief 4

Zur Überschrift: "Brief unseres Vaters Pachom an Syrus, den Vater des Klosters Chnum, und an Johannes, einen Haus-Vorsteher desselben

[16] Ch. Joest, Aspektive und Perspektive in den Schriften und im Wirken Pachoms. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der pachomianischen Literatur, *Studia Monastica* 39 (1997) 7-25.

Klosters." Dieser Titulus ist auf jeden Fall sekundär. Pachom hat seine Schreiben bestimmt nicht mit den Worten "Brief unseres Vaters Pachom . . ." angefangen. Hier sprechen Tradenten.

Allerdings ist die Amtsbezeichnung "Haus-Vorsteher" (*praepositus domus*) typisch für die pachomianische Organisation; auf Koptisch lautet sie ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲏⲓ, *rm-n-ēi*, wörtlich: "Mann des Hauses". Auch der Titel "Vater" ist authentisch, was aber nicht viel sagt, weil diese Bezeichnung allgemein üblich war und zu der noch heute gebräuchlichen Anrede "Abbas/Abt" für den Klostervorsteher geführt hat. In Ägypten wurde das Fremdwort "Abbas", ⲁⲡⲁ, *apa* allerdings jedem Mönch beigelegt unabhängig von seiner Stellung in der Klostergemeinschaft. Die Bezeichnung für den Vorsteher, "Vater", lautet auf; Koptisch ⲉⲓⲱⲧ, *iōt*, und kam bei den Pachomianern erst in der zweiten Generation auf, vgl. die Viten-Schriften, die sie durchgehend verwenden. In den Anfängen der pachomianischen Koinonia war sie ⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ, *rm-n-time* = "Mann des Dorfes",[17] analog zum "Mann des Hauses", oder ⲟⲓⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ, *oikonomos*.[18] Durch diesen Titel verrät die Überschrift ihre Herkunft aus einer etwas späteren Zeit.

Wer ist nun der in der Überschrift genannte Hauptadressat? In der Vita erfahren wir, daß Syrus (kopt. ⲥⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲥ, *Sourous*), der Empfänger der Briefe 2, 4 und 6, zu den Jüngern der ersten Stunde aus der Gründungszeit der Koinonia gehörte.[19] Ferner lesen wir, daß Pachom ihn zum Haupt des Klosters Phnum ernannt hat. Damit ist die letzte Siedlung bezeichnet, die Pachom gegründet hatte.[20] Wer jedoch der zusätzlich erwähnte Johannes ist, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis; er wird aber auch in Brief 6 gemeinsam mit Syrus angesprochen.

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[17] Die pachomianischen Siedlungen glichen eher ägyptischen Dörfern als Klöstern im heutigen Sinne; zudem waren die ersten beiden Siedlungen, Tabennese und Pbau, in der Tat verlassene Dörfer gewesen, bevor Pachom sich mit seinen Brüdern darin niederließ, vgl. Ch. Joest, *Spiritualität evangelischer Kommunitäten.* Altkirchlich-monastische Tradition in evangelischen Kommunitäten von heute, Göttingen 1995, 120-122; daß sich die Bauweise ägyptischer Dörfer in abgelegenen Gegenden während der letzten 2000 Jahre kaum geändert hat, geht sehr eindrücklich aus dem Reisebericht H. C. Zanders hervor, der das Heimatdorf Antonios' d. Gr., Kome, in Mittelägypten besuchte: H. C. Zander, *Als die Religion noch nicht langweilig war.* Die Geschichte der Wüstenväter, Köln ²2001, 36.38 (im Übrigen hat Zander Pachom völlig mißverstanden und läßt kein gutes Haar an ihm!).

[18] A. de Vogüé, *Histoire* (Anm. 2) 366-367.

[19] *SBo* 23 u. 24: L.-Th. Lefort, *S. Pachomii vita bohairice scripta* (CSCO 89), Löwen 1925, Nachdruck 1965, 22,10-14 u. 23,19-22.

[20] *SBo* 78: Lefort, *Vita* (Anm. 19) 83,25f. *SBo* 58: ebd. 57,4-6; engl. bei A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, Bd. I: The Life of Saint Pachomius and His Disciples (CistSS 45), Kalamazoo, Michigan ²1985, 78.

Zu 1 und 33: Das vorliegende Schriftstück ist trotz seines aspektivischen Charakters kein Fragment, sondern ein abgeschlossener Brief. Das belegen eindeutig der erste und der letzte Satz. Gleich zu Beginn wird das Schreiben ausdrücklich "Brief" (*epistula*) genannt. Das kommt unter allen 13 Pachom-Briefen[21] nur hier vor. Lediglich Brief 6, der zwar nicht *expressis verbis* als *epistula* bezeichnet wird, gibt sich als Teil einer Korrespondenz zwischen Syrus und Pachom zu erkennen: "Ich will, daß Ihr die Buchstaben versteht, die Ihr mir geschrieben habt und die ich Euch zurückgeschrieben habe" (6,1); "Als ich Euren Brief erhielt, habe ich sofort zurückgeschrieben und auf Mystisches auch meinerseits mit Heiligem geantwortet" (6,5); "In jedem Brief, den ich Euch geschrieben habe . . ." (6,23)[22] Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß mit "jedem Brief" die Briefe 2 und 4 gemeint sind, die sich ja ebenfalls an Syrus richten.

Zu 2: Nun fällt Pachom "mit der Tür ins Haus", ermahnt den Adressaten, seine ganze Kraft einzusetzen, die Regeln einzuhalten, bezichtigt ihn der Nachlässigkeit und beschuldigt die Brüder, daß sie sich in dieses Verhalten mit hinein ziehen lassen, ja damit kooperieren.

Mit den "Regeln" (*praecepta*) sind höchstwahrscheinlich noch nicht die schriftlich fixierten Pachomregeln gleichen Namens gemeint, die erst in einem längeren Wachstumsprozeß die Gestalt erhalten haben, in der sie uns heute vorliegen. Es ist entweder eine uns nicht mehr greifbare schriftliche Vorform gemeint, oder – wahrscheinlicher – die mündlich erteilten Weisungen des große Koinobiarchen. Auf Einhaltung der Regeln (immer jeweils im Plural!) dringt Pachom auch in anderen Briefen, so in 3,5: "Besorge das Haus, wie es den Regeln entspricht,"[23] und in Brief 7, wo er zur Herbstversammlung einlädt "nach den alten Regeln".[24] Für Pachom waren sie "von Gott gegeben", und er hat sie "getreuestens überliefert", wie

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[21] Stellung und Abgrenzung der Briefe in den griechischen und koptischen Texten belegen eindeutig, daß die lateinischen Briefe 9 und 11 in Wahrheit jeweils aus zwei getrennten Schriftstücken bestehen, es sich also in Wirklichkeit nicht um elf, sondern um 13 Briefe handelt. Ich folge jedoch Queckes Vorschlag und numeriere in diesen Fällen mit 9a und 9b bzw. 11a und 11b, um die bisherige Gewohnheit in der Zählung der Briefe nicht völlig ändern zu müssen, vgl. H. Quecke, Ein neues Fragment der Pachombriefe in koptischer Sprache, *Orientalia* 43 (1974) 66-82, hier: 69.

[22] Joest, Der sechste Brief (Anm. 9) 124.125.

[23] Hieronymus hat das griech. ὅροι mißverstanden und wörtlich übersetzt: *termini*, vgl. Ch. Joest, Gott und den Menschen dienen. Das Anliegen des Pachomius nach seinem Brief Nr. 3, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 103 (1992) 1-32, hier: 11,7-8 mit Anm. 43.

[24] Joest, Herz (Anm. 7) 310,3.

er in 4,2 betont. Damit ist nicht auf die Legende von dem Engel angespielt, der ihm die Regeln auf ehernen Tafeln überreicht haben soll, wie Palladios behauptet,[25] sondern auf Pachoms eigene spirituelle Erfahrung und Einsicht.[26]

Typisch für Pachom ist der Verweis auf das ewige Gericht, "die Strafe der künfigen Zeit", das Syrus droht, "um verurteilt und Gott ausgeliefert zu werden". Auch in Brief 3,4 ermahnt Pachom: "Es gehe schön geordnet zu nach der Sitte der Heiligen . . ., damit ihr Gott begegnen könnt am Tage der Heimsuchung."[27] Und in Brief 5,33 schreibt er: "Da wir wissen, was kommt, laßt uns einander in Liebe verbunden sein, damit wir dem drohenden Richterspruch Gottes entrinnen können."[28]

Bezeichnend ist zuletzt die Tatsache, daß Pachom Syrus nicht als isoliert Handelnden sieht, dessen Vergehen seine persönliche Sache wäre. Vielmehr erinnert er ihn an seine soziale Verflochtenheit mit der Gemeinschaft der Brüder, denen er ein schlechtes Vorbild zu geben scheint und die durch ihn mit in das Verderben gerissen werden. Wenn Syrus Vorsteher der Brüdergemeinschaft in Phnum war, leuchtet es ohne weiteres ein, daß die Nachlässigkeit seines persönlichen Lebensstils auch das Leben der ganzen Klostergemeinschaft negativ beeinflussen mußte.

Zu 3-7: In den folgenden Sätzen 4,3-7 flicht Pachom ein neues Thema ein, das meines Erachtens sehr bezeichnend für ihn ist. Er spricht von der Verheißung für die Kämpfer (4,3-4) und vom Leben, das den Tod besiegt hat: "Verschlungen ist der Tod vom Sieg" (4,5.7, vgl. 1 Kor 15,54). Aber er spricht davon nicht nur wie von etwas Zukünftigem, sondern als etwas, das hier und jetzt in unserem Leben sich auswirkt, denn "wir haben eine Antwort auf den Tod" (4,7), ja *wir* werden ihn verschlingen! (4,7) Zwar wirkt die Sünde "ohne Furcht in den Leibern", aber wir können ihr "aufs Kräftigste widerstehen". (4,5) Wir wissen, "daß die Kirche standhalten wird" (4,6). Es ist für Pachom daher unverständlich, "wie schwach wir sind" (4,6).

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[25] Palladios, *HL* 32, C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius* II (TaS 6), Cambridge 1904, 88,4-9.

[26] Joest, ". . . alle Tage" (Anm. 1); ders., Pachom und Theodoros. Konflikte im Autoritätsverständnis bei den Pachomianern, *Theologie und Philosophie* 68 (1993) 516-529; ders., Apa Pachom – Mönchsvater und Diener aller. Die Doppelberufung Pachoms und sein Konflikt mit Theodoros, *Studia Monastica* 36 (1994) 165-181.

[27] Joest, Gott und den Menschen (Anm. 23) 11,3-7.

[28] Boon (Anm. 3) 92,3-5.

Was sich hier zeigt, könnte man eine *präsentische Eschatologie* nennen. Der endgültige Sieg, das Leben der zukünftigen Herrlichkeit, die Herrschaft der Heiligen (4,5) ist schon heute Realität. Es ist nicht nur so, daß die Brüder kämpfen sollen, um einmal dahin zu gelangen (obwohl auch dieser Gedanke anklingt), sondern nur weil dieses Ziel im Glauben jetzt schon Wirklichkeit ist, sind sie überhaupt befähigt, den Kampf zu führen.

Es scheint mir typisch für Pachom zu sein, daß er das Eschaton in die Gegenwart hereinholt, daß er nie eine Aufspaltung in "jetzt" und "dann" zuläßt, obwohl er um die endgültige Erfüllung der Verheißungen "in der künftigen Zeit" (4,2) weiß. Doch sind für ihn diese Verheißungen heute schon Realität und daher im konkreten Leben der Gläubigen wirksam. Die triumphierende Kirche ist der kämpfenden nicht entrückt, sondern steht mit ihr in Verbindung. Die Brüder können im Geist der Propheten und Apostel kämpfen (4,3), ja ihnen dienen (4,5). Eine ähnliche Denkfigur, die zwei unterscheidbare komplementäre Aussagen in einen einzigen Schnittpunkt zusammenfaßt und dort unbeirrbar festhält, ohne sie zu verschmelzen, begegnet uns auch in Brief 7, wo es um die Gottes- und die Nächstenliebe geht.[29]

Zu 3: Pachom nennt die Heiligen und ihre Mühe als Vorbild; konkret weist er auf die Propheten und Apostel.[30] Diese hatten "Dienst und Mühe" (*ministerii laborisque*). Mit *labor* scheint Pachom ein Stichwort aus 2 Kor 11,27 und 1 Thess 2,9 aufzunehmen, wo Paulus auf sein κόπος καὶ μόχθος hinweist, in der lateinischen Bibel *labor et fatigatio*. Dies ist aber zugleich auch ein Schlüsselwort der monastischen Theologie. Der Wüstenvater Johannes Kolobos wurde einmal gefragt, was ein Mönch sei, und er antwortete kurz und knapp: "κόπος – Mühe."[31] Dabei ist mit *labor* nicht einfach die Handarbeit gemeint, sondern die Mühe der Askese insgesamt.[32]

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[29] Joest, Herz (Anm. 7) 317.

[30] Die "flächige" Betrachtung der Bibel ohne Brechung des Zugangs zu ihren Texten und Gestalten durch ein historisches Bewußtsein ist typisch für die damalige Zeit überhaupt, es läßt sich aber auch sehr deutlich bei Pachom und den Pachomianern nachweisen, vgl. Ch. Joest, Abraham als Glaubensvorbild bei den Pachomianern, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1999) 98-122.

[31] *Apophthegma Johannes Kolobos* 37: PG 65, 216 D; dt. bei B. Miller, *Weisung der Väter*. Apophthegmata Patrum, auch Gerontikon oder Alphabeticum genannt (Sophia 6), Trier ²1980, 125 *Apo* 352.

[32] Vgl. Joest, *Spiritualität* (Anm. 17) 185 mit Anm. 267, und 188-189.

Warum aber wurde nicht das bei Paulus erwähnte Wortpaar gewählt, sondern statt dessen mit *labor* das Stichwort *ministerium*, "Dienst", verbunden? Es könnte sein, daß Pachom dabei an zwei weitere Schriftzeugnisse dachte, in denen Paulus herausstreicht, daß er und seine Gefährten "Diener Gottes" bzw. "Christi" seien (*Dei ministri* bzw. *ministri Christi*: 2 Kor 6,4-5; 11,23; kopt.: ⲁⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ[33]), und anschließend die Bedrängnisse und Verfolgungen aufzählt, die er dafür zu erdulden hatte, eine lange Reihe, in deren Verlauf auch κόπος/*labor* auftaucht. Damit ist ein typisch pachomisches Stichwort eingeführt, das in dieser komprimierten Zusammenstellung *ministerii laborisque* nur auf ihn selbst zurückgehen kann. Denn das Wort "Dienst" schließt die Bezogenheit auf ein Gegenüber notwendig mit ein, sei es Gott, wie bei Paulus, seien es die Brüder. Pachom kann sich die Askese seiner Mönche nie als etwas Beziehungsloses, nur den einzelnen und seine persönliche Heiligung Betreffendes vorstellen. Bei ihm sind immer die anderen mit im Blick. Dabei muß an dieser Stelle nicht entschieden werden, ob er den Dienst für Gott oder den Dienst an den Brüdern meint, weil beide Themen im vorliegenden Brief angesprochen werden. Für Pachom liegt das in einem zusammen.[34]

Zu 4: Die Kraft für das Erdulden von Bedrängnissen bezogen die Heiligen aus den Verheißungen Gottes, denen sie glaubten. Es ist sicher Absicht, daß mit den Begriffen *fragrantiam boni odoris* "ein Wohlgeruch guten Duftes" die Opferterminologie von Eph 5,2 und Phil 4,18 aufgegriffen wird. Auch die Briefempfänger sollen sich als solche verstehen, die sich selbst Gott zum Opfer darbringen.

Zu 5: Im folgenden Satz taucht nun zum ersten Mal einer jener merkwürdigen "Geheimbuchstaben" auf, von denen andere Briefe völlig durchsetzt sind: das ⲁ. Daß es sich wirklich um einen solchen handelt, beweisen die von Boon ausgewerteten Handschriften, die an dieser Stelle den griechischen Namen des Buchstabens ausschreiben: alpha.[35] Die Unter-

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[33] H. Thompson, *The Coptic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles in the Sahidic Dialect*, Cambridge 1932, 154.162 = sa 505 bei: K. Schüßler, *Biblia Coptica*. Die koptischen Bibeltexte, Bd. 3: Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament, Lieferung 1-2, Wiesbaden 2001-2003.

[34] Vgl. Brief 3,6-8: Joest, Gott und den Menschen dienen (Anm. 23) 11,10-18; Brief 5,4.33-34.37: Boon (Anm. 3) 90,2-7; 92,3-8.12-14.

[35] Boon (Anm. 3) 87,2 mit Anmerkung.

suchung der pachomischen Geheimschrift hat ergeben, daß dieser Buchstabe für ein Bedeutungsfeld steht, das mit "eschatologische Neuschöpfung", "endzeitlicher Neuanfang", in diesem Sinne "Erlösung" umschrieben werden kann.[36] Pachom spielt also damit wieder auf die Verheißung an.

Konkret nennt er zu Beginn des Satzes die "Herrschaft", die den Heiligen gegeben ist. Er kennzeichnet sie nicht näher, aber er mag dabei daran gedacht haben, daß Jesus seinen Jüngern verheißen hat, in der kommenden Welt auf Thronen zu sitzen und die zwölf Stämme Israels zu richten (Mt 19,28; Lk 22,30), und in der Apokalypse des Johannes heißt es, daß die in Christus Entschlafenen auferstehen werden und "mit Christus herrschen die tausend Jahre". (Offb 20,6) In Satz 19 kommt er darauf zurück und bemerkt, daß "die Zeit kommt, daß die Heiligen die Herrschaft empfangen." Der Hinweis auf die Neuschöpfung der Welt durch den Codebuchstaben ⲁ fügt sich bestens in diesen Zusammenhang.

Voraussetzung dafür ist freilich, daß die Sünde bekämpft und besiegt wird. Pachom faßt sie zusammen in dem einen Laster des Hochmuts.[37] Daß der Kampf gegen die Sünde möglich ist, begründet Pachom mit 1 Kor 15,54: "Verschlungen ist der Tod vom Sieg." Dies aber gilt nicht erst am Ende der Zeit, sondern es wirkt schon heute. Im Leibe wird gesündigt – dort wirkt die Sünde "ohne Furcht", d.h. wohl Gottesfurcht –, im Leibe muß der Sünde begegnet werden. Daher wirkt heute schon der endzeitliche Sieg nach Art der "präsentischen Eschatologie", die oben geschildert wurde.

Zu 6: Angesichts der Gegenwart des Heils als Voraussetzung und Beistand im Kampf gegen die Sünde, beklagt Pachom unsere Schwachheit, obwohl wir doch wissen, "daß die Kirche standhalten wird". Hier klingt die Verheißung Jesu an, daß "die Pforten der Hölle die Kirche nicht überwältigen" werden (Mt 16,18). Aber sie braucht Leitung, und zwar zum Guten. Dessen sollen sich die Adressaten des Briefes befleißigen. Anscheinend sieht Pachom die Kirche in der konkreten Gemeinschaft der

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[36] Joest, Pachom-Briefe 1 und 2 (Anm. 6) 47-49; ders., Die Geheimschrift Pachoms – Versuch einer Entschlüsselung. Mit Übersetzung und Deutung der Pachom-Briefe 9a und 9b, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 45 (1996) 268-289, hier: 282-284.

[37] Später wird ein Evagrios Pontikos feststellen, daß dieser das letzte, tiefste und gefährlichste aller Laster ist, das alle anderen in sich umfaßt. *Praktikos Prol* 2; 14.57: A. u. C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique.* Traité pratique ou Le moine (SCh 171), Paris 1971, 486,16-17; 352-354; 634.

Brüder gegenwärtig, und *dort* soll sie "zum Guten geleitet werden", denn von der Leitung der Gesamtkirche ist in diesem Brief nicht die Rede. Die Nachlässigkeit von Syrus und seinen Mitbrüdern jedoch schwächt die Kirche in Gestalt der ihnen Anvertrauten.

Zu 7: Der Abschnitt endet mit einem zunächst etwas rätselhaften Zitat aus Jes 10,15: "Du weißt, daß die Axt sich nicht rühmt ohne den, der mit ihr schlägt." Der Pachombrief sagt: "ohne ihn", *sine eo*, was der LXX (ἄνευ)[38] und der sahidischen Bibel (ⲁϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲧϣⲱⲱⲧ *ačn petšōōt*)[39] genau entspricht, nicht jedoch der Vulgata, die "gegen ihn", *contra eum*, liest.[40] Hieronymus hat hier also nicht nach "seiner" Bibel zitiert, sondern wörtlich aus dem Griechischen seiner Vorlage übersetzt. Weiter fällt auf, daß der Pachombrief das Verbum "sich rühmen" (*glorietur*) im Konjunktiv Präsens liest, während alle anderen Versionen das Futur haben (Vulgata: *gloriabitur*; Vetus Latina: *magnificabitur*; LXX: δοξασθήσεται). Das Koptische liest: ⲛⲁϫⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ *na-či-eooy*, was passivisch verstanden und meist mit Futur übersetzt wird (wörtl.: "wird Ehre nehmen"), aber auch als Präsens im Sinne von "im Begriffe sein, zu . . ." aufgefaßt werden kann. Das Wort ist zusammengesetzt aus dem Hilfsverb "gehen" (*na*) und dem Infinitiv "nehmen" (*či*), was das Englische am Treffendsten mit "is going to" wiederzugeben vermag. H. J. Polotsky nennt das "eine Art momentanes oder perfektisches Präsens".[41] Es ist also durchaus möglich, daß der Übersetzer des Briefes vom Koptischen ins Griechische den Ausdruck als Präsens wiedergegeben hat, was Hieronymus seinerseits in die lateinische Version übernahm. Wir hätten demnach hier einen ersten Hinweis darauf, daß unserem Brief 4 ein koptisches Original zugrunde liegt.

Besagen will das Zitat im vorliegenden Zusammenhang wohl dies, daß der Sieg über die Sünde und die Leitung der Kirche zum Guten immer nur

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[38] Auch die Vetus Latina hat *sine: Vetus Latina*. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach P. Sabatier neu gesammelt u. in Verbindung mit der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften hg. v. der Erzabtei Beuron, Bd. 12,1, Freiburg 1987-1993, 317.

[39] Lacau, Textes de l'Ancien Testament en copte sahidique, *Revue de travaux relatif à la philologie et à l'achéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, N.S. VII (1901) 103-124, hier: 111 = sa 93.2 bei K. Schüßler (Anm. 33).

[40] *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, 17 Bde., Rom 1926-1987, Bd. 13, 70.

[41] H. J. Polotsky, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus*, 2. Hälfte (ASP XXIX), Atlanta, Georgia 1990, 216. Auch K. H. Schüßler gibt dem sog. "Futur I" in einer persönlichen Mitteilung an den Autor, für die ihm an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt sei, die "Bedeutung eines lebhaft beschreibenden Präsens."

Gottes eigenes Werk sein kann, der Mensch ist dabei lediglich Werkzeug. Daher hat er keinen Grund, sich seines Sieges zu rühmen. Dies gilt umso mehr, als Pachom im nächsten Halbsatz dem von der Heiligen Schrift belehrten Menschen den Sieg über den Tod zutraut: Das Zitat aus 1 Kor 15,54, daß der Tod vom Sieg verschlungen ist, wendet er nämlich ganz kühn auf "uns" an: "Wenn *wir* den verschlungen haben werden . . ." Aber wie ist das möglich? In dem angedeuteten Zitat aus 2 Kor 1,9 steckt die Antwort: "Wir hatten in uns selbst den Bescheid des Todes (*responsum mortis*, vgl. Anm. 12). Das geschah aber, damit wir unser Vertrauen nicht auf uns selbst setzen, sondern auf Gott, der die Toten auferweckt." Wieder ist Gott der Handelnde, aber der Mensch, in diesem Falle: Syrus, muß sein Vertrauen auf ihn setzen.

Zu 8: Die nächsten sechs Sätze rufen erneut zum geistlichen Kampf auf. Und nun taucht das zweite der "Geheimzeichen" auf, das **H**, das uns aber keine großen Rätsel aufgibt, denn Pachom gebraucht diesen Buchstaben als Symbol für das neue, das Auferstehungsleben, so wie es die Alte Kirche seit je her getan hat. "**H** ist das Pascha", definiert er in Brief 1,16.[42] Da die Buchstaben des Alphabets auch als Zahlzeichen verwendet wurden, bezeichnet das **H** auch die Acht. So wurde es für die Kirche zu einem Symbol der Neuschöpfung der Welt durch die Auferstehung Jesu am achten Tag. Der erste Tag der Woche, der Tag der Auferstehung, kann nämlich ebenso gut als der achte Tag gezählt werden und überbietet so die Sieben-Tage-Schöpfung der irdischen Welt.

Der Buchstabe nimmt an dieser Stelle mithin die Verheißung des Lebens auf, von der im vorigen Abschnitt der Rede gewesen war. Diese Botschaft unterstreicht noch einmal nachdrücklich, was Pachom zu Beginn von Satz 4,8 sagt: "Wir dürfen nicht der Untergang befürchten am Ort unserer Pilgerschaft", d.h. solange wir noch auf der Erde sind. Es gilt aber zu kämpfen mit dem Ziel, im Frieden Gemeinschaft zu haben mit denen, "welche die Gebote Gottes bewahren". Dazu sollen auch die Brüder gehören.

Zu 9-11: Die folgenden Sätze und Bibelzitate erklären sich in diesem Zusammenhang von selbst. Pachom kombiniert Mt 16,26: "Was nützt es dem Menschen, wenn er die ganze Welt gewinnt?" mit Röm 8,7:

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[42] Joest, Pachom-Brief 1 und 2 (Anm. 6) 68.

"fleischlich gesinnt sein ist Feindschaft gegen Gott." Denn da "die Welt vergeht und ihre Lust" (4,10; vgl. 1 Joh 2,17), nützt es auch nichts, sie zu gewinnen. Das, "was uns gesagt wird", sind vermutlich die Belehrungen Pachoms, auf die er bereits in den Sätzen 4,2 u.6 zu sprechen gekommen war.

Mit Eph 5,15 fordert er seine Leser auf, zu "wachen" (4,11). Diese Mahnung begegnet bei Pachom immer wieder: Weiter unten in 4,17, aber auch in Brief 5,10: "Wacht und spannt euren Bogen . . .",[43] oder in seiner "Katechese an einen grollenden Mönch: "Ich befehle dir, zu wachen und nüchtern zu sein!"[44] Ohne diese Wachsamkeit kann der Kampf nicht gelingen.

Zu 12: Nun kommt ein überraschender Satz, der die "Gelehrten" (*eruditi*) apostrophiert und in einer fast schon an den späteren Franz v. Assisi gemahnenden Wissenschaftsfeindlichkeit feststellt, daß in ihnen der Tod begegnet, und daß die Zeiten von Irrtum und Verführung zu erkennen seien. Zu erklären ist dieser plötzliche Ausbruch nur, wenn man annimmt, daß Syrus, Johannes und ihre Mitbrüder sich der Bildung befleißigten, studierte und gelehrte Männer waren, aber ihre Wissenschaft schon für die Ausübung von geistlichem Leben hielten. Der Praktiker Pachom spürte sofort, daß hier eine Verwechslung vorliegt, ein "Irrtum", eine "Verführung" für sie selbst, aber auch für ihre Mitbrüder. In den Sätzen 4,19 (wo von "jedem Wind der Lehre" die Rede ist), 24 ("meide weltliche Lehren"), 26 und 28 nimmt er das Thema wieder auf (in den letzten beiden Sätzen in allegorischen Anspielungen).

Zu 13: Der letzte Satz dieses Abschnitts schließt die vorangegangenen Überlegungen folgerichtig ab. Deutlich ist der Hinweis auf das Ende des Menschenlebens, welches "dahinsinkt", und folgerichtig ist das sich anschließende Bild von der Ernte eines Lebens, die es einzubringen gilt. Mit dem Satz über "das Bemühen um den Ackerbau" bleibt Pachom im Bild, denn jede Ernte setzt ja die Bestellung eines Feldes voraus. Auf diese Weise mahnt er die Brüder erneut zum Einsatz ihrer Kraft, damit sie am Ende "vor Gott und den Menschen das Notwendige besitzen." Biblische Vorbilder für die Ernte als Metapher des letzten Gerichtes konnte Pachom im

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[43] Boon (Anm. 3) 90,15.

[44] L.-Th. Lefort, *Œuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples* (CSCO 159), Löwen 1956, Nachdruck 1965, 2,26.

Gleichnis vom Unkraut unter dem Weizen in Mt 13,24-30 mit seiner Deutung in Mt 13,36-43 finden, oder in Offb 14,15-16, wo von einem Engel die ganze Erde wie ein Getreidefeld abgeerntet wird.

Die letzte Bemerkung, daß man "kein Fest in alten Kleidern feiern" soll, geht auf Mt 22,11-12 zurück. Dort erzählt Jesus von dem großen Gastmahl eines Königs als Gleichnis für das eschatologische "Mahl" im Reich Gottes. Dabei findet sich einer, der kein Festgewand trägt und hinausgeworfen wird. Damit weist Pachom auf den Ernst des Gerichtes hin.

Zu 14-28: Die nun folgenden Sätze sind fast alle äußerst kurz und reihen allegorisch zu verstehende Bibelzitate oder andere änigmatische Sätze aneinander. Pachom ist Meister solcher Verschlüsselungen im offenen Wort, die dadurch entstehen, daß er jeden Hinweis auf eine Deutung oder allegorische Auslegung unterläßt. Die Briefe 9a, 9b und 11a bestehen nur aus solchen Sätzen. Es bleibt dem Leser überlassen, sich darauf einen Reim zu machen.

Zu 14: "Städte sind zerstört und von Fremden bevölkert; die aber fromm sind, haben weisen Rat gefunden." Durch das "aber" in der Mitte des Satzes wird ein Gegensatz zwischen erster und zweiter Satzhälfte konstruiert. Dieser wird deutlich, wenn wir bedenken, daß die "Fremden" oder "Fremdstämmigen" (ἀλλόφυλοι; *allophili, alienigenae*) in der monastischen Theologie ein geläufiges Bild für die Dämonen sind[45] (vgl. auch Ps 55,1; 59,10; 82,8; 86,4; 107,10; 151,6 LXX). Wenn die Dämonen eine "Stadt", d.h. eine Seele oder in unserem Fall vielleicht auch ein ganzes Kloster, bevölkern, zerstören sie es zugleich. Der Fromme aber findet Rat, sich ihrer zu erwehren. Eben dazu möchte Pachom seinen Adressaten herausfordern.

Zu 15: "In der Wüste floß Wasser, und Lastvieh wie Vögel frohlockten." Der erste Satzteil ist Zitat aus Jes 48,21. Im Vergleich der lateinischen, griechischen und koptischen Versionen zeigen sich allerdings einige Unterschiede: im Pachombrief 4,15 heißt es: *fluxit . . . aqua*; die Vulgata liest: *fluxerunt aquae*,[46] während die Vetus Latina *fluet aqua* bietet;[47] in der LXX

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[45] Belege für Pachom, Theodoros, Evagrios Pontikos und Johannes Cassian bei: Joest, Abraham (Anm. 30) 106; es ist erstaunlich, daß G. W. H. Lampe, *A Greek Patristic Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 53, diese Deutung des Wortes nicht erwähnt.

[46] Vulgata (Anm. 40) Bd. 13, 183.

[47] Vetus Latina (Anm. 38) Bd. 12,2, 1154.

finden wir: ῥυήσεται ὕδωρ, und in der sahidischen Bibel: ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϣⲟⲩⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (*nte-oumoou šouo ebol*).[48] Die Form *nte* . . . *šouo* ist ein koptischer Konjunktiv, der die Zeitform des vorausgehenden Verbums fortführt;[49] der mit *nte* fortgesetzte Satz steht in unserem Fall im Futur (ⲧⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲡⲱϩ *tpetra napōh* = der Fels wird sich spalten), so daß der im Konjunktiv stehende Satz so übersetzt werden muß: "und (ein) Wasser wird herausfließen."

Die Varianten in den verschiedenen Versionen betreffen *tempus* und *numerus* der Aussage. Erstellen wir eine Matrix der Unterschiede, so finden wir folgendes:

Pachombrief 4,15:	Perfekt und Singular
Vulgata:	Perfekt und Plural
LXX:	Futur und Singular
Vetus Latina:	Präsens und Singular
Koptisch:	an Futur angeschlossenen Konjunktiv und Singular.

Wie man leicht ersehen kann, hat nur Hieronymus in seiner Vulgata den Plural für Wasser, damit das hebr. *majim* allzu wörtlich übersetzend. Ferner erkennt man, daß alle Versionen außer Hieronymus das *perfectum propheticum* des masoretischen Textes mit Präsens oder Futur wiedergeben. Die Aussage, daß Gott den Fels spaltet und seinem Volk Wasser hervorfließen läßt, fassen sie also als Verheißung einer Wiederholung des Wasserwunders beim Exodus auf. Hieronymus übersetzt mit Perfekt, versteht also den Satz historisierend als Erinnerung an das frühere Wunder. So dürfte die Perfektform des Pachombriefes in diesem Falle ebenfalls auf sein Konto gehen. Die Abweichung von den anderen alten Versionen und die gleichzeitige Übereinstimmung mit der Vulgata ist doch sehr auffällig.

Mit dem Zitat aus Jes 48,21 gibt Pachom einen Hinweis, wie Rat und Hilfe aussehen können. Auch die Bedrängnis durch die Dämonen kann man als "Wüste" erfahren, als geistliche Dürre und Trockenheit. Aber dort "fließt Wasser", ein biblisches Symbol für den Heiligen Geist (vgl. Jes. 44,3). Er ist die Hilfe, die der Fromme findet.

"Lastvieh und Vögel" (*iumenta ac volatilia*) ist ein eigenartiger Ausdruck, den Pachom der Noach-Geschichte entnahm (Gen 6,20; 7,2f.14.21; 8,19) unter Auslassung der übrigen dort genannten Tiere ("Gewürm": 6,20; 7,14; 8,19; "wilde Tiere": 7,14.21; 8,19). Anscheinend waren ihm gerade diese

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[48] R. Kasser (Hg.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXIII.* Esaïe XLVII,1-LXVI,24, Genf 1965, 52 = Schüßler (Anm. 33) sa 48.

[49] W. C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig ^{3}1966, § 322, S. 163.

beiden Tierarten besonders wichtig, denn er nennt sie auch in Brief 5,29 (*iumenta et volatilia*),[50] dort allerdings in direktem Zusammenhang mit der Erwähnung Noachs. Daß diese "frohlockten" wird in der Bibel nirgends gesagt; Pachom mag hier an die Freude über die Rettung des Lebens gedacht haben, was sich bestens in den Zusammenhang von Satz 4,15 fügt. Das "Lastvieh" mag für ihn Symbol des Menschen sein, der die "Last", die "Mühe" (*labor*) des Lebens unter den Geboten Gottes auf sich nimmt (vgl. oben 4,3). Die "Vögel" sind in Brief 5,30 Sinnbild für den Gehorsam.[51]

Zu 16: "Ein weiser und enthaltsamer Mensch wird nicht mit einer 'Salbe' gesalbt werden, die 'sterbende Fliegen verdorben haben'" (vgl. Pred 10,1), und die für die Söhne des Ackers bereitet ist." Der Sinn des Zitats von Pred 10,1 beruht darauf, daß auch die "Fliegen" ein Sinnbild der Dämonen sind, heißt doch "Beelzebul, der Oberste der Dämonen" (Mt 12,24), in wörtlicher Bedeutung seines Namens "Herr der Fliegen". Ist ein Mönch von Dämonen "besetzt", verdirbt seine "geistliche Salbung". Doch einem "weisen und enthaltsamen Menschen" muß das nicht zustoßen. Es trifft vielmehr "die Söhne des Ackers", d.h. die irdisch Gesinnten, welche dieser Welt verfallen sind, vgl. Kol. 3,2: "Trachtet nach dem, was droben ist, nicht nach dem, was auf Erden ist." Wer als Mönch nach dem, was auf Erden ist, strebt, wer also auf diese Weise ein "Sohn des Ackers" ist, dessen "Salbung" verdirbt, der zieht die Dämonen an, die ihn schlecht machen.

Zu 17: Ein längerer Satz schiebt sich dazwischen, der wie Satz 4,11 zur Wachsamkeit auffordert. Das Bildwort von den "künftigen Festmählern" erinnert wieder an Mt 22,11-13 und die Bemerkung in Satz 4,13, daß man kein "Fest in alten Kleidern feiern" kann. Die "Zeiten der Erfrischung" (*tempora refrigerii*) deuten mit Apg 3,20 auf die Wiederkunft Christi und somit auf das Ende der Geschichte. Dann sollen wir nicht als "der Knechtschaft (sc. der Sünde) unterworfen" gefunden werden (vgl. Gal 5,1), sondern "ein neuer Teig sein", wie es Paulus in 1 Kor 5,6-8 den Korinthern wünscht. Der "neue", d.h. ungesäuerte Teig ist hier ein biblisches Sinnbild der "Reinheit und Wahrheit", der Sauerteig ein Symbol der alles durchsetzenden "Bosheit und Schlechtigkeit".[52]

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[50] Boon (Anm. 3) 91,25-26.

[51] Boon (Anm. 3) 91,26-29.

[52] In Brief 10,2.6 kehrt Pachom das Bild um und beschreibt die Frevler als solche, die "neuen Teig" bewußt mit "Sauerteig" vermengen wollen, Joest, Der zehnte Brief

Mit dem letzten Satzteil wendet Pachom kühn eine Aussage, die in Ps 49,11 LXX Gott über sich selber macht, auf "uns" an. Heißt es in der Vulgata: "*pulchritudo agri mecum est*",[53] so schreibt Pachom: "*pulchritudo agri nobiscum sit.*" Das Psalmwort will sagen, daß die ganze Erde Gott gehört, er also auf einzelne Opfergaben aus dem Reichtum ihrer Fülle nicht angewiesen ist. Wenn Pachom das zitiert und auf seine Mitbrüder anwendet, meint er damit wahrscheinlich, daß sie im Gegensatz zu dem der Erde verfallenen Menschen (vgl. Satz 4,16) "über den Dingen stehen", über die Erde herrschen können und sollen.

Zu 18: Der Satz bestätigt das soeben Gesagte, indem er fortfährt, aus Ps 49 bzw. 50 zu zitieren: "Auch anderswo sagt das göttliche Wort: 'Esse ich denn das Fleisch von Ochsen und trinke das Blut von Böcken?'" (Ps 49,13 Vulg.) Der lateinische Pachombrief zitiert die Vulgata fast wörtlich, nur hat er als Verben *numquid comedam . . . bibam* anstelle von *numquid manducabo . . . potabo*; er variiert also nicht nur in der Wortwahl, sondern auch in der Zeitform und bietet Konjuktiv Präsens anstelle von Futur. In der LXX stehen die Verben ebenfalls im Futur: μὴ φάγομαι . . . ἢ . . . πίομαι. Daher ist auch hier zu vermuten, daß der Übersetzer, der den Pachombrief aus dem Sahidischen ins Griechische übertragen hat, aus einem tiefen Gefühl für die koptische Sprache heraus das sahidische "Zweite Futur" im Griechischen anders wiedergegeben hat, als er es in der LXX vorfand, d.h. daß er das Bibelzitat direkt aus dem Brieftext heraus übersetzt und nicht einfach die griechische Bibel zitiert hat. In Ps 49,13 fand er vor: ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲟⲩⲉⲙ (*mē einaouem*) und: ⲙⲏ ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲥⲉ (*mē einase*),[54] gewohnheitsmäßig übersetzt mit: "werde ich denn essen . . . ?", "werde ich denn trinken . . . ?", worauf die Antwort "Nein" erwartet wird. In seiner Untersuchung zu den "Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus" nennt Polotsky dieses Futur II das "Instans",[55] das

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Pachoms – eine verschlüsselte Botschaft, *Journal of Coptic Studies* 5 (2003) 67-96, hier: 68-69.84-85.

[53] Vulgata (Anm. 40) Bd. 10, 131. Der zugrundeliegende hebräische Ausdruck *sis ṣadaj* bedeutet zwar nicht "Schönheit", sondern "Fülle (der Tiere, all dessen, was wimmelt und sich regt) des Feldes", aber im Aramäischen kann das Wort *sis* auch "Glanz" heißen, und diese Bedeutung hat sich anscheinend in den Versionen durchgesetzt: LXX ὡραιότης ἀγροῦ bedeutet "Pracht, Schönheit, Fülle des Ackers", aber bezogen auf jahreszeitgemäßes Gedeihen der Frucht; das koptische ⲡⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱϣⲉ *psa ntsōše* heißt einfach: "die Schönheit des Feldes" und dem entspricht die lateinische Version ganz genau.

[54] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter*, London 1898, 54 = Schüßler (Anm. 33) sa 31.

[55] Im Anschluß an L. Stern, s. Polotsky, *Grundlagen* (Anm. 41) 213-216. Auch T. S.

durativ zu verstehen ist und seinen "legitimen Platz im Präsens" hat. Es gilt hier also dasselbe, was oben über das koptische Futur I gesagt wurde (bei Satz 4,7): Der Übersetzer des koptischen Briefes hat offenbar anstelle des Futur im Griechischen den Konjunktiv Präsens gewählt, und Hieronymus hat sich an diese Konstruktion gehalten. Hier liegt ein weiterer Hinweis darauf vor, daß der "Urtext" des vierten Pachombriefes tatsächlich auf Koptisch geschrieben war.

Zu 19: Nun nimmt Pachom das Thema der Herrschaft wieder auf: "Deswegen laßt uns 'nicht von jedem Wind der Lehre umhergetrieben werden' (Eph 4,14), weil die Zeit kommt, daß die Heiligen die Herrschaft empfangen (1 Kor 6,2; Offb 20,6)." Hier klingen früher behandelte Themen wieder an: die Gefahr der Gelehrsamkeit, die in die Irre führen kann (vgl. Satz 4,12) und die Herrschaft der Heiligen (vgl. Satz 4,5). Das mag auch unsere Auslegung des letzten Teils von Satz 4,17 bestätigen, daß Pachom mit der "Schönheit des Ackers", die "mit uns ist", eben diese Herrschaft meint.

Zu 20: "Zion streckt seine Hände aus; da ist keiner, der sie tröste." (Klgl 1,17) Nun klingt ein neues Thema an, aber immer noch in Verschlüsselung durch allegorisches Verständnis. "Zion", Jerusalem, ist ein biblisches Bild für seine Bewohner, für das Volk Gottes. Paulus wendet es auf die christliche Gemeinde an, wenn er sagt: "Das Jerusalem, das droben ist, das ist die Freie, das ist unsere Mutter." (Gal 4,26) Pachom scheint es als Chiffre zu verwenden und von der (biblischen) Allegorese im Sinne von: "die himmlische Stadt", "die Gemeinde der vollendeten Gerechten", "die Versammlung der Heiligen" (vgl. Hebr 12,22; Offb 20,10) überzugehen zu der Deutung "die Gemeinschaft der Brüder", die ja idealerweise diese Gemeinde der Gerechten repräsentieren sollte.[56] Dann besagt dieser Satz,

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Richter, Zur Sprache thebanischer Rechtsurkunden: Auffällige Konstruktionen im Bereich der Zweiten Tempora. In: M. Immerzeel/J. Van der Vliet (Hg.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium.* Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, 27 August – 2 September 2000 (OLA 133), Löwen 2004, 145-154, stellt fest, daß das Futur II "seiner semantischen Valeur (dem Ausdruck der Zukunft)" seit langem entbunden wurde "zugunsten der Funktion eines 'Future énergique' oder 'Jussivs', eines Affektmodus' der Aufforderung", ebd. S. 147. Die Beobachtung gilt zunächst für das Achmimische, das aber an dieser Stelle in den sahidischen Dialekt hinüberwirkt.

[56] Vgl. dazu Joest, Pachom-Briefe 1 und 2 (Anm. 6) 53-54.73; vgl. auch Brief 11,b 8.12: Joest, Die pachomianische Geheimschrift im Spiegel der Hieronymus-Übersetzung.

daß die Gemeinschaft der Brüder dringend der geistlichen Anleitung durch ihren Oberen, Syrus, bedarf und darunter leidet ("untröstlich ist"), daß sie diese im Moment nicht erfährt.

Wenn das richtig ist, würde hier ein für Pachom überaus typischer Gedanke anklingen, daß nämlich die eigene Heiligung ohne Rücksicht auf die der Mitbrüder nicht zu verwirklichen ist. Beides gehört untrennbar zusammen. In diesem Sinne kann es bei Pachom keinen "Heilsegoismus" geben. Die Brüder sind aufeinander verwiesen und können das Heil nur so erreichen, daß einer auf den anderen achtet.[57]

Zu 21: "Jünglinge sind entkräftigt unter Stockschlägen, 'sie werden die Wasser ihres Weges versprengen'". Die "Jünglinge" sind die Brüder, die "Stockschläge" ihre Anfechtungen. In Brief 3,20 ermahnt Pachom: "Werde nicht schwach unter den Schlägen des Stockes",[58] aber im Fall von Brief 4 ist da niemand, der die "Jünglinge"/Brüder stärkt und ermutigt. Sie bleiben sich selbst überlassen, werden schwach und "verschütten die Wasser ihres Weges", d.h. das Leben von Gott, das sie empfangen haben, oder den Heiligen Geist, der sie auf dem Weg durch die Zeit begleiten will.

Zu 22: "Der Ameisenlöwe kommt um, weil er keine Speise hat." (Hiob 4,11 LXX) Aus dem "Löwen" der hebräischen Bibel ist in der Septuaginta ein "Ameisenlöwe" (μυρμηκολέων) geworden. Hieronymus hat in seiner Vulgata "tigris", übersetzt aber den Pachombrief wörtlich aus dem Griechischen: *myrmicoleon*. Auch das Koptische hat an dieser Stelle ⲙⲩⲣⲙⲏⲕⲟⲗⲏⲱⲛ (sic! mit eta).[59] Ebenso übernimmt Hieronymus das βορά der LXX und übersetzt *esca*, "Speise" oder "Futter" (was auch wieder dem Koptischen entspricht), obwohl er in der Vulgata mit dem hebräischen Text "Beute" (*praeda*) liest.[60] Er hat also in diesem Fall ebenfalls nicht aus "seiner" Bibel zitiert, sondern die Vorlage getreu übersetzt.

Mit dem deutschen Text von Brief 11b des pachomianischen Schriftencorpus und dem Versuch einer Übertragung, *Le Muséon* 112 (1999) 21-46, hier: 36.44.

[57] Vgl. besonders Ch. Joest, Proverbia 6,3 und die Bruderliebe bei den Pachomianern, *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993) 119-130; ferner ders., Benedikt von Nursia und der Stellenwert gegenseitiger brüderlicher Liebe bei Pachom, Horsiesi und Basileios d. Großen, *Erbe und Auftrag* 68 (1992) 312-326; ders., "Unsere Hände den Armen öffnen". Das *opus monasticum* der Pachomianer, *Vigiliae Christianae* 51 (1997) 1-9.

[58] Joest, Gott und den Menschen dienen (Anm. 23) 12,42-43.

[59] L. Dieu, Nouveaux Fragments préhexaplaires du livre de Job en copte sahidique, *Le Muséon* 13 (1912) 147-185, hier: 173 = Schüßler (Anm. 33) sa 111.

[60] Vulgata (Anm. 40), Bd. 9, 105.

Auch der *Physiologos*, jenes im Kern wohl aus Ägypten stammende, "subliterarische", im Dunkeln gewachsene "Volksbuch",[61] zitiert Hiob 4,11 und macht sich Gedanken über die Natur dieses "Myrmicoleon". Da heißt es, "dieser habe das Antlitz des Löwen, und das Hinterteil der Ameise. Sein Vater ist ein Fleischfresser, aber seine Mutter verzehrt Spelzen. So sie nun miteinander den Ameisenlöwen zeugen, zeugen sie ihn als ein Wesen von zweierlei Art; und er kann nicht Fleisch fressen wegen der Art seiner Mutter, und nicht Spelzen wegen der Art seines Vaters. So geht er nun zugrunde darum, daß er keine Nahrung hat."[62] Das Buch folgert daraus, daß dieses Fabeltier ein Symbol des Mannes sei, "der zwei Seelen hat, unstät auf allen seinen Wegen. Man soll nicht gehen auf zweierlei Straßen, noch zwiefältig reden im Gebet; und ist nicht gut das Ja-Nein und das Nein-Ja." Daß der *Physiologos* in seiner koptischen Version einige Erweiterungen aufweist,[63] zeigt, wie intensiv er auch im christlichen Ägypten rezipiert und verarbeitet wurde. Insofern ist es wahrscheinlich, daß auch Pachom dieses "Volksbuch" in irgend einer Form kannte. Wenn er die oben zitierten Eintragungen bei seinen Lesern als bekannt voraussetzen durfte, dann wollte er ihnen wohl mit der Erwähnung dieses "Ameisenlöwen" einen Spiegel vorhalten: Ihr seid zwiespältig, fromm und fleischlich, sagt zu Gott sowohl "Ja" als auch "Nein", und steht in der Gefahr, daran zugrunde zu gehen.

Zu 23: "Wer mit einem Dieb (die Beute) teilt, haßt seine eigene Seele." (Spr 29,24) Will Pachom hier die Anklage unstatthafter materieller Bereicherung erheben? Dann brandmarkte er ein Laster, das auch in Brief 10 angeprangert wird, nämlich die Habsucht.[64]

Zu 24: "Meide weltliche" und neue Lehren! (vgl. 2 Tim 2,16) Diese Aufforderung bedarf keines Kommentars. Wir sind darauf schon bei Satz

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[61] O. Seel, *Der Physiologus*. Tiere und ihre Symbolik, Zürich u. München [6]1992, 88; vgl. ferner E. Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Mythen im "Physiologus", in: dies., *Gelebte Mythen*. Beiträge zum altägyptischen Mythos, Darmstadt [3]1988, 86-99; dies., Art. "Physiologus, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 7 (1992) 14-15.

[62] Seel, Physiologus (Anm. 61) 33-34. Seel läßt offen, ob diese skurrile Vorstellung "eine Verbindung zu dem wirklichen Tier 'Ameisenlöwe', einem Insekt" hat; sie könnte sich auch aus der von Strabon und Aelian erwähnten, "Myrmex" (= Ameise) genannten Löwenart entwickelt haben, s. Seel, Physiologus, 110 Anm. 91.

[63] Das läßt sich am Kapitel über den Raben zeigen, s. L. Störk, Art. "Rabe", *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 5 (1984) 75.

[64] Joest, Der zehnte Brief (Anm. 52) 74-76.79-82.

4,12 gestoßen. Timotheus wird allerdings aufgefordert, sich von weltlichem "Geschwätz" (*vaniloquia*) fern zu halten. Für Pachom sind es "neue Lehren", die eine Gefahr darstellen. Gerade die Gebildeten unter den Brüdern sind anscheinend hier gefährdet.

Zu 25: "Der Fremde sei unter euch wie ein Einheimischer!" – *Advena sicut indigena sit inter vos.* (Vgl. Ex 12,48; Lev 19,34; Ez 47,22) Die Vulgata hat in Ex 12,48 zwar *peregrini* und *eritque sicut indigena terrae*, in Lev 19,33f dagegen *advena* und *sit inter vos quasi indigena.*[65] Dort ist das Ganze aber eingebaut in eine längere Phrase, aus der man das Zitat erst zusammenziehen müßte. Die LXX hat jedoch an allen drei Stellen προσήλυτος und wiederholt bei Lev 19,34 über die Vulgata hinaus, aber mit dem hebräischen Text, das Subjekt noch einmal, wodurch der Satz in Pachoms Brief 4,25 fast erreicht wird: ὡς ὁ αὐτόχθων ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται ὁ προσήλυτος. Nur die Wortstellung ist hier noch anders, davon abgesehen zitiert der Pachom-Brief wörtlich. Hieronymus scheint auch hier vom Griechischen übersetzt und nicht die Vulgata kopiert zu haben.[66]

Auch dieser Satz mag eine sehr direkte und beinahe unverschlüsselte Aufforderung zur Bruderliebe sein, auch wenn sie im Gewand eines Bibelzitats daherkommt. Die Pachomianer hatten schon sehr früh griechisch sprechende Brüder unter sich, die kein Koptisch verstanden, weshalb ihnen eigens ein Übersetzer zur Seite gegeben wurde.[67] Die Hieronymus-Übersetzung des pachomianischen Schriftencorpus wurde ihrerseits durch die Tatsache veranlaßt, daß es inzwischen unter den Pachomianern lateinisch sprechende Brüder gab, die weder Griechisch noch Koptisch konnten.[68] Mit der kulturellen und sprachlichen Andersartigkeit unter den Brüdern mußte

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[65] Vulgata (Anm. 40) Bd 2, 143.432-433; ähnlich Ez 47,22: ebd. Bd. 15, 267.

[66] Leider fehlt der Versanfang von Lev 19,34 in dem einzigen mir zugänglichen Manuskript ed. A. Ciasca, *Sacrorum Bibliorum Fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani*, Bd. I, Rom 1885, Nachdruck Leipzig 1970, 85 = Schüßler (Anm. 33) sa 11.3, so daß ein Vergleich mit dem koptischen Text nicht möglich ist.

[67] Siehe Anfang und Ende von *SBo* 89 und *SBo* 91: Lefort, *Vita* (Anm. 19) 101,27-102,2; 105,29-106,7; 108,3-9.

[68] Hieronymus, *Praef* 1, Boon (Anm. 3) 4,3-8. Daß es unter den Mönchen Animositäten gegenüber "Fremden" gab, zeigt ein Beispiel aus dem Milieu der "Wüstenväter". Da fährt einer dem Evagrios über den Mund und sagt: "Wir wissen, Vater, daß du, wenn du in deinem Land geblieben wärest, jetzt dort Bischof wärest und Herr über viele. Nun aber sitzest du hier und bist nur ein Fremdling": *Apophthegma* Evagrios 7, PG 65, 176 A; dt. bei Miller (Anm. 31) *Apo* 233, S. 92; vgl. auch das *Apophthegma* Arsenios 38, s. dazu Ch. Joest, Vom Sinn der Armut bei den Mönchsvätern

man erst umzugehen lernen. Auch bei den Pachomianern mag es da Spannungen gegeben haben – ein hervorragendes Betätigungsfeld für die Bruderliebe.

Zu 26: "Er schlug mit Hagel ihre Weinstöcke und ihre Maulbeerbäume mit Frost." (Ps 77,47 Vulg.) Es fällt auf, daß der Pachombrief die Vulgata wörtlich zitiert bis auf ein Detail: Er liest "Weinstöcke" im Plural (*vineas*), während die Vulgata *vineam* im Singular hat. Die Einzahl entspricht genau der LXX (ἄμπελον), die Mehrzahl jedoch der sahidischen Bibel (ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲱ ⲛ̀ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ *nneubō neloole* = ihre Weinstöcke[69]). Hier liegt nun eindeutig der Beweis vor, daß die Vorlage des Hieronymus von einem ursprünglich koptischen Text erstellt worden sein muß. Anders läßt sich der Wechsel vom Singular zum Plural gegen alle geläufigen Bibelversionen nicht erklären.

Der Kontext des Psalmwortes spricht von den Plagen, mit denen Gott die Ägypter geschlagen hatte. Er zerstörte Weinstöcke und Maulbeerbäume, fruchttragende Pflanzen, von deren Ernte die Menschen lebten. Ich interpretiere das als eine Wiederaufnahme des Themas "Lebensernte" von Satz 4,13, jedoch in negativen Modus: Eure "Früchte", auf die ihr euch verlaßt, sind falsch, sind trügerisch, darum zerstört sie Gott. Eine vernichtete "Lebensernte" deutet darauf hin, daß den Adressaten fehlt, was "vor Gott und den Menschen notwendig" ist (4,13). Im Zusammenhang mit den beiden folgenden Sätzen verstehe ich darunter einen Hinweis auf Wissenschaft und Gelehrtheit, vor der Pachom schon einmal gewarnt hat (4,12.24). Wenn sie nicht mit dem "Ringen um die Erfüllung der Regeln" (4,2) einhergehen, schlägt Gott den Brüdern sogar ihre Früchte aus der Hand.

Zu 27: "Ein verständiger Diener ist dem König angenehm." (Spr 14,35) Hier entsprechen die Fassung Pachoms und die der LXX einander genau: *Acceptabilis regi minister intelligens* und: δεκτὸς βασιλεῖ ὑπερέτης νοήμων. Die Vulgata hat: *Acceptus est regi minister intelligens.*[70] Der sahidische Bibeltext entspricht mit ϣⲏⲡ *šēp* = "annehmbar", "vorzüglich" eher der LXX als der Vulgata.[71] Hieronymus hat also wieder seine Vorlage übersetzt, anstatt den Text aus seiner eigenen Bibelübersetzung zu übernehmen.

Ägyptens. Über den Einfluß des kulturellen Hintergrunds auf das Konzept der Askese, *Geist und Leben* 66 (1993) 249-271, hier: 250.259.

[69] Budge, *Psalter* (Anm. 54) 84.

[70] *Vulgata* (Anm. 40) Bd. 11, 69.

[71] W. H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic According to the Chicago Manuscript*, Chicago, Illinois 1931, 47 = sa 26 bei Schüßler (Anm. 33).

Der "König" ist Gott. Der "verständige" Diener ist einer, der in rechter Weise nach Erkenntnis strebt. Sowohl der lateinische wie der griechische Terminus lassen nämlich ein Hauptwort der monastischen Theologie anklingen: νοήμων – νοῦς bzw. *intelligens* – *intellectus*. Der νοῦς ist der Seelenteil im Menschen, der auf Erkenntnis hin angelegt ist, genauer auf die Erkenntnis Gottes, in der allein das Menschenleben seine Erfüllung findet. Ein "verständiger" Mensch ist also einer, dessen Leben von der Gotteserkenntnis geleitet wird und nicht mehr von den Leidenschaften (πάθη) des Leibes oder der Seele.[72]

Zu 28: "Wenn du Honig findest, iß <nur>, was du brauchst, damit du ihn nicht vor Übersättigung ausspeist" (Spr 25,16) – *Mel inveniens comede quod sufficit, ne forte satiatus evomas illud.* Fast ähnlich hat es die Vulgata: *Mel invenisti comede quod sufficit tibi ne forte saturatus evomas illud*,[73] doch entspricht die LXX deutlicher Pachom: μέλι εὑρὼν φάγε τὸ ἱκανόν, d.h. sie hat wie er das Partizip am Anfang und kein *tibi* am Ende des ersten Halbsatzes. Auch hier hält sich Hieronymus an die griechische Vorlage und zitiert nicht nach der Vulgata. Das Koptische müßte man wörtlich übersetzen mit: "Wenn du Honig findest, iß dein Genüge . . ."[74] ⲉⲕϣⲁⲛϩⲉ *ekšanhe* = "wenn du findest" ist Präsens im Conditionalis; ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲱϣⲉ *pekrōše* = "dein Genüge", "was dir ausreicht", enthält den dem *tibi* in etwa entsprechenden Possesivartikel ⲡⲉⲕ. Der koptische Text würde mithin dem der Vulgata eher entsprechen als dem der LXX, bis auf den Unterschied von Präsens im Sahidischen und Perfekt im Lateinischen. Oder umgekehrt gesagt: Das Bibelzitat im Pachombrief entspricht der LXX mehr als dem sahidischen Bibeltext. Dieser Sachverhalt zeigt eindeutig, daß der Übersetzer des Briefes aus dem Koptischen ins Griechische hier die LXX-Version übernommen hat, anstatt den sahidischen Brieftext wörtlich zu übersetzen. Man hätte sonst eher einen Konditionalsatz und ein dem Possesivartikel k entsprechendes *tuum* oder *tibi* erwartet.

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[72] A. Solignac, Art. "NOYΣ" et "Mens", *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* 11 (1982) 459-469; Ch. Joest, Die Bedeutung von akedia und apatheia bei Evagrios Pontikos, *Studia Monastica* 35 (1993) 7-53, hier: 13-14; ders., *Spiritualität* (Anm. 17) 293-296; ausführlicher ders. (Hg.), *Evagrios Pontikos*. Mönchsspiegel, Nonnenspiegel, Ermahnung an Mönche, Einleitung Teil II (erscheint demnächst in den FONTES CHRISTIANI).

[73] *Vulgata* (Anm. 40) Bd. 11, 103.

[74] Worrell, *Proverbs* (Anm. 71) 88.

Der "Honig" ist ein Bild für die geistliche Erkenntnis.[75] Damit schließt Pachom an die implizite Erwähnung des *intellectus* des vorigen Satzes an. Die geistlichen Väter haben immer davor gewarnt, nach Erkenntnis zu streben, die dem gegenwärtigen Stand des einzelnen Mönches "zu hoch" ist. Das kann, so will Pachom sagen, zu einer "Übersättigung" führen, so daß man zuletzt enttäuscht das Kind mit dem Bade ausschüttet und alles ablehnt ("ausspeit").

Zu 29: Den letzten Teil seines Briefes beginnt Pachom mit einem Satz, dessen Struktur von Joh 16,8-15 geprägt ist, dessen Inhalt er aber Mt 23,23 entnimmt. In Joh 16 sagt Jesus vom Heiligen Geist, daß er die Welt überführen wird in Bezug auf die Sünde, die Gerechtigkeit und das Gericht; diese drei Begriffe werden dann in den folgenden Versen erläutert. Auch Pachom zählt drei Begriffe auf, die er im Folgenden erläutert, aber er spricht mit Mt 23,23 von Gericht, Barmherzigkeit und Glaube.

Gericht oder: Urteil, *iudicium*, macht "Landschaften bewohnbar". Es soll wohl heißen: Wer sich dem Urteil Gottes unterstellt und dementsprechend im Vertrauen auf ihn lebt, der macht die Erde "bewohnbar", d.h. der schafft Lebensraum und Lebensmöglichkeit auch für andere. Es sind die, die "von den Schlingen des Teufels gerettet werden und Gottes Güter genießen".[76] Wieder scheinen mir hier persönliche Heiligung und Fürsorge für die geistlichen Lebensmöglichkeiten der Brüder nach typisch pachomischer Manier untrennbar miteinander verbunden zu sein.

Von der Barmherzigkeit, *misericordia*, wird gesagt, daß "Gott durch sie verherrlicht" wird. Schon in den Sätzen 4,23 und 25 klang dieses Motiv an. Sie ist kein Randthema des geistlichen Lebens, wenn die Verherrlichung Gottes daran geknüpft ist. Als biblische Begründung sei nur auf Lk 6,36 verwiesen: "Seid barmherzig, wie auch euer Vater (Gott) barmherzig ist." Barmherzigkeit aber ist ein Beziehungsbegriff: Barmherzig kann man immer

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[75] Evagrios Pontikos wird später in einem Bildwort formulieren: "Honig ist angenehm, süß seine Wabe, süßer als beide ist Gotteserkenntnis ... Wer Honig liebt, der ißt seine Waben, und wer ihn sammelt, der wird vom Geiste erfüllt": *Ad monachos* 72.115, griech. Text bei: H. Greßmann, Nonnenspiegel und Mönchsspiegel des Euagrius Ponticus. In: *Texte und Untersuchungen* 39,4, Leipzig 1913, 159.163. Auch er kennt die Warnung, nach einer Erkenntnis zu streben, die das gegenwärtige Fassungsvermögen des Mönchs übersteigt: *In Proverbia* 17,2: *Scholies aux Proverbes*, ed. P. Géhin (SCh 340), Paris 1987, 248; *Gnostikos* 25.36: *Évagre le Pontique*, Le Gnostique ou à celui qui est devenu digne de la science, ed. A. u. C. Guillaumont (SCh 356), Paris 1989, 129.154-155.

[76] Pachom Brief 5,32: Boon (Anm. 3) 92,1-2.

nur in Bezug auf andere sein. Auch hier wieder finden wir die für Pachom charakteristische Verknüpfung von Heiligung und Nächstenliebe.

Der Glaube, *fides*, schließlich ist "die Grundlage der Toten und Lebenden", und er ist verknüpft mit der "Kraft zur Hoffnung". Das könnte von Röm 5,1-5 abgeleitet sein, wo der Glaube mit dem Frieden mit Gott und dem Zugang zur Gnade verknüpft wird und über eine Reihe von anderen Begriffen bis hin zur Hoffnung geführt wird, die "nicht zuschanden werden" läßt. Friede mit Gott und Zugang zur Gnade sind die Grundlage der Hoffnung für die um die Tugenden ringenden Jünger Christi, in diesem Fall die Brüder von Phnum. Sie sind auch die Grundlage der Hoffnung für alle, die in Christus entschlafen sind. Daß in der Gedankenkette in Röm 5, die vom Glauben zur Hoffnung führt, auch Bedrängnis, Geduld und Bewährung angeführt werden, ist ganz im Sinne Pachoms und mag von ihm mitgedacht worden sein, als er diesen Satz niederschrieb (vgl. oben *zu Satz 3* S. 181-182).

Zu 30: Nun folgen abschließende Bemerkungen, in denen Pachom zunächst ohne Bilder spricht ("Kämpfe und streite, du und die Brüder, die mit dir sind"), aber dazu auffordert, die "Bilder und Gleichnisse", die er gebraucht hat, in Weisheit zu verstehen. Ähnlich schließt er Brief 11a ab, der vollständig aus übertragen zu verstehenden Bibelzitaten zusammengestellt ist: "Das Herz des Weisen wird Gleichnisse verstehen." (Spr 1,6; Sir 3,29 LXX).

Den "Fußspuren der Heiligen" zu folgen und sich zu bemühen, "nicht dem Gericht Gottes anheimzufallen" sind klare Sätze, die keines Kommentares bedürfen.

Zu 31: Anders der folgende Satz, der wieder bildhaft spricht, nämlich vom "Winter des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters". Der "Winter" mit seiner Kälte und seinen Stürmen steht wieder für die Anfechtungen und Bewährungsproben der Gegenwart (vgl. 4,3.8). Doch mit Hld 2,11 wird die Hoffnung auf den "Frühling" zum Ausdruck gebracht, ein Zitat, das auch die eschatologische "Hochzeit" Gottes mit seinem Volk assoziieren läßt, weil hier Braut und Bräutigam miteinander sprechen. So jedenfalls wurde das Hohlied bereits im Judentum verstanden, und die Kirche hat diese Auslegung übernommen (vgl. Offb 19,7-8).

Zu 32: Wieder ohne Bild fährt Pachom fort, auf die Hilfe Gottes zu verweisen, "dessen Größe kein Maß hat" und der in allen wirkt. Dann kommt

erneut eine Metapher: "Bis die Abendzeit vergeht." Damit ist das selbe gemeint, wie mit dem "Winter", die Zeit, in der die Finsternis überhand nimmt und Anfechtungen herrschen. Wenn sie vergeht, kommt der "Tag, der keinen Abend hat" (vgl. Sach 14,7) – ein Bild der eschatologischen Hoffnung.

Zu 33: Der letzte Satz faßt noch einmal alles zusammen: Jetzt gilt es, sich zu mühen, d.h. um die Tugenden zu ringen (4,2); dann, am Ende der Zeit, schenkt sich uns die wahre Ruhe in Gott.

Ergebnis

Wir haben ein Schriftstück vor uns, das nach Inhalt und Charakter ganz mit den entschlüsselten Pachom-Briefen 2 und 6 zusammen paßt, die ebenso an Syrus gerichtet sind wie Brief 4. Alle drei Schreiben enthalten eine herbe, ja harsche Kritik an ihrem Adressaten. Diese Beobachtung hat uns schon einmal Anlaß gegeben, den Briefüberschriften ein gewisses Vertrauen entgegenzubringen.[77] Nur dürfen wir diese Tatsache nicht zum Kriterium für die Echtheit von Brief 4 machen, weil das selbe Argument unser Plädoyer für die Echtheit der Briefe 2 und 6 unterstützt hat; das wäre ein Zirkelschluß. Es gab aber auch inhaltliche Gesichtspunkte für die Echtheit dieser Briefe, und nach eben solchen müssen wir auch für Brief 4 suchen. Damit wäre das Vertrauen in die Authentizität der Briefe 2 und 6 bestätigt.

Ich sehe zwei solcher Gesichtspunkte: In erster Linie die Betonung der Bruderliebe, die mit der persönlichen Heiligung und Gottesliebe untrennbar verbunden ist. Wir haben darin früher schon das "unterscheidend Pachomische" gefunden.[78] Es zeigt sich hier in der Betonung der sozialen Verflochtenheit der Brüder untereinander (Satz 4,2), in der Auffassung, daß Askese im Dienst an den Brüdern konkret wird (4,3), in der Verwiesenheit der Brüder aufeinander (4,20), in Satz 4,25, der zur Fremdenliebe auffordert, und schließlich in der Aufforderung zur Barmherzigkeit in Satz 4,29.

Wir fanden zweitens die "präsentische Eschatologie" als typisch für Pachom, die keine Aufteilung in "jetzt" und "dereinst" zuläßt, sondern die

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[77] Joest, Pachom-Briefe 1 und 2 (Anm. 6) 92-95.

[78] Vgl. oben Anm. 7.

beiden Dimensionen wie in einem Fadenkreuz zusammenhält, ohne sie zu identifizieren (4,3-7).[79]

Es treten neben das inhaltliche noch einige formale Argumente. So hat sich bei Satz 7, 18 und 26 nachweisen lassen, daß der Brief ursprünglich in koptischer Sprache geschrieben worden sein muß. Diese Feststellung ist wesentlich im Hinblick auf die Echtheitsfrage, weil Pachom, wenn er die Briefe tatschlich geschrieben hat, sich nur seiner Muttersprache bedient haben kann. Griechisch hat er bekanntlich erst im Alter und nur mühsam gelernt.[80]

Das Schreiben fügt sich nach Stil und Charakter bestens zum Übrigen des pachomianischen Briefcorpus. In seinen allegorisch zu verstehenden Sätzen ist es kurz und knapp, meist zitiert es nur Bibelverse, auf deren Bedeutung sowie auf den Sinn ihrer Zusammenstellung der Leser sich selbst einen Reim machen muß. Dieser Stil findet sich wieder in den Pachom-Briefen 9a, 9b und 11a. Die übrigen Sätze von Brief 4 entsprechen in ihrem Charakter den anderen unverschlüsselten Briefen Pachoms, nämlich den Briefen 3, 5, 7 und 8.

Zuletzt muß noch auf die beiden Geheimbuchstaben hingewiesen werden, das ⲁ von Satz 4,5 und das ⲏ von Satz 4,8. Daß die Deutung dieser Buchstaben, die an anderen Pachom-Briefen gewonnen wurde, sich so mühelos auch auf diese Sätze anwenden ließ, ohne daß irgendwelche gekünstelten Überlegungen angestellt werden mußten, spricht dafür daß Brief 4 und die übrigen verschlüsselten Briefe, nämlich 1, 2, 6, 9a und b sowie 11 a und b, aus einer Hand stammen.

Brief 4 ist also ein echtes Schreiben des großen Mönchsvaters Pachom, Ausdruck seiner persönlichen Berufung zum gemeinsamen Leben, die sich in der untrennbaren Einheit von Gottes- und Bruderliebe manifestiert.

D-65597 *Hünfelden*, Gradenthal 12

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[79] Vgl. dazu noch Ch. Joest, Ewigkeitshoffnung und Bruderlieb bei Pachom, *Erbe und Auftrag* 73 (1997) 368-378.

[80] Griechische Pachom-Vita *G*1, 95: F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* (SHG 19), Brüssel, 1932, 63,20.

CORRECTIONS TO THE CRITICAL READING OF THE *GOSPEL OF THOMAS*

BY

APRIL D. DECONICK

I have visited recently the Houghton, Bodleian, and British Libraries where I examined P. Oxy. 1, 654, and 655 in preparation for the publication of new companion monographs on the *Gospel of Thomas*.[1] I also ventured to the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo where I studied the full Coptic manuscript. My examination of these manuscripts has led to several critical notes and corrected readings of the Gospel.

1. *P. Oxy. 1.24*

My direct examination of P. Oxy. 1 (= MS Gr. th. e. 7 [P]) at the Bodleian Library has led me to a corrected reading of line 24 on the verso of the fragment. In the standard critical edition of the Greek fragments of the *Gospel of Thomas* by H. Attridge, he offers the reading, Ε[ΙΣΙ]Ν ΑΘΕΟΙ.[2] He

I would like to thank Dr. Bruce Barker-Benfield, Senior Assistant Librarian in the Duke Humfrey's Reading Room of the Bodleian Library, for his kind assistance with the P. Oxy. 1 fragment, and Mm. Kamilia Makîam, the Director of Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, for her generous assistance with the Coptic manuscript. I wish to thank several people who graciously assisted my travel to Egypt and facilitated my application to examine the Coptic manuscript: Dr. Zahi Hawas, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities; Dr. Phillip Halim, Director of the Coptic Museum; Mm. Amira Khattab, Deputy Director of Research and Government Relations for the American Research Center in Egypt; Dr. Gawdat Gabra, former Director of the Coptic Museum. Finally, I am indebted to Illinois Wesleyan University which supported my travel and research with a generous faculty research grant.

[1] A. D. DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas. A History of the Gospel and Its Growth* (London: T & T Clark, 2005) and *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation with commentary and new English translation of the complete Gospel* (London: T & T Clark, 2006).

[2] H. Attridge, "Appendix: The Greek Fragments," in B. Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7 together with XIII,2*, Brit. Lib. OR. 4926(1), and P.Oxy. 1, 654, 655*, v. 1, NHS 20 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989) pp. 96-128.

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states that the first letter to the left of the Θ appears to be one that consisted "of a line sloping from the upper left to the lower right portions of the letter space." He also sees below and to the left of this line the bare trace of a curved stroke. He imagines that this curved stroke could have continued on a diagonal upwards, until it intersected the sloping line. Thus he concludes that this letter is A.[3] This opinion is in conformity with B. Grenfell and A. Hunt's statement that this letter could be A, X, or Λ, although A was preferred.[4]

To the immediate left of this letter, Attridge describes a vertical stroke consistent with H, I, N, Π, Γ, T and Ψ.[5] Attridge favors N. Scholars have agreed, including Attridge, that the letter space to the left of this letter has room for two letters. Attridge's reconstruction, however, shows three letters, although two of them are iotas. Thus, Attridge's reconstruction of the last segment of line 24 follows F. Blass which Grenfell and Hunt accepted: E[ΙΣΙ]Ν ΑΘΕΟΙ.[6]

But Blass and Grenfell and Hunt did not have the Coptic in front of them to aid in their reconstruction. If they had, they would have been concerned that their reconstruction disparages the Greek and Coptic texts since the Coptic reads, ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉ. Why did Attridge, who had the Coptic, render the Greek in such a way that would perpetuate opposite and contentious readings in these manuscripts? The reason for continuing this disparate reconstruction appears to be because the Coptic is nonsense, "Where there are three gods, they are gods." Clearly the Coptic is a corrupted text. Attridge's reconstruction of the Greek makes a case for corruption at the level of Coptic translation where the A-privative was accidentally lost.[7] The problem with this line of reasoning is that the Greek reconstruction is not any more sensible than the Coptic, "Where there are three, they are without gods" or "Where there are three, they are godless." It is noteworthy that even Attridge struggles with this fact, rendering the plural ΑΘΕΟΙ in the singular, "Where there are three, they are without God."[8]

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[3] H. Attridge, "The Original Text of Gos. Thom. Saying 30," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 16 (1979) pp. 155-156.

[4] B.P. Grenfell, and A.S. Hunt, ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ. *Sayings of our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus* (London: Henry Frowde for the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1897) p. 13.

[5] Attridge, "The Original Text," pp. 155-156.

[6] Blass, F., "Das neue Logia-Fragment von Oxyrhynchus," *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (1897) pp. 498-500; Grenfell and Hunt, ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ, p. 13.

[7] Attridge, "The Original Text," pp. 156-157.

[8] Attridge, "Appendix," p. 127.

My own physical examination of this fragment at the Bodleian has made this reconstruction doubtful in my mind, if not impossible. The manuscript in the area in question is eroded, leaving only traces of partial letters. The Θ is clear. In the letter space left of the Θ are traces of ink in a distinct pattern. Visible traces move from the top left corner diagonally to the lower right corner. There is a dot of ink in the lower left corner and what appears to be a trace in the upper right corner. When the ink traces are connected, the only letters they could be according to the hand of the scribe are X or N. To the left of this letter, in the center of the letter space is a strong vertical stroke that fills almost half of the vertical space. Because the stroke appears centered in the space with no trace of a horizonal cross stroke, the letter must be either T or I. What about the letter space to the left of this letter? The manuscript is extremely eroded and fragile here, but the space is indicative of two letters, not three as Attridge's reconstruction has it. Immediately to the left of these two letter spaces are two short horizonal lines in the upper- and mid-letter space.

What reconstruction does this leave us with? Only one, and one consistent with the Coptic, E[IΣ]ⲒⲚ ΘEOI. This suggests that the Greek read, "Where there are three, they are gods." Like the Coptic, it is nonsense. Even the Coptic scribe was confused by it, since he tries to make some sense by interpreting "three" as a specific reference to the "gods." So he adds ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ after ϣⲟⲙⲧ.

But this certainly was not the meaning of the Greek. How do we explain the Greek? Quite easily. It appears that the Greek translation ΘEOI was a mistranslation of a Semitic plural form of "Elohim," perhaps the Aramaic "Elahin." The saying must have read, "Where there are three (people), Elohim is there." Such a saying has full parallels in Jewish literature and belongs to this historical context (cf. *Mekilta, Bahodesh* 11; *Pirke Aboth* 3.2, 6-7; *b. Berkakoth* 6a). The Greek translator was sloppy since he mistook Elohim, the Hebrew name for God, for ΘEOI.

A. Guillaumont proposed this as an explanation for the Coptic manuscript almost fifty years ago in 1958. But it appears not to have been taken seriously given the accepted reconstruction of line 24, even though Guillaumont, J. Fitzmyer and T. Akagi each envisioned the same reconstruction I have set forth in this short note upon my physical examination of the original leaf.[9] My reexamination of the Greek papyrus lends further

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[9] A. Guillaumont, "Sémitisms dans les Logia de Jésus retrouvés à Nag-Hamâdi," *JA* 246 (1958) pp. 114-116; J. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic

credulity to Guillaumont's old insight. It offers a simple solution to a perplexing logion, to its difficult interpretative as well as textual history. Put simply, the Greek reconstruction of the critical reading of the *Gospel of Thomas* P. Oxy. 1.24 should be emended:

Ε[ΙΣ]ΙΝ̣ ΘΕΟΙ

"they are gods"

2. *P. Oxy. 654.8-9*

The British Library houses the Greek fragment which contains the first verses of the Gospel. What was very noticeable to me on first glance at the papyrus is that the fragment is broken in half vertically along the entire center of the page, leaving us with only the first half of the lines. I was able to approximate with confidence that the number of letters in each line was around 30 (33 the upper limit). This means that line 654.8-9, as it has been reconstructed by H. Attridge, is incorrect.[10] As the manuscript stands, lines 8-9 read ΒΗΘΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΗ ΚΑ̣[. . .]ΗΣΕΤΑΙ. Line 8 shows 17 letters or partial letters, leaving room for approximately 13 letters. Attridge's reconstruction, κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἐπάναπα]ήσεται, allows for 18 letters, which appears to me to be a physical impossibility, extending the line to 35 letters.

A more likely reconstruction would be κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα]ήσεται (16 letters) or even κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας πα]ήσεται (13 letters). Even though the former reconstruction is slightly longer (although still physically possible given the space limitations), I prefer it to the latter because the former reading occurs in the variant reading of this saying found in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and recorded by Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* 2.9.45: "One who has marveled will rule, and one who has ruled will rest (ἀναπαήσεται)."

The longer ἐπάναπαήσεται is found in another variant of the same saying recorded by Clement from the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (*Strom.* 5.14.96). Perhaps this variant influenced Attridge's choice. The available space, however, cannot accommodate the prefix ἐπ-. Rather than ἐπάναπα]ήσεται, the critical reading of the Greek version of these lines must have read:

Gospel According to Thomas," in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971) p. 398; T. Akagi, *The Literary Development of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas* (Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1965) p. 299.

[10] Attridge, "Appendix," p. 113.

κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα]ήσεται

And once he is a king, he will rest.

3. *P. Oxy. 654.9*

Following ΛΕΓΕΙ I, the missing part of line 9 of the Greek manuscript has room for up to 14 spaces. This indicates that the Greek text does not agree with the Coptic as H. Attridge's reconstruction of only 6 spaces has it—λέγει Ἰ [η(σοῦ)ς ἐὰν], where ΙΗΣ uses 4 letter spaces.[11]

How the Greek text exactly varied is uncertain to me. Any reconstruction would be purely conjecture since there is no parallel in the Coptic to aid us. But it is certain that the Greek contained at least another word of five to eight letters, perhaps something like αὐτοῖς. So the critical reading should allow for these extra spaces:

Λέγει Ἰ [η(σοῦ)ς . . . ἐὰν]

Jesus said [. . ., "If] etc."

4. *P. Oxy. 654.15*

I have reconstructed the second half of line 654.15, ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν] instead of ἡ βασ[ιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ] because the available space requires it. The broken section of the line has room for 14 to 17 spaces. So the 15-space reconstruction ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν] fills the lacunae more accurately than the shorter 12-space τοῦ θεοῦ, which H. Attridge appears to have adopted from J. Fitzmyer.[12]

The reading "Kingdom of Heaven" is preferred too because "Kingdom of God" as a title appears nowhere in the *Gospel of Thomas*, except the Greek fragment of L. 27. Other variants of the saying in the Manichaean Psalm-Book (160,20-21)—"The Kingdom of Heaven, look, it is inside of us. Look, it is outside of us. If we believe in it, we shall live in it forever" (ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲉ[ⲟⲩ]ⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡ[ⲛ]ⲃ[ⲁⲗ] ⲉⲛⲛⲁⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲏⲧⲥ ⲯⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲏⲉ)—and Hippolytus (*Ref.* 5.7)—"(The Naassene) says (that a happy nature) is the Kingdom of Heaven to be sought for within a man" (τὴν ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν

[11] Attridge, "Appendix," p. 114.

[12] Attridge, "Appendix," p. 114; Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi," p. 521.

οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην)—have "Kingdom of Heaven" as well. This reconstruction is in agreement with the earlier work of O. Hofius and D. Mueller.[13] So P. Oxy. 654.15 should read:

ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν]

"the Kingdom of Heaven"

5. *P. Oxy. 654.25*

I have reconstructed the broken area in line 654.25, ⲡ[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοὶ] instead of π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ] as H. Attridge has reconstructed it.[14] There is only room for 12 letters. So the 15 letters proposed by Attridge looks to me to be implausible. This new reconstruction allows for a simpler reading, with a single καὶ in the final clause instead of a double:

ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται ⲡ[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι] οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [. . .]σιν

"For many who are first will be last, the last will be first, and they [. . .]."

6. *P. Oxy. 654.26-27*

The reconstruction of lines 26-27 of P. Oxy. 654 is difficult given the 10 to 12 spaces available to complete the lacunae—ΚΑΙ[. . .]ΣΙΝ. M. Marcovich's suggestion, [εἰς ἓν καταντήσου]σιν, has been followed by H. Attridge even though it requires an impossible 15 letters to complete the lacunae.[15]

Marcovich cites Ephesians 4:13, John 17:11, 21, 22, and 23 as parallels to this expression in order to give his reconstruction credibility. But careful examination of these texts shows that none of these passages provides a complete parallel to L. 4.4. Ephesians uses the verb as a reference to unity but does not have εἰς ἓν, while John uses the expression εἰς ἓν with a completely different verb.

Given these facts, I think it best to look at other options. I favor O. Hofius' reconstruction, [εἷς γενήσου]σιν. It not only fits the available space, but it also agrees with the Coptic. Forms of **ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲧ** were

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[13] Mueller, D., "Kingdom of Heaven or Kingdom of God?" *VC* 27 (1973) pp. 269-276.

[14] Attridge, "Appendix," p. 115.

[15] M. Marcovich, "Textual Criticism on the *Gospel of Thomas*," *JTS* 20 (1969) pp. 60-61; Attridge, "Appendix," p. 115.

used commonly to translate εἷς, rendering the notion "single person," while ϣⲱⲡⲉ translated γίγνομαι.[16] The text would have read:

[εἷς γενήσου]σιν

"they will become single people."

7. *NHC II,2,39.34*

G. Riley has suggested an alternative reconstruction to B. Layton's critical reading of the damaged portion of NHC II,2,39.34: "then you will come" (ⲧⲟⲧ[ⲉⲧⲉⲧ]ⲛ̣[ⲛ]ⲏ̣ⲩ̣) instead of "then you will see."[17] He defends his reading by saying that it takes into consideration the ink traces and available space he sees on plate 49 of the *Facsimile Edition*, making ⲏ a more probable reading than ⲁ near the end of line 34.[18]

M. Meyer, however, has written a rebuttal to this position, noting that in other photographs, including the negatives and the microfilm in the Nag Hammadi Archive housed in the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont Graduate University, there is no evidence for the horizonal stroke near the end of line 34 which Riley saw in the *Facsimile Edition*. His reexamination of the original fragments in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo several years ago also showed no trace of such a horizonal ink stroke. He concludes that the line Riley saw "is not ink at all but rather an unretouched portion of the black background of the photograph."[19]

I too examined this line carefully in the original Coptic manuscript. There is no evidence of a horizonal stroke such as we can see in the *Facsimile Edition*. The original looks like this:

[16] Crum, 494a and 577b.

[17] G. Riley, "A Note on the Text of *Gospel of Thomas* 37," *HTR* 88 (1995) pp. 179-181; Layton, *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7*, pp. 68-69.

[18] *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Codex 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) p. 49.

[19] M. Meyer, "Seeing or Coming to the Child of the Living One? More on the *Gospel of Thomas* Saying 37," *HTR* 91 (1998) pp. 413-416.

In order to record and publish this finding, I asked the curator to take a photograph of this section of the manuscript. When I returned to pick up the photograph and continue my examination of the papyri, I was shocked to see the same dark horizonal line appear in my photograph that is visible in the *Facsimile.*

It immediately occurred to me that the error might be the result of a shadow line cast by the thickness of the papyri and the unique break line on the edge of the manuscript. So I asked for permission to have a second photograph taken with the manuscript leaf turned upside down. When this was done, the dark line disappeared, reproducing more faithfully the original ink marks on the manuscript itself.

So, by accident, I have discovered why the *Facsimile* is in error. The shadow line from the thickness of the papyrus was enough to create a dark line in the *Facsimile* photo. The error was an illusion of photography and light.

I have made a very careful reconstruction of the line based on the original ink marks. ⲚⲀϒ remains the best reconstruction.

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THE INTERNATIONAL MARIOLOGY PROJECT: A CASE-STUDY OF AUGUSTINE'S LETTERS*

BY

PAULINE ALLEN

In memoriam Andreas Spira † 18.5.04 Cornelis Datema † 29.5.04

ABSTRACT: This study of the mariology of the letters of Augustine is part of an international project investigating the development of the cult of Mary before 431. The study argues that the works of authors before this date need to be considered individually, and that negative, ambiguous, or seemingly contradictory findings, as well as data in which Mary figures abundantly, are all valid. The scant role assigned to Mary in Augustine's letters, where she is mostly a credal commodity, stands in stark contrast to the high mariology found in some of his other works, indicating that genre affects the data. An aggregate score of high mariology in the one author, Augustine in this case, does not mean that this score holds true for all his works. A low score must be also taken into serious consideration, and indeed it can be just as important in understanding the development of the cult of Mary before 431.

The International Mariology Project, which at present involves some fifteen scholars, came into being four years ago to remedy the dearth of scholarly studies into the development of the cult of Mary before 431. In order to begin charting this development, reliably dated Greek, Latin, and Syriac literary materials are being investigated, with provision for the inclusion of materials from other languages and from art and architecture. A customised database is being used to record the texts which contain mention of or allusion to Mary, their author, date, provenance, genre, and the details of the edition(s) used. A search function in the original language will be available.

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* The writing of this article was made possible by funding from the Australian Research Council and Australian Catholic University. An embryonic version of it was first presented at the inaugural meeting of the Western Pacific Rim Patristics Society at the University of the Sacred Heart Tokyo in September 2004 and appeared as a web-based version at www.cecs.acu.edu.au (see under WPRPS).

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The project was given impetus by a meeting of several participants during the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies at Oxford in August 2003, at which a workshop on early mariology also took place. The four papers presented there gave an early indication of the wide-ranging and disparate mariological evidence which has to be dealt with. Leena Mari Peltomaa's contribution, "Towards the Origins of the Cult of Mary", which arose from her book on the Akathistos hymn,[1] constituted a manifesto for the whole project. In it she argued that an apparent scholarly consensus that there is a connection between pagan goddesses, in particular fertility goddesses and Mary,[2] was a unsatisfactory as an explanation of the origins of the marian cult. Pointing out that the lack of scholarly work on these origins is due as much to Catholic enthusiasm for Mary as to Protestant disinterest in her, Peltomaa argued further that the course taken by research into the development of the marian cult was determined in the nineteenth century by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule and its method for the comparative study of religions. This method is also unsatisfactory in answering the questions posed by early mariological material. The result is that, as Peltomaa concluded, besides articles and studies with limited scope, the outdated works of Hilda Graef and Walter Delius (both published in 1963)[3] are "practically the only ones that attempt to outline the early history of Marian devotion in the patristic tradition".

The three other papers in the Oxford workshop were devoted to the early mariology found in authors or groups of authors. Cornelia Horn, in her paper, "Amazement of the Daughters of the Hebrews: Mary in Aphrahat, Ephrem, and Other Early Syriac Theologians", exposed the abundance of marian references and the richness of poetical expressions in the early Syriac tradition.[4] It is paradoxical, however, that despite such impressive evidence we are still uninformed about whether an early marian cult

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[1] *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (The Medieval Mediterranean, vol. 35) (Leiden-Boston-Cologne 2001). I am grateful to Dr Peltomaa for allowing me to use her unpublished paper in this study.

[2] The work of S. Benko, *The Virgin Goddess. Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology* (Studies in the History of Religion LIX) (Leiden-New York-Cologne 1993), is a prominent example of this approach.

[3] H. Graef, *Mary. A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols (New York 1963); *Maria. Eine Geschichte der Lehre und Verehrung* (Fribourg-Basel-Vienna 1964); and W. Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung* (Munich-Basel 1963).

[4] Dr Horn's paper will be published in two parts: The Virgin and the Perfect Virgin: Traces of Early Eastern Mariology in the *Odes of Solomon*, and Frühsyrische Mariologie:

flourished among Syriac-speakers, or not.[5] For her part, Antonia Atanassova revealed in her paper on "Cyril of Alexandria and his Contribution to Mariology" that, although at the beginning of the fifth century the marian cult was not developed in Egypt, it was certainly existent. In the final paper, "References to Mary in the Writings of Cyprian of Carthage", Geoffrey Dunn concluded that in the mid-third century there was no evidence for the practice of a marian cult in North Africa. In presenting this negative evidence, he noted that it "may well be indicative of a local situation, the peculiarity of which will become evident as more and more evidence from elsewhere in the Mediterranean is investigated".[6] The evidence assembled by the speakers on Cyprian, the early Syriac writers, and Cyril demonstrates that in the project authors and their works need to be studied on a case-by-case basis, and that negative, ambiguous, or seemingly contradictory findings, as well as data in which Mary figures abundantly, all have an important role to play.

It is in this context that Geoffrey Dunn and I have been investigating the development of the cult of Mary in North Africa on the basis of the literary evidence, a corpus in which Augustine's writings loom large. As I have already indicated, because the project is concerned with how the marian cult came into being, both positive and negative data are important, and a certain punctiliousness about dating has to be observed. We have approached the material on the basis of genre rather than of chronology, although this does not pre-empt other approaches being taken for different ancient authors, particularly those whose *corpora* are less extensive. In the case-study which follows I have confined myself to mariological evidence in Augustine's letters properly speaking, and have not considered those works like *Contra Secundum Manichaeum* (CPL 325) or *Epistula ad Catholicos de secta Donatistarum* (CPL 334), which resemble tractates and will be dealt with at a later stage.[7] Just as most writers on Augustine's views on women, sex, marriage, and on terms such as *concupiscentia* do not systematically include Mary

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Maria und ihre Schwestern im Werk Aphrahats des Persischen Weisen, to appear in *Syriaca* III, ed. M. Tamcke. I am grateful to her for allowing me to use both parts before their publication.

[5] This question is being investigated by a group of scholars, of whom Dr Horn is one, who are studying Syriac mariology from its beginnings to the early Islamic period.

[6] This paper will be published in *Studia Patristica.*

[7] On the difficulty of distinguishing between letters and tractates, even for Augustine, see M. Zelzer, Die Briefliteratur. Kommunikation durch Briefe: Ein Gespräch mit

in their deliberations,[8] I shall avoid those topics as far as possible and, in the context of the International Mariology Project, I shall concentrate on the picture of Mary which emerges from the letters.

Status quaestionis

In his handbook, *S. Agostino d'Ippona. La Vergine Maria* (Milan [2]1993), Michele Pellegrino chose but one passage from Augustine's letters to illustrate the mariology of the bishop of Hippo.[9] For his part, in his survey of marian Patristic texts Bertrand Buby wrote:

> His [sc. Augustine's] marian teaching and devotion are the first marian synthesis that is futuristic and applicable to the vibrant, ongoing tradition, and theological developments of the Church.[10]

Yet Buby refers not once to Augustine's letters. While it is true that the new letters which Johannes Divjak discovered in 1981 contain not a single reference to Mary, their subject-matter does not include passages where she

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Abwesenden, *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* 4 (1997) 321-353 at 322 and 347. Cf. also the discussions of Letters 140,187, and 199 below.

[8] This statement is meant as an observation, and not as a criticism of works such as the following: T.J. van Bavel, Augustine's View on Women, *Augustiniana* 39 (1989) 5-53 (originally Augustinus' Denken over de Vrouw, *Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 48 (1987) 362-396); E.A. Matter, Christ, God and Woman in the Thought of St Augustine, in R. Dodaro–G. Lawless (ed.), *Augustine and His Critics. Essays in Honour of Gerald Bonner* (London-New York 2000) 164-175; M. Lamberigts, A Critical Evaluation of Critiques of Augustine's View of Sexuality, in ibid. 176-197; C.P. Mayer, *Die Frau und ihre Gottebenbildlichkeit bei Augustin. Zur Veröffentlichung einer längst fälligen, umfassenden und gründlichen Studie über ein vielerörtertes Thema, Augustiniana* 54 (2004) 359-378. For an exceptional approach see K. Power, *Veiled Desire: Augustine's Writing on Women* (London 1995), esp. 171-211 on Mary. D.G. Hunter, Helvidius, Jovinian, and the Virginity of Mary in Late Fourth-century Rome, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1993) 47-71 has useful information on views of Mary before Augustine.

[9] For an overview of the bibliography on mariology in Augustine see F. Hofmann (C. Mayer), art. Augustinus, in R. Bäumer–L. Scheffczyk (ed.), *Marienlexikon*, vol. 1 (Erzabtei St Ottilien 1988) 294-298 at 298; G.D. Dunn, Mary in the Presbyteral Homilies of Augustine of Hippo, in B. Neil/G.D. Dunn/L. Cross (ed.), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 3, *Liturgy and Life* (Sydney 2003) 83 n. 3, adding M.A. Tilley, Mary in Roman Africa: Evidence for her Cultus, paper presented at the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 21 August 2003 (with lit.); also G.D. Dunn, Mary in Augustine's Christmas Homilies, forthcoming.

[10] *Mary of Galilee*, vol. 3, *The Marian Heritage of the Early Church* (New York 1996) 171.

might conceivably have been mentioned as an *exemplum*, and was not.[11] Daniel Doyle, despite being an expert on Augustine's letters, was not able to cite any of them in a recent encyclopedia article on "Mary, the Mother of God" in Augustine.[12] The anthology of marian texts from the first millennium directed by Luigi Gambero contains only six passages from Augustine's letters, as opposed to forty-eight from the sermons.[13] Mary is nonetheless mentioned or alluded to in Augustine's Letters 82, 102, 130, 137, 138, 140, 143, 147, 149, 153, 162, 186, 187, 190, 199, 205, 236, 238, 239 and 243, in a variety of contexts and in varying degrees of elaboration which deserve better attention. Conversely, she does not figure in letters where one might expect that she could well have appeared. It seems *prima facie* that there may be a problem here with regard to the place which Augustine's letters occupy within his overall mariology, a problem that cannot be considered without a dispassionate consideration of all of the works of the bishop of Hippo, which is presently underway.[14] As a part of that large enterprise, this paper will focus on both the positive and negative mariological evidence of the letters.

Unlike that of the homilies, the chronology of most of the letters can be determined with a reasonable degree of accuracy, and they will therefore be arranged chronologically as far as possible, based chiefly on the work of Perler/Maier, Parsons, Carrozzi, Brown, Eno, Divjak, and the editors of the CSEL edition (taken over by NBA).[15] For the sake of clarity, I have divided the letters along chronological lines into eight groups.

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[11] For a select bibliography on Augustine's letters see M. Pellegrino, introduction to *Sant'Agostino. Le Lettere I/1, Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana* (NBA) XXI/1 (Rome 1969, ²1992); R.B. Eno, art. Epistulae, in A. Fitzgerald et al. (ed.), *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids MI 1999) 298-310; D.E. Doyle, *The Bishop as Disciplinarian in the Letters of St. Augustine* (Patristic Studies 4) (New York etc. 2002). On the text of the Divjak letters see Bibliothèque Augustinienne 46B, Paris 1987 (Letters 1*-29*); for studies see *Les lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak*, Communications présentées au Colloque des 20 et 21 septembre 1982 (Études Augustiniennes) (Paris 1983).

[12] Art. Mary, Mother of God, in *Augustine Through the Ages*, 542-545. With regard to mariology, Doyle, however, maintains that "Augustine reveals a sophisticated and balanced appreciation for the unique role played by Mary in salvation history . . ." (p. 542).

[13] *Testi Mariani del Primo Millennio*, vol. III *Padri e altri autori latini* (Rome 1990) 333-337 (letters); 355-377 (sermons).

[14] See the papers on Augustine's sermons by Geoffrey Dunn (n. 9) above.

[15] O. Perler/L. Maier, *Les voyages de Saint Augustin* (Études Augustiniennes) (Paris 1969) 445; Sr W. Parsons, trans., *Saint Augustine. Letters*, 5 vols (Fathers of the Church series) (New York 1951-1956); L. Carrozzi, completing M. Pellegrino, introduction to *Le Lettere* (as in n. 11), CXI-CXVII; P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo. A Biography. A New Edition with an*

Group 1

Letters 11 and 12, dating from the period 388/391,[16] deal with trinitarian perspectives of the incarnation and provide negative evidence for Augustine's mariology. The first of these two letters is addressed to his friend Nebridius,[17] who has asked why the Son is said to have taken on human nature, whereas the three persons are said to perform all acts in common. Augustine's reply indicates his dilemma: denying the inseparability of the Trinity could suggest that the entire Trinity took on human nature.

> This huge question is so difficult and concerns so important a matter that it is not possible here to state it with sufficient clarity nor to prove it solidly.[18]

This was not the place for Augustine to make a difficulty more difficult by speaking of the role of Mary in the incarnation. The short Letter 12, perhaps a fragment, also addressed to Nebridius, goes no further in elucidating the problem.

Group 2

The next set of letters to be considered, 82 and 239, dates from the period 404/5.[19] The first of these is addressed to Jerome,[20] who had stated

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Epilogue (Berkeley-Los Angeles 2000); R.B. Eno, art. Epistulae (as in n. 11), 298-310 (largely echoing Carrozzi); J. Divjak, art. Epistulae, in C. Mayer (ed.), *Augustinus-Lexikon*, Bd. 2 (Basel 1996-2002) cols 893-1057, esp. cols 1027-1036. Since there are discrepancies between Carrozzi and NBA, both will be referred to where appropriate.

[16] Dating: both letters are assigned to 388/390 by Perler/Maier, 432-433; to 388/391 by Carrozzi, CXI and Eno, 299; to c. 389 by Parsons, I, 25 and 30; to 387/388 by Divjak, col. 1028; Letter 12 was "*scripta inter c. 389 et a. 391*" according to NBA I/1,58.

[17] On Nebridius see A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas-empire*, vol. 1. *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303-533)* (Paris 1982) 774-776; F. Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner des Augustinus von Hippo. Prosopographische, sozial- und ideologiegeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bochumer historische Studien, Alte Geschichte Nr. 119) (Bochum 1993) 9-10 and Katalog 36-37.

[18] Letter 11,2; NBA I/1,52: "Haec est plenissima quaestio ita difficilis, et de re tam magna, ut nec sententia hic satis expedita, nec eius probatio satis secura esse possit." Trans. R. Teske, *The Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century*, Letters 1-99, II/1 (Hyde Park, NY 2001) 36. Vol. 2 of Teske's translation of the Letters 100-155 (II/2) appeared in 2003, vol. 3, Letters 156-210 (II/3) in 2004, and vol. 4, Letters 156-210, 1*-29* (II/4) in 2005.

[19] Dating: Letter 82 is dated to 404/405 by Carrozzi, CXII and Eno, 300; to 405 by Parsons, I, 390. Letter 239 is dated to c. 404 by Carrozzi, CXV and Eno, 304; no comment from Parsons; a ? by Divjak, col. 1029.

[20] See Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 70-72 and Katalog 27-28.

that Christian converts from Judaism were right to continue observing the Law as a pretence.[21] In disagreement with him, Augustine is at pains to show that the first Christians, indeed Christ himself, did not simply observe the Law as a pretence, and in this context he makes the claim that Jesus was not circumcised by his parents only as a pretence.[22] The reference to Jesus's parents is purely biblical. The reference to Mary in Letter 239, which is addressed to the Arian *comes*, Pascentius,[23] is conversely very pointed. There was a reason for this. Augustine and Pascentius had had a series of debates on the Nicene Creed and the *homoousios* formula, in the course of which the argument had become so heated that it was decided that both parties should bring secretaries to keep a true record of what was said (Letter 238). However, Pascentius's secretaries failed to appear, and, according to the opening of Letter 239, the *comes* subsequently stated that he had declared his belief to Augustine, who had refused to declare his belief in return.[24] Augustine complains of his opponent's confession of faith in Father, Son, and Spirit:

> This is not your belief, it is the belief of both of us; provided you add that the Virgin Mary brought forth this same Son of God, Jesus Christ, which we both believe.[25]

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[21] Jerome's letter is preserved as Letter 75 in the collection of Augustine's letters. On this exchange between the two men see R. Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal. 2,11-14* (VigChr Suppl. 21) (Leiden-New York-Cologne 1994); A. Fürst, *Augustinus Briefwechsel mit Hieronymus* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergünzungsband 29) (Münster 1999) with lit. and overview of the correspondence at p. 108. For introduction and English translation see C. White, *The Correspondence (394-419) between Jerome and Augustine* (Lewiston, NY-Queenstown-Lampeter 1990); for introduction and German translation see A. Fürst, *Augustinus & Hieronymus. Epistulae mutuae* (Fontes Christiani 41) (Turnhout 2002).

[22] Letter 82,2,18; NBA I/2,694: "Non tamen arbitror ipsum dominum fallaciter a parentibus circumcisum."

[23] On whom see Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 827-829; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 102-103 and Katalog 40.

[24] Letter 239; NBA III,802: "Si dicis te mihi dixisse fidem tuam, et me tibi noluisse dicere fidem meam, quod te audio non tacere, obsecro quam utrumque sit falsum." On the entire exchange between the two men see W.A. Sumruld, *Augustine and the Arians. The Bishop of Hippo's Encounters with Ulfian Arianism* (London-Toronto 1994) 78-84, who does not, however, refer to the (scant?) role of Mary in the dispute.

[25] Letter 239; NBA III,802: "Haec fides non est tua, sed utriusque nostrum; quemadmodum si adiungeres quod eumdem Filium Dei Iesum Christum etiam Maria virgo peperit, quod pariter credimus."

The reference to Mary here is thus a credal statement made to reinforce the *homoousios* formula of Nicaea and to emphasize the true human nature of Jesus rather than the oneness of nature with the Father.

Group 3

The next two letters to be considered, 102 and 120, were written between 406 and 412. Letter 102, dating from between 406 and 412,[26] is addressed to Augustine's follow-priest, Deogratias,[27] and was accompanied by the short work, *Quaestiones expositae contra paganos*. In the second question, answering the pagan criticism that Christianity was late in coming (cf. Gal 4:4), Augustine stresses the continuity between the creative and salvific work of the Father and the Son, the later who "revealed himself to mortals in the flesh that he took from the Virgin".[28] While the tone of this section of the letter is credal and also biblical (the God of the Old Testament brought forth the Hebrew people), this phrase does situate Mary in the context of salvation history and makes her the guarantee of the true humanity of Jesus. In the sixth question, in the course of responding to the pagan mockery of the story of Jonah's three days in the belly of the whale, Augustine resorts to Jonah 4:6, where it is said that a worm came in the morning and gnawed at the gourd-plant until it dried up. Augustine is inclined to see Christ as this worm, because he caused the old dispensation to fade by opening his mouth with the Gospel message. This leads him on to Ps 22:7, "I am a worm and no man", which is explained as follows:

> He is a worm on account of the lowliness of the flesh, perhaps also on account of his birth from a virgin. For this creature is usually generated from flesh or any other earthly stuff without any sexual union. He is a worm of the morning because he rose at dawn.[29]

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[26] Dating: 406-412 (Carrozzi, CXIII; NBA I/2,950); 409 (Parsons, II,148); near 409 (Eno, 301); 409 (Divjak, col. 1029).

[27] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 271-273; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 57 and Katalog 19.

[28] Letter 102,11; NBA I/2,962: "se in carne de virgine accepta mortalibus mortaliter demonstravit". Trans. Teske, II/2, 26.

[29] Letter 102,36: NBA I/2,990: "Vermis est propter humilitatem carnis; fortassis etiam propter virginis partum. Nam hoc animal plerumque de carne, vel de quacumque re terrena, sine ullo concubitu nascitur. Matutinus est, quia diluculo resurrexit." Trans. Teske, II/2, 38.

The parthenogenesis of the worm as an *exemplum* of the fatherless conception of Christ is found elsewhere in Augustine's letters, in his correspondence with Volusian and Evodius in particular, which will be discussed below. In *de bono coniugali*, written some years earlier,[30] it is rather the self-procreation of bees that is used as the *exemplum*.[31] In any case, it is Christ's virginal birth, not the role of Mary, that is Augustine's focus in Letter 102.

Letter 120, written c. 410[32] and addressed to the layman Consentius in reply to the latter's letter (Letter 119) on doctrinal questions,[33] provides a negative example of Augustine's mariology, for here it is the Mary of the Johannine account (Mary Magdalen) who is at the tomb of the risen Christ, not Mary his mother, who is said to symbolise the church.[34]

Group 4

The next set of letters which can be arranged chronologically (AD 411-413/4) and pertain to Augustine's mariology comprises 130, 137, 138, 140, 143, and 147.[35] The first of these is a letter of consolation addressed to the

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[30] On the dating of this treatise to 401 see Perler/Maier, 445, and Brown, 178.

[31] *De bono coniugali* 2,2; NBA VII/1, 10. Despite this cross-reference and others in this paper, in general I am trying to avoid the "parallelomania" among scholars of Augustine's writings which we have been cautioned against by G. Lawless, Augustine and his Critics, in J.T. Lienhard/E.C. Muller – R.J. Teske (ed.), *Augustine. Presbyter Factus Sum* (Collectanea Augustiniana) (New York etc. 1993) 4.

[32] Carrozzi, CXIII and Eno, 301 give no date; Parsons, II, 300 and NBA II/2,129 attribute the letter to c. 410; Divjak, col. 1032, to "410?".

[33] See Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 94-95 and Katalog 17.

[34] Letter 120,15: NBA II/2,1206: "[Maria] in qua figurata Ecclesia est". Elsewhere it is Mary, the sister of Martha, who is said to prefigure the church: see A.-M. La Bonnardière, Les deux vies Marthe et Marie, in eadem (ed.), *Saint Augustine et la Bible* (Bible de Tous les Temps, vol. 3) (Paris 1986) 411-425, esp. 419-420.

[35] Dating: Letter 130 is dated to after 411 by Carrozzi, CXIII and Eno, 301, to "*paulo post a. 411*" by NBA II,72; to c. 412 by Parsons, II, 376; to 411/412 by Divjak, col. 1032. Letters 137 and 138 are dated to 411/412 by Carrozzi, CXIII, Eno, 302, Divjak, col. 1032, and NBA II,135 and 142; to 412 by Parsons, III, 18 and 53; and to spring 412 by S. Lancel, *Saint Augustine*, ET A. Nevill (London 2002) 215, 314-318, 395. Letter 140 is dated to 411/412 by Carrozzi, CXIII and Eno, 302, to winter 411/412 by Perler/Maier, 458-459, and to 412 by Parsons, III, 58, Brown, 280, and Divjak, col. 1032. Letter 143 is dated tentatively to 412 by Carrozzi, CXIII, Eno, 302, and NBA II,330, to 412 by Perler/Meier, 458-459 and Parsons, III, 170; and to 411/412 by Divjak, col. 1032. Letter 147 is dated to 413/414 by Carrozzi, CXIII, to c. 413/414 by NBA II,366, to 413 by Parsons, III, 150, Brown, 280, and Divjak, col. 1032; and to the first half of February 413 by Perler/Maier, 460-461.

rich widow, Anicia Proba Faltonia,[36] who had been forced to flee the Vandals and to go to Africa. Proba had been widowed for some time: Augustine is writing to console her not on her widowhood but on her refugee status. The two *exempla* held up to her are Anna, the mother of Samuel, and Anna, the widow in Luke 2: 37—but not Mary, the mother of Christ. This is no doubt because the chief topic of the letter is prayer. In fact, Letter 130 has been drawn on extensively by scholars concerned with Augustine's views on prayer.[37] In the same vein as 1 Timothy 5:5 the bishop writes:

> We can understand quite well how a widow should more than others have time for prayer from that fact that widows were chosen to give all of us an example in order to exhort us to take up the pursuit of prayer.[38]

Since there was no evidence for Mary's widowhood and the focus is on her virginity and her motherhood, she was not a suitable *exemplum* in this case. Similarly in *de bono viduitatis* Augustine tell the addressee Juliana, a widow and Proba's daughter-in-law, that, while she prays like the widowed Anna (Lk 2:37), she will see her daughter Demetrias become a virgin like Mary.[39]

Letter 137 was written in reply to the christological queries which the pagan aristocrat Volusian had expressed in Letter 136,[40] queries which had been raised by members of Volusian's philosophically-minded discussion group, some of whom had heard reports of Augustine's Christmas Sermon 186. There the bishop of Hippo had exegeted Philippians 2:6-8, Romans 1:1-3, and Galatians 4:4 in order to prove that it was the Son of God himself who was born and not another.[41] In this letter Augustine recapitulates the queries from the group:

> You ask, therefore, whether the Lord and ruler of the world filled the body of an inviolate woman, whether she endured those long annoyances over ten months, and whether, though a virgin, she nonetheless had the child in the

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[36] See Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 80-81 and Katalog 43-44.

[37] Literature in Divjak, cols 1053-1054.

[38] Letter 130,16,29; NBA II,106: "Quam ergo prae ceteris viduae debent vacare orationibus, satis hinc intellegi potest, quod omnibus ad suscipiendum orandi studium de viduis propositum est exhortationis exemplum." Trans. Teske, II/2, 198.

[39] *De bono viduitatis* 16,20; NBA VII/1,196: "dum enim tu oras sicut Anna, facta est illa quod Maria".

[40] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 1228; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 124-125 and Katalog 53.

[41] See further G.D. Dunn, Mary in Augustine's Christmas Homilies.

> ordinary manner of giving birth and whether after this her virginity remained intact.[42]

Part of Augustine's answer is an argument which he uses elsewhere regarding the virgin birth, namely that if an omnipotent God can create the universe, we should not be surprised that he assumed a body from the virgin without destroying his immortality.[43] There follows a reasoning also found elsewhere: it was the same divine power which produced the child from the virgin's inviolate womb as that which brought his body through closed doors (cf. Jn 20: 19, 26).[44] Augustine's focus is on demonstrating that Christ is both perfectly divine and perfectly human, the inference is that Mary was a virgin *in partu*, and there is no discussion of whether her virginity remained intact *post partum*.[45]

The next letter in the group under consideration, Letter 138 to Marcellinus, tribune and notary of Africa,[46] contains at the end a refutation of the claim that the Old Testament prophets were akin to magicians. This is rejected by Augustine on the grounds that the prophets' accurate foretelling of the coming of Christ in flesh taken from the virgin and in his divinity surpasses any magical trick.[47] The reference to the virgin is thus purely incidental.

Letter 140, so long that in *Retractationes* 2,6 Augustine described it as a book,[48] is addressed to the Carthaginian catechumen Honoratus, an old Manichaean friend,[49] and was written at the beginning of the Pelagian debate. Here the grace that was hidden in the Old Testament is seen as

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[42] Letter 137,1,2; NBA II,144: "Quaeris igitur: 'Utrum mundi Dominus et rector intemeratae feminae corpus impleverit; pertulerit decem mensium longa illa fastidia mater, et tamen virgo enixa sit solemnitate pariendi, et post haec virginitas inviolate permanserit . . .'". Trans. Teske, II/1, 213.

[43] Letter 137,2,6; NBA II,148. Similar arguments in *Sermo* 189; NBA IV/1,30-35, passim; *Sermo* 190,2,2; ibid., 38. In *Sermo* 184,1; NBA XXXII/1, 7, the virgin mother is even said to be the proof of the omnipotence of God the Father.

[44] Letter 137,3,8; NBA II,150-152. Similar arguments in e.g. *de civ. Dei* 22,8; NBA V/3,344; *Sermo* 247,2; NBA XXXII/2,710.

[45] On this distinction see Dunn, Mary in Augustine's Christmas Homilies.

[46] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 671-688; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 112-113 and Katalog 33-34.

[47] Letter 138,4,20; NBA II,194.

[48] On the distinction between letter and book cf. n. 7 above.

[49] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 564-565; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 78-79 and Katalog 29-30; I. Bochet, Honoratus: le destinaire de la Lettre 140 est-il l'ancien ami manichéen d'Augustin?, *Studia Patristica* 38 (2001) 8-15.

revealing the Son, born of a woman (who is unnamed, as in Galatians 4:4).[50] A little further on, the expression "words of my sins" (Ps 22: 2) is said to have been spoken by Christ in the person of his body, the church:

> [H]e speaks these words in the person of the weakness of sinful flesh, which he applied to that flesh which he assumed from the Virgin, *the likeness of sinful flesh* (Rom 8:3); the bridegroom speaks these words in the person of his bride because he united her to himself in a certain way . . . we understand the bridegroom and the bride to be Christ and the Church.[51]

Here the humanity of Mary, who is again unnamed, is presented as the enabling factor of the union between Christ and his church, which is visible and human.[52] In two passages Christ is said to have been announced by Psalm 22:7 as "a worm and no man". In 8,22 this is said to have occurred because the worm is born from the flesh without intercourse, just as Christ was born from the virgin; hence the worm refers to Christ, whereas "no man" refers to Adam. In 8,23 the distinction between Christ and Adam is repeated without reference to Mary. Also to be noted is that there is no mention of Eve. In 12,31 Augustine asks whether the Psalm text, *For you took me out of the womb* (Ps 22:10), signifies that the child-bearing of the virgin occurred "servata virginitatis integritate mirabili".[53] His previous statement about Christ as the bridegroom and the church as the bride is revised later in the letter on the basis of Matthew 25:1, where the ten virgins go out to meet the groom and the bride: the groom is, he says, the Son of God, but the bride could be either the body which he took from the virgin, or else the church.

There are three references to Mary in the remaining two letters in this group. The remark at the end of Letter 143,12, which is also addressed to Marcellinus, tribune and notary of Africa,[54] concerning the fact that the

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[50] Letter 140,3,6; NBA II,210.

[51] Letter 140,6,18; NBA II,224: "Haec ex persona sui corporis Christus dicit, quod est Ecclesia. Haec ex persona dicit infirmitatis carnis peccati, quam transfiguravit in eam quam sumpsit ex Virgine, similitudinem carnis peccati. Haec Sponsus ex persona sponsae loquitur, quia univit eam sibi quodam modo . . . sponsum et sponsam Christum intellegimus et Ecclesiam."

[52] On the image of Christ and church as groom and bride see also *Sermo* 147A,2; NBA XXXI/1,414; *Sermo* 191,3; NBA XXXII/1,46; *Sermo* 372,2 (authenticity disputed); NBA XXXIV,494.

[53] NBA II,240.

[54] On whom see above, n. 43. Letter 143 is best known for its discussion of the origin of the soul. See R.J. O'Connell, The Origin of the Soul in Saint Augustine's Letter 143, *REAug* 28 (1982) 239-252.

singularity of the virginity of the "holy Mary" after the birth does not render it impossible, is noteworthy because here for once she is named. Letter 147, addressed to the African laywoman Paulina, contains in part a discussion of Ambrose's *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, where Arians and Photinians are rejected. Before this section, however, Augustine argues that, simply because we have not witnessed events, this does not mean that they did not occur or are not true. Adam was created without parents, just as Christ was born of a virgin.[55] Later in the letter, dealing with the vision of God and using Ambrose, Augustine challenges the Arians and Photinians to stop claiming that Christ's beginning occurred within the virgin, because the Son was already seen in the Old Testament.[56]

Group 5

The next set of letters containing mariological data, 149, 153 and 162, date from 413/414-415.[57] Letter 121 in the collection of Augustine's letters is written by Paulinus of Nola,[58] most likely in 413, and concerns several biblical topics on which he asks Augustine's opinion. One of these was the meaning of the words of Simeon in Luke 2:35: *And a sword shall pierce your soul.* Paulinus notes, in a long and beautiful mariological passage, that nowhere is the martyrdom of Mary recorded, and asks whether we are to understand the words of Luke in a figurative sense as referring to her maternal pains as she witnessed the suffering of her son.[59] As luck would have it, Augustine's more extensive reply to this query seems not to have reached Nola before he wrote Letter 149,[60] and consequently his reply on this topic now is very brief. He says that he agrees with Paulinus and that the sword

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[55] Letter 147,1,6; NBA II,372.

[56] Letter 147,6,18; NBA II,384.

[57] Dating: Letter 149 is dated to end/late 415 by Carrozzi, CXIV, Eno, 302, and NBA II,456; to 414 by Parsons, III, 239; to the end of 416 by Teske, II, 360; to 414-416 by Divjak, col. 1032. Letter 153 is dated to 413/414 by Carrozzi, CXIV, Eno, 302, NBA II,522, and Divjak, col. 1032; and to 414 by Parsons, III, 281. Letter 162 is dated to 414/415 by Carrozzi, CXIV, NBA II,670, Eno, 302, and Divjak, col. 1032; to c. 414 by Parsons, III, 374.

[58] In general on Paulinus's correspondence see now S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola: Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen 2002).

[59] Letter 121,3,17-18; NBA I/2,1230-1236.

[60] Letter 149,3,33; NBA II,492: "in alia epistola cuius exemplum etiam modo misi, dixi quid mihi videatur . . .".

of which Simeon spoke, which was in the mouth of Christ's persecutors, wounded his mother's heart.[61]

Letter 153, addressed to Macedonius,[62] vicar of Africa, deals with the question of bishops interceding on behalf of guilty persons. As an example of clemency, the act of Joseph (Matt 1:18-20), "to whom the virgin Mary, the Lord's mother, was betrothed", in not rejecting her when he discovered that she was pregnant, is cited. Again to be noted is that Mary is named; this was natural enough, however, because she is named in Matthew 1:18 and 20.

Letters 161-164 are an exchange between the bishop of Hippo and the bishop of Uzalis, Evodius.[63] In Letter 161 Evodius goes back to Augustine's letter to Volusian (Letter 137), where the wonder of Christ's conception and birth was attributed to divine power, and points to instances of parthenogenesis in nature. In Letter 137 the bishop of Hippo had said of Christ's conception and birth: "If a reason is asked for, it will not be miraculous; if an example is demanded, it will not be singular".[64] Rather testily Augustine now replies in Letter 162 that, while the worm comes into existence in the apple and the spider makes a web with its body still intact, "only Christ was born of a virgin".[65]

Group 6

We come now to consider Letters 186, 187, 190, 199, and 205, seemingly composed between 417 and 420,[66] thus from a decisive phase in the

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[61] Ibid. Cf. *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 104,13; NBA XXVII,801-803. Both Paulinus and Augustine echo Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 2,61; CSEL 32/4, 74.

[62] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 659-661; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 107-108 and Katalog 33.

[63] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 366-373; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 26-27 and Katalog 23.

[64] Letter 137,2,8; NBA II,152: "Hic si ratio quaeritur, non erit mirabile; si exemplum poscitur, non erit singulare." Trans. Teske, II/2, 217.

[65] Letter 162,7: NBA II 676: "solus Christus natus est ex virgine".

[66] Dating: Letter 186 is dated to April-August 417 by Carrozzi, CXIV and Eno, 303, by NBA III,78 to "*ca. medium a. 417*", by Parsons, IV, 191 to mid-417, and by Divjak, col. 1033. Letter 187 is dated to summer 417 by Carrozzi, CXIV, Perler/Maier, 464-465, and Eno, 303; to "*sub medium a. 417*" by NBA III,130 and Parsons, IV, 221; to 417 by Divjak, col. 1033. Letter 190 is dated by Carrozzi, CXIV, *NBA* III, 202, and Eno, 303 to summer-autumn 418, and by Parsons IV, 271, Perler/Maier, 468-469, and Divjak, col. 1033 to 418. Letter 199 is dated to c. 419 by Parsons, IV, 356, and to 418-420 by

Pelagian controversy to after the condemnation of Pelagius.[67] The last two letters in this group, however, betray little or no evidence of the controversy. The position of Pelagius, as Augustine understood it, left open the possibility of human sinlessness, with no recourse to intervening divine grace, whereas the bishop of Hippo stressed the universality of sin transmitted through Adam, and the existence of assisting grace. In this altercation, Augustine's perspective on the position of Mary, who, although human and thereby the guarantee of her son's humanity, gave birth to a sinless Jesus, was not a simple one. Although in *de natura et gratia* 36,42, written in 415,[68] he had more or less agreed that Mary was the only human being who could be called sinless, in the letters under consideration in this section we do not find much space devoted to her at all, although in his other works against Pelagianism the question of sex and gender within the created order is an important one.[69] A prominent concern on Augustine's part in this debate, which was not reciprocated on the part of the Pelagians, was the status of the unborn, the newly born, and of unbaptised children, all of whom carried the sin of Adam.[70] We will find this theme recurring in Letters 186, 187 and 190.

Letter 186 was written in tandem by Augustine and Alypius to Paulinus of Nola on the subject of Pelagius's errors, and deals *inter alia* with the gratuituous grace bestowed on infants through baptism, and with the struggle between Esau and Jacob in the womb, which the Pelagians attributed to Esau's personal sin (11-15). At the end we find a passage concerning the sin of Adam, in which Mary is briefly referred to and not by name: Adam's sin was "the perdition that was going to spread far and wide through all human beings, unless he who was not lost came, thanks to a virgin, by another path".[71]

Divjak, col. 1033. Letter 205 is dated to 419 by Carrozzi, CXV, to possibly 419/420 by NBA III,456, to 413 by Eno, 303, to 420 by Parsons, V, 8, and to 418 by Divjak, col. 1033.

[67] Cf. H. Ulbrich, Augustins Briefe zur entscheidenden Phase des Pelagianischen Streites (von den Verhandlungen in Jerusalem und Diaspolis im Jahre 415 bis zur Verdammung des Pelagius im Jahre 418), *REAug* 9 (1963) 51-75, 235-258; 239-49 deal at length with Letter 186.

[68] NBA XVII/1,428. For the date see Fitzgerald, op. cit., 582.

[69] See further Power, *Veiled Desire* (as in n. 8), 172.

[70] On this disparity see Brown, op. cit., 352-353.

[71] Letter 186,12,41; NBA III,124: "longe lateque per cunctos itura perditio, nisi alio per Virginem tramite venisset". Trans. Teske, II/3, 229.

Letter 187 was written to Claudius Postumus Dardanus, the praetorian prefect in Gaul,[72] and again is an instance of the slender line that could exist between a letter and book (which Augustine called it in *Retractationes* 2,49).[73] Augustine answers two questions. The second of these concerns how John the Baptist could have leapt in Elizabeth's womb when infants do not know God, and in the course of his reply Augustine alludes or refers to Mary on several occasions. In 7,23 we have three references to Mary: as "mater" of the one of whom John was the precursor; as the one "quae hominum Salvatorem fuerat paritura"; and as "matri Domini", the latter not having any particular mariological weight because it echoes Elizabeth's words in Luke 1:43. In 9,31 Christ is said to have taken the *likeness of sinful flesh* (Rom 8:3), "de virgine nihil tale in eius conceptu concupiscente",[74] in order to purify our sinful flesh. A little further on the sinless conception of Christ is elaborated:

> He was certainly born in a singular way who had no need to be reborn, because he did not pass from sin, in which he never was, nor was he conceived in iniquity, nor did his mother nourish him in her womb amid sins . . . But in conceiving her holy child the Virgin Mary, to whom it was said, *And the power of the Most High will overshadow you* (Lk 1:35), did not burn with the ardour of concupiscence under such a shadow.[75]

Subsequently, Augustine refutes the claim that a human being can be considered born even while in the womb, a claim supported by the words which Joseph heard in his dream "about the pregnant virgin, the mother of the Lord":[76] *For what is born in her is the work of the Holy Spirit* (Mt 1:20). The title "mother of the Lord" is once again, as in Letter 187, natural enough because it echoes Luke 1:43. Augustine goes on to explain the ways in which the divinity exists in Christ in a bodily manner: "God dwells, as if in a temple, in the body of Christ that he assumed from the virgin".[77]

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[72] On whom see Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 264; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 121 and Katalog 19.

[73] Cf . n. 7 above.

[74] NBA III,162.

[75] NBA III,162: "profecto ille singulariter natus est, cui renasci non opus fuit; quia non ex peccato, in quo numquam fuit, transitum fecit, neque in iniquitate conceptus est, aut eum in delictis mater eius in utero aluit. . . . Virgo autem Maria cui dictum est: *Et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi*, in sanctam concipiendo prolem, sub tali umbraculo nullo ardore concupiscentiae huius aestuavit." Trans. Teske, II/3, 245.

[76] Letter 187,10,33; NBA III,164: "de praegnante Virgine Domini matre".

[77] Letter 187,12,39; NBA III,170: "in Christi corpore quod assumpsit ex Virgine, tamquam in templo habitat Deus".

Letter 190, written to Optatus of Milevis[78] on the origin of the soul, contains towards the end a warning of the heresy of Pelagius and Caelestius, according to which there is no need to baptise infants.[79] Augustine does not take a position on the subject of creationism, but maintains the sinlessness of Christ.

> For, if no soul is propagated from any other when all souls are held bound by the sinful flesh that has been propagated, how much less ought we to believe that the soul whose flesh came from the Virgin could come by propagation from that sinful soul. For the soul of that flesh was not conceived through lust but through faith . . .[80]

The next two letters, as I have said, betray little or no evidence of the Pelagian controversy which was exercising Augustine's mind in other works composed at the same time. The reference to Mary in Letter 199, written to Hesychius, bishop of Salona in Dalmatia,[81] another long letter which Augustine referred to elsewhere as a work on *The End of the World*,[82] is made in the context of prophecies concerning the end of the world, where the Lord is said in the last days to have been born of a virgin.[83] In Letter 205 we find a passage not unlike that already examined in Letter 147,1,6, where Adam is said to have come into being without parents, and Christ through a virgin. Now the first Adam is said to have been created out of dust, and the second, "newest" ("novissimus") Adam (1 Cor 15:45) to have been born of a virgin.[84]

Group 7

Letters 210 and 211, perhaps dating from c. 423,[85] provide negative mariological evidence, as they are directives to the superior of a convent

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[78] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 795-797; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 11-26 and Katalog 38-39.

[79] Letter 190,6,22; NBA III,224-226.

[80] Letter 190,6,25; NBA III,228: "Si enim nulla propagatur ex altera, ubi omnes tenentur propagatae carne peccati; quanto minus credendum est ex propagine peccatricis animam venire potuisse, cuius caro venit ex virgine, non libidine concepta, sed fide . . ." Trans. Teske, II/3, 274. For parallels to the sentiments of the last sentence see e.g. *Sermo* 69,3,4; NBA XXI/1,386; *Sermo* 214,6; NBA XXXII/1,226. Cf. Dunn, Mary in the Presbyteral Homilies, 90.

[81] See Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 48-49 and Katalog 23.

[82] *De civ. Dei* 20,5,4; NBA V/3,108.

[83] Letter 199,10,35; NBA III,384-386: "Dominus per Virginem venit".

[84] Letter 205,2,11; NBA III,466.

[85] Dating: Letter 210 is given no date by Carrozzi, CXV or Eno, 303, whereas

and to quarrelling nuns, respectively, but contain no mention of Mary as a role model.[86] However, it must also be said the only human or scriptural models proposed for the addressees in the preamble to a text of the monastic Rule in Letter 211 are their superior, their spiritual director, and the repentant apostle Peter (cf. Mt. 26: 75, etc.).[87] Yet elsewhere, even in earlier works, Augustine had emphatically proposed Mary as the *exemplum* for physical virgins,[88] just as he appointed Anna as a model for widows and Elizabeth for married women.[89] But in his precepts for communal life it was scriptural imperatives to which he gave pride of place.

Group 8

The dating of Letters 236, 238, and 243 has been problematical,[90] the works do not necessarily belong together, and they seem to be out of chronological order in the collection, in that they appear to belong to an

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Parsons, V, 37 and NBA III,506 assign it a date of c. 423, and Divjak, col. 1033, rather vaguely to between 411 and 430. Letter 211 is assigned by Carrozzi, CXV and Eno, 303 to 424 (?), and by Parsons, V, 38 and NBA III,510 to c. 423. Divjak, col. 1033 again opts for a date between 411 and 430.

[86] See the silence also in e.g. G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford 1987). On the various versions of the Rule see the classic L. Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, i. *Tradition manuscrite*, ii. *Recherches historiques* (Paris 1967), distilled by Lawless, op. cit., 65-72.

[87] Letter 211,4; NBA III,514-516.

[88] See e.g. *de sancta virginitate* 4,4; NBA VV/1,78; in *Sermo* 191,3,4; NBA XXXII/1,48, dated to Christmas 411 by A. Kunzelmann, Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinus, *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. 2: *Studi Agostiniani* (Rome 1931) 503, we read the following addressed to virgins in the congregation: "Illa igitur cuius vestigia sectamini, et ut conciperet, cum viro mansit; et cum pareret, virgo permansit. Imitamini eam quantum potestas; non fecunditate, quia hoc non potestas, salva virginitate."

[89] See *Sermo* 192,2: NBA XXXII/1,52: "In Maria Christum pia virginitas peperit; in Anna Christum viduitas parvum grandaeva cognovit; in Elisabeth Christo coniugalis castitas et anilis fecunditas militavit."

[90] Letter 236 is assigned by Carrozzi, CXV, Eno, 304, and NBA III,752 to after 395, and by Parsons, V, 179 n. 1 to "an earlier period". Divjak, col. 1036, on the other hand, assigns it to between 411 and 419. Letter 238 is given no date by most scholars, but Divjak, col. 1036, places it between 404 and 411. Letter 243 is judged by Carrozzi, CXV and Eno, 304 to have been written after 395 and is assigned by Divjak, col. 1036, to 397. A. Gabillon, Pour une datation de la lettre 243 d'Augustin à Laetus, *REAug* 40 (1994) 127-142 dates the letter to 397, before May or after September, on the basis of agreements between the letter and *Sermo Mainz* 42, dated to 397 and discussed by F. Dolbeau, Sermons inédits de saint Augustine prêchés en 397 (2ème série), *RBén* 102 (1992) 282-297.

earlier period than the immediately foregoing letters. Letter 236, addressed to Deuterius, a bishop of Mauretania,[91] is an attack on the Manichees, whose "hearers" are said to deny that Christ was born of a virgin and to claim that his body was not real but apparent.[92] Letter 238, on the other hand, which is addressed to the Arian *comes* Pascentius[93] and forms part of a protracted and heated debate in person and by letter, is a rebuttal of the Arian position. Part of this position was that before the incarnation, which the Logos took from the virgin Mary ("de Maria virgine"), he was visible and mortal.[94] Augustine rejects this as an attempt to subordinate the Son to the Father. He presents Christ's human birth from Mary as an essential safeguard of Nicene orthodoxy, but we do not gain the impression that she is a person in her own right.

The final letter to be considered, Letter 243, is of quite a different nature. It is addressed to a certain Laetus, "domino dilectissimo et desideratissimo fratri",[95] who had embraced the religious life but was being tempted by his mother to abandon it. Augustine criticizes her for not being like the mother of the Maccabees, or even like Spartan mothers who urged their sons to go to war, whereas we might have imagined that the *exemplum* of Mary, who did not stand in the way of her son's ministry and crucifixion, would have sprung to Augustine's mind, as it did on other occasions.[96] Christ's mother is mentioned in the letter, but once again the focus is on her son in the passage from the Synoptics.[97] Augustine's reasoning is worth citing at length.

> Did your Commander not have an earthly Mother? When in the midst of His heavenly tasks it was announced to him that she was there, He answered: 'Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? and stretching forth his hand towards his disciples' He said that no one belonged to His kindred except the one who would do the will of His Father. To be sure, He graciously included Mary herself in this number, for she was doing the will of His Father. Thus, the name of mother which they had announced to Him as His private and personal possession He rejected, because it was an earthly name when compared

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[91] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 275-276; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 29-30 and Katalog 19-20.

[92] Letter 236,2; NBA III,756.

[93] On whom see above n. 23.

[94] Letter 238,4,23; NBA III,794.

[95] See Mandouze, *Prosopographie*, 623-624; Morgenstern, *Die Briefpartner*, 87 and Katalog 32.

[96] See e.g. *Sermo* 65A,6; NBA XXXI/1,328; *Sermo* 72A,3; NBA XXX/1,468-470.

[97] Mt 12:47-50; Mk 3:32-35; Lk 8:20-21.

> to heavenly kingship, and, referring that same heavenly kinship to His Apostles, He showed again the bond of relationship by which that Virgin was bound to Him, together with all the saints.[98]

Implications of this case-study

The letters we have examined for evidence of Augustine's mariology have a good chronological spread, and indeed most of them are more or less reliably datable to the period from 388/391 to c. 423, but they contain no evidence of a development in his thought on Mary. We have found negative evidence when we might have expected her to figure in Augustine's argumentation (Letters 11, 12, 130, 210 and 211), and negative evidence even when in similar passages in other works she has been referred to (Letter 243). Also negative is the statement in Letter 120 that Mary Magdalen at the tomb of the risen Christ, not Mary his mother, is the one who symbolises the church. Nowhere in the surviving letters is Mary compared with Eve, although this comparison had been made by writers before Augustine and elsewhere by Augustine himself, and was to become a mariological *topos*.[99] Echoing the New Testament text, Mary is referred to as one of Jesus's parents (Letter 82), but more regularly she appears as the mostly nameless virgin from whom the Logos took flesh. There is some stress on the fact that she was a virgin before, during and immediately after the incarnation, but her virginity *post partum* is not discussed. When she is named, or referred to as "mater Domini", it is sometimes only because Augustine is echoing a New Testament text. Most of the references to Mary are made

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[98] Letter 243,9; NBA III,828: "Itane matrem terrenam non habebat Imperator tuus? Quae tamen cum ei nuntiaretur agenti caelestia, respondit: *Quae mihi mater, aut qui fratres?* Et *extendens manum in discipulos suos*, dixit non pertinere ad cognationem suam, nisi qui facerent voluntatem Patris eius. In quo numero profecto etiam ipsam Mariam benignus inclusit; faciebat enim et illa voluntatem Patris. Ita optimus Magister atque divinus, et maternum nomen, quod ei quasi privatum propriumque nuntiaverant, quia terrenum erat, in comparatione caelestis propinquitatis abiecit, et eamdem caelestem propinquitatem in discipulis commemorans, quo sibi rursum consortio generis cum ceteris sanctis virgo illa cohaereret, ostendit." Trans. Parsons, V, 224-225. On the whole passage cf. the argument in *Sermo* 65A,6; NBA XXX/1,328 and in *de sancta virginitate* 3,3; NBA VII/1,76.

[99] See E. Sebold, art. Eva-Maria, in *Marienlexikon*, vol. 2, 419-420; T. Maas-Ewerd, art. Eva-Maria-Parallele, in *Marienlexikon*, vol. 2, 420-421; D.G. Hunter, Helvidius, Jovinian, and the Virginity of Mary in Late Fourth-century Rome, 59 and 62 on the respective use of the comparison by Ambrose and Irenaeus; L.M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary*, esp. 128-134 on the *topos*.

in a credal context, but in one case, in Letter 102, she is also situated in salvation history and made the guarantee of her son's humanity. Nowhere, however, is she the sustained focus of Augustine's argumentation, and mostly she appears as the enabling factor in Christ's flesh-taking. It is small wonder, then, that the scholars quoted in the *status quaestionis* section of this paper were unable to adduce from the letters convincing evidence to substantiate their assessment of the mariology of the bishop of Hippo.

The scant role assigned to Mary in Augustine's letters stands in stark contrast, for example, to the high mariology we find in the first part of *de sancta virginitate*, composed in 401,[100] or to the developed picture of her found in his Christmas sermons.[101] However, in the letters—at least in the surviving letters—Mary is not the focus of the argument or of veneration, but rather she is part of the rebuttal of Manichaeism, Arianism, or Pelagianism, depending on when the letters were written. We have to regret that Augustine's reply to Paulinus of Nola on specifically mariological questions has not come down to us. The mariology of the surviving letters, like that of many of the sermons, is understated. This is not the place for a detailed discussion about the rationale of letter-collections, or about lost letters and their possible contents, but, if it is estimated that Augustine could have preached around 8,000 times and that therefore we possess only about one-fourteenth of his sermons,[102] we have then to take into account the possibility that we have also only a small percentage of his letters.[103] This is turn could have some bearing on the patchy picture of Mary which they contain. Also to be taken into consideration are the general nature, purpose, and audience of letters over against the nature, purpose, and audience of theological tracts and homilies: although several of Augustine's letters resemble tracts by

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[100] On the dating see Perler/Maier, 445; Brown, 178.

[101] Here see Dunn, Mary in the Christmas Homilies of Augustine's Later Episcopacy.

[102] See F. van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop. The Life and Work of a Father of the Church* (trans. B. Battershaw/G.R. Lamb) (London-New York 1961) 247; P.-P. Verbraken, Lire aujourd'hui les Sermons de saint Augustin, *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 119 (1987) 829-839; G. Lawless, Augustine and his Critics 4 and 22 n. 2; H.R. Drobner, Studying Augustine. An Overview of Recent Research, in *Augustine and His Critics* 18-34 at 33 n. 15.

[103] See M. Zelzer, Die Briefliteratur (as in n. 1), 346-347. A parallel with the correspondence of Severus, patriarch of Antioch from 512-518, who, much like Augustine, was active over a period of about forty years, is instructive: we can safely calculate that Severus wrote no fewer than 3759 letters, of which only around one-sixteenth survives. See P. Allen, Severus of Antioch and Pastoral Care, in P. Allen/W. Mayer/L. Cross (ed.), *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 2 (Brisbane 1999) 387-400 at 387-389.

virtue of both their length and theological argument, letters in antiquity were generally viewed as the medium of one subject, and tended to be brief.[104]

The fact that genre plays a role in the extent of mariological evidence to be gleaned from our pre-Ephesine texts should put us on our guard against the conclusions of general studies of an ancient author in which all mariological evidence is lumped together.[105] In other words, an aggregate score of "high mariology" in the one author, Augustine in this case, does not mean that this score is correct across the board in all his works. A low score must be taken into serious consideration, and indeed it can be just as important in helping us to understand the development of the cult of Mary before 431.

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[104] See M. Zelzer, Die Briefliteratur, 328.

[105] See e.g. D. Doyle, art. Mary, Mother of God, loc. cit, where the mariological evidence in Augustine is dealt with neither chronologically nor by genre, but by marian attribute.

REVIEWS

April D. DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas. A History of the Gospel and its Growth* (Library of New Testament Studies 286), London-New York: T&T Clark 2005, XVII + 287 pp., ISBN 0-567-04342-8, $ 130.

This study is a scholarly masterpiece and presents a wealth of unselfish learning. Applying modern theories on orality and social memory the authoress describes the growth of a kernel ("a speech Gospel") into the present shape of the *Gospel of Thomas*. First, there was a short collection of Sayings attributed to Jesus. This originated in the primitive congregation of Jerusalem, of which James, the brother of the Lord, was the leader. It should be dated prior to 50 A.D. and was apocalyptic. This tradition has its counterpart in the Gospel quotations of the (Jewish-Christian) Pseudo-Clementine literature, the Diatessaron of the Syrian Encratite Tatian and the so-called Western Text of the New Testament.

Having travelled north east to Syria along the missionary road, this same tradition was transferred to a Hellenistic milieu, amplified and adapted to a different civilisation: Apocalyptics became mysticism, eschatology became protology, the imminent Kingdom became the immanent Kingdom. All this is due to the non-event of the Second Coming. Ultimately, it is within the individual soul that God is to be sought and found.

It would be false to call the *Gospel of Thomas* Gnostic. Rather, it is strongly ascetic and encratic, like the *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 220 Edessa) and the Syrian mystic from Edessa Makarios (4th century). This impressive theory is built on a subway of footnotes indicating almost all relevant secondary literature (Erik Peterson is missing).

I agree with most of the views presented in this book for the following reasons. These sayings never call the Pharisees hypocrites, whereas corresponding passages in the synoptic Gospels relate that Jesus did so. This has an authentic ring, because, as Christopher Tucket observed (in the *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 26, 2003, 39), the use of the Greek noun ὑποκριτής has always been regarded as unlikely to go back to Jesus,

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because there is no obvious Aramaic equivalent to the word with the meaning required.

Moreover, I cannot believe that this tradition grew spontaneously and anonymously, like a beautiful flower. The numerous doublets in the *Gospel of Thomas* presuppose two written sources. What is true for Matthew and Luke (Mark and Q), must also be true for Thomas. It must be dependent upon two written documents, a Judaic one and a Hellenistic one. The author of the later writing must have been a deep thinker and a theological mastermind. He may be compared with the author of the Fourth Gospel, who works out a Judaic theology of the Name as the essential revelation of an unseen God, to expound his message that Christ is the unique and exclusive way to the Father.

Let me clarify my views. Logos 41 runs as follows: "Jesus said: 'Whoever has *in his hand*, to him shall be given; and whoever does not have, from him shall be taken even the little which he has'." The expression "in his hand" is unusual. It is not to be found in the parallel versions of the ecclesiastical Gospels nor anywhere else in this context (M. 4:25 = Mt. 13:12 and L. 8:18; Mt. 25:29 and L. 8:18 = Q). And yet it has a familiar ring. "In his hand," Hebrew: *bejado*, occurs many times in the First Testament. Most relevant to this Saying is the story of Saul in search of his mules (1 Samuel 9:8). There the servant says to the future king that he has the fourth part of a silver shekel *in his hand* to give to the man of God. When you consult a prophet, it is always necessary to offer a present.

This parallel shows what this Saying of Jesus really means: it is always necessary to give alms to the needy, then God will give you even more; but if you are not willing to assist the poor, then God will take from you even the small capital which you possess. This is very much in tune with the spirit of Jesus, who blessed the poor.

The other half of the doublet is transmitted by Logos 70: "If you give birth to that which is within yourselves, then will that (which you have within yourselves) save you; if you do not have that within yourselves, will that, which you do not have within you, kill you." This is very Hellenic and Hellenistic, exactly that which you would expect in a metropolis like *Alexandria ad Aegyptum.* The poet Pindar says: "Be what you are by becoming conscious of yourself." In the dialogue *Meno*, the Platonic Socrates elicits the whole knowledge of mathematics from the soul of an ignorant young slave. Even present day psychologists warn us that it is extremely dangerous to repress your natural inclinations: that may kill you. That is not the product of anonymous growth: it is the formulation of an insight of a wise

man. Yet there cannot be the slightest doubt that this Logos is the Greek translation of the Judaic half of the doublet.

For this reason, I suppose that the author of the *Gospel of Thomas*, when writing in Edessa before 140 A.D., had two *written* sources at his disposal, one Judaic and one Alexandrian. To this he added "special Thomas." Thomas was said to be the apostle of Edessa, like Peter of Rome and John of Ephesus. We may compare it with the canonical Gospels of Matthew and Luke, who both use Marc and Q and moreover offer "special Matthew" and "special Luke," as Canon Streeter argued long ago.

There are misprints in the book of DeConick (214: read: foreword; 216: alteration; 232: Guillaumont; etc., etc.).

The book is dedicated to her *Großdoktorvater*, but it also reflects the findings of her *Doktorvater* Jarl Fossum.

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GILLES QUISPEL

Paul Gavrilyuk, *The Suffering of the Impassible God: The Dialectics of Patristic Thought* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford, OUP, 2004; xii + 210 pp., ISBN 0-19-926982-3, £45.00.

Anyone who knows the contemporary literature on divine suffering will be familiar with (some variants of) the following picture of its emergence. Divine impassibility is utterly unknown to the Old Testament, and in the New Testament Jesus's suffering reveals the true face of God as a suffering God. Within a Hellenistic environment with its axiom of divine impassibility, this was an indigestible truth. Generally, the orthodox church fathers submitted to the dictates of Hellenism. There were some exceptions, however, most notably those of the Patripassianists (monarchic modalists), Origen at his best moments (esp. his sermon on Ezechiel 16), his pupil Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Lactantius, and the Theopaschites, who in various ways kept the Biblical truth that God is a suffering God alive.[1] Their views were either suppressed and forgotten or declared heretic.[2] Looking back from

[1] Some would also add gnostic Manichaeism with its pivotal doctrine of the passible Jesus (*Jesus patibilis*) here. See, e.g., J. van Oort, 'Manichäismus,' in: *RGG*[4] Vol. 5 (Tübingen 2002), 732-741, 737.

[2] This is the picture that emerges from the classic work by J.K. Mozley (*The Impassibility*

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the twentieth century, however, in which the view that God suffers became the 'new orthodoxy', one may surmise that there must have been a continuous 'undercurrent' of those believing in the suffering God. In the Middle Ages it no longer survived in official theology, but lived on in art,[3] to emerge again in the theology of Martin Luther, and nineteenth- and especially twentieth-century British theology, from where it spread all over Christian theology. Altogether, we have here a rather romantic picture of a heroic struggle between good guys (the passibilists) and bad guys (the impassibilists), with the bad guys remaining in almost complete control over the good guys during nineteen centuries, and the good guys emerging victorious in the twentieth century.

As to the early church (because that is what concerns us here), patristic scholars have sounded notes of caution in several respects: modalism was not primarily about the suffering of the Father, but about strict monotheism vs. emerging trinitarianism; Origen's sermon on Ezechiel 16 is difficult to interpret in light of his other work;[4] most of the Theopaschites defended the orthodox position that is questioned by contemporary passibilists, etc. These notes of caution, however, did not add up to a fully developed alternative interpretation of all we know about the doctrine of divine impassibility in the theology of the early church. This is the gap Paul Gavrilyuk aims to fill in his first book, a revised version of his Ph.D. thesis supervised by William S. Babcock. Gavrilyuk's alternative consists of two parts. On the one hand, he denies that divine impassibility was axiomatic in Hellenistic schools of thought. On the other hand, Gavrilyuk argues that it is time for a radical revision of our view of the debates on impassibility in the early church. Contrary to popular convictions, the heretics were the bad guys who were trying to impose divine impassibility on the orthodox fathers. These were the good guys who heroically defended the real suffering of the Logos against the attacks by the Docetists, the Arians and the Nestorians. Gavrilyuk broadly distinguishes between three positions: (1) those who maintain that God is utterly impassible: the Docetists, the Arians and the Nestorians; (2) those who keep the suffering and the impassibility of God

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of God, Cambridge 1926) and the Patristic attempt of process theologian J.M. Hallmann (*The Descent of God*, Minneapolis 1991).

[3] See, e.g., F. Boespflug, 'La Compassion de Dieu le Père dans l'art occidental (XIIIe-XVIIe siècles),' *Le Supplément: Revue d'Éthique et Théologie Morale* 172 (Mars 1990), 123-159; M.-C. Sepière, *L'Image d'un Dieu souffrant: Aux origines du crucifix* (Paris 1994).

[4] Cf. the discussion by Theo Kobusch in *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1992), 129-135, which is not mentioned by Gavrilyuk.

in a fruitful tension: the orthodox fathers, among whom Cyril of Alexandria takes pride of place;[5] (3) twentieth-century passibilists, who uncritically affirm God's suffering while losing sight of God's impassibility (and transcendence and divinity). Gavrilyuk, it will be clear, sympathizes with the orthodox church fathers. Their view, he argues, is Biblical: anti-anthropomorphic and anti-anthropopathic tendencies were present in the Bible already. It is quite clear that 'it is misleading to think of the patristic theological dilemma as involving a choice between the unemotional and uninvolved God of the Hellenes and the emotional and suffering God of the Hebrews' (46). Moreover, contrary to twentieth-century theological folklore, in the early church 'impassibility' functioned not as a positive attribute of God, denoting Him as static and indifferent, but as one of the negative qualifyers of apophatic theology, denying that God could be susceptible to the fluctuating affective states that are characteristic for human beings. For the fathers, impassibility was 'compatible with select emotionally coloured characteristics, e.g., love, mercy, and compassion' (48). These emotion-like states, however, can never take control of God; God is always in perfect control of them.

The main part of the book, however, is devoted to the debates with the heretics who put the orthodox fathers under impassibilist pressure, and it is quite interesting to see how Gavrilyuk interprets these debates. In Chapter 3, Gavrilyuk takes off from the theology of martyrdom. Martyrs were not merely believed to partake in Christ's resurrection, but were also believed to share His suffering. Thus, the theological account of martyrdom presupposed the reality of Christ's suffering. This was a problem for the Docetists, who on account of their strong views of divine impassibility denied the reality of Christ's suffering. The Docetists found it difficult to make sense of martyrdom, a difficulty that was exploited by the church fathers of the second and third centuries upholding the real suffering of Christ over against them. It was still unclear, however, in what way the suffering of Christ was to be related to the impassibility of God. A first step towards settling that issue was taken in the Patripassian controversy: it was the Son, not God the Father, who suffered in the Incarnation (Ch. 4).[6] In Chapter 5, Gavrilyuk turns towards Arianism. Is Arianism a reaction to the understatement of Christ's involvement in the human condition by

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[5] Here, Gavrilyuk builds on the work of Thomas Weinandy (*Does God Suffer?*, Edinburgh 2000).

[6] Cf. my 'Patripassianism and the Impassibility of God,' *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift* 72 (1996), 73-81 (not discussed by Gavrilyuk).

orthodox theology? Is God's suffering in Christ at the heart of Arian soteriology, as Maurice Wiles and R.P.C. Hanson have claimed? Gavrilyuk denies this, not only because he believes there was no reason whatsoever for a passibilist revolt against the orthodox position, but also because he doubts the Arian origin of a collection of anonymous *Homilies on the Psalms*, Wiles's main piece of evidence. In the end, Gavrilyuk argues, it is Arianism, with its denial of the fully divine status of Christ, that downplays the fact that Christ's suffering was God's suffering. Finally, in Chapter 6 Gavrilyuk argues that Nestorius developed his two-subjects Christology in an attempt to safeguard God's absolute impassibility, while Cyril of Alexandria started from the self-emptying of God and maintained the tension between suffering and impassibility in God. In response to the Nestorian accusation of *theopatheia*, he developed his theory of appropriation: 'The Word made human experiences his own by appropriating them from within: that which was violent, involuntary, tragically purposeless, and fatal for an ordinary human being was made voluntary, soteriologically purposeful, and life-giving in the ministry of the Word' (175).

Summarizing, Gavrilyuk provides an apology for what he terms the *consensus patrum*. Though he is rather unfriendly about contemporary theologies of a suffering God, the interpretation Gavrilyuk gives of the theological developments in the early church can easily be appropriated by these. It enables them to present themselves as the inheritors not of a handful of heretics, but of the main tradition, completing the liberation of theology from the axiom of impassibility, a liberation that in the early church was impossible because of the pressure that came from the Docetists, the Arians and the Nestorians. Thus, the appeal of Gavrilyuk's reinterpretation may well be wider than he foresees. I should add to this that, on the whole, Gavrilyuk's interpretation of the theology of the *patres* and their opponents is more credible than rival interpretations like those by J.K. Mozley and J.M. Hallmann. Altogether, then, this is a timely and most welcome addition to the debate. That being said, the following criticisms remain. (1) There is a tension between Gavrilyuk's two main claims. On the one hand he denies that there was an axiom of impassibility, and on the other he claims that the Docetists, Arians and Nestorians defended the absolute impassibility of God, and the orthodox church fathers had to defend the suffering of the Logos against these. Generally, Gavrilyuk is more convincing when he defends the second of these claims than when he defends the first, for which he provides very little argument. It tells against Gavrilyuk that he does not engage with the best literature on the axiom of impassibility, e.g., Herbert Frohnhofen, *Apatheia tou Theou: Über die Affektlosigkeit Gottes*

in der griechischen Antike und bei den griechischsprachigen Kirchenvätern bis zu Gregorius Thaumaturgus (New York 1987). This book is mentioned in one footnote only. After reading Gavrilyuk, I tend to accept his second claim, and to reject the first. (2) This brings me to a second criticism: he ignores not only Th. Kobusch and H. Frohnhofen, but also the highly relevant studies by W. Elert and Th. Rüther (misspelt by Gavrilyuk as Ruther) in German and by M. Feitsma in Dutch. He is aware of these; they are mentioned in the bibliography, but not discussed in the book. Generally speaking, Gavrilyuk limits himself to English literature and as a result fails to engage with many important publications. (3) Not only Gavrilyuk's choice of secondary literature, but also his choice of primary sources can be criticized. Favorite patristic proof-texts of twentieth-century passibilists like Origen's sermon on Ezechiel 16 and Gregorius Thaumaturgus's *Ad Theopompum* are completely ignored. (4) The earlier literature and Gavrilyuk share a distortion of the patristic material that should not go unnoticed. They all suggest that divine impassibility was a major issue in the first century debates. I would argue that it was not. Divine impassibility was taken for granted, and was not one of the main focuses of debate in the early church. One can see this, for instance, from the fact that the only full-length discussion of impassibility coming from the early church was Gregory Thaumaturgus's *Ad Theopompum*, which was soon forgotten until it was republished only in 1858. After that, the first monograph to appear on this topic was Marshall Randles, *The Blessed God: Impassibility* (London 1900). That was the beginning of a series of books, to which nowadays new additions are made yearly. It is only when one looks back with the twentieth-century debates and developments in mind that one can come to think that divine impassibility was a major object of debate in the early church as well. (5) As a patristic study Gavrilyuk's book is to be appraised. His aims go well beyond that, however, and Gavrilyuk both provides an introduction to the contemporary debate and makes his own contribution to it. His description of the main arguments in the contemporary debate (pp. 5-15), however, is hopelessly superficial and prejudiced. There is nothing wrong with the fact that Gavrilyuk prefers the traditional position above its contemporary rivals, but that is no excuse for the caricature he paints of these. Let no one think that this is the *status quaestionis*! Moreover, where Gavrilyuk engages in a discussion with twentieth-century authors, he unfailingly misses the mark. One telling example must suffice. Gavrilyuk claims:

> 'Jürgen Moltmann, Eberhard Jüngel, and Richard Bauckham see the crucifixion as the decisive revelation of the divine identity. But if this were the case, if divine identity were somehow defined by the crucifixion in such a way as to

> suggest that it was God's very nature to suffer in human fashion, then the assumption of the flesh would become quite unnecessary. For in this case the flesh would merely duplicate in its imperfect way the suffering that the Word had already undergone in his own nature' (174-175).

Let's begin by noticing that none of the twentieth-century authors mentioned claims it was God's very nature to suffer *in human fashion*! All of them claim that Jesus' suffering in a human body reveals something about the eternal nature of God, i.e. that it is not untouched by some form of suffering, however different from and more perfect than human suffering. This, however, is just a characteristic slip of the pen in Gavrilyuk's description, the precision of which is directly proportional to the time gap separating us from the authors described. Things become worse when we inquire what Gavrilyuk's argument against the twentieth-century authors is. He suggests that Jesus' life and death may not be seen as the 'decisive revelation' of 'God's very nature', for if that would be the case, the 'assumption of the flesh would become quite unnecessary.' Why? Probably because it would be more of the same. If God had been suffering from all ages, why should Jesus suffer on the Cross? Consequently, if the incarnate Son suffers on the Cross, we may infer from this that 'God's very nature' is not suffering. Now let's apply this stunning piece of logic to various other aspects of Jesus' life and death. If the incarnate Son healed the sick, we should infer that it is not in 'God's very nature' to heal the sick! If Jesus came to save the sinners, we must infer that it is not in 'God's very nature' to save the sinners! If Jesus blessed the poor and lowly, we must infer that it is not in 'God's very nature' to bless the poor and lowly! The very least that we should say here, is that in order to lend any plausibility to the theological principle put forward in the above quotation, Gavrilyuk should have given us some criteria about its application and scope. In the absence of these, the principle is entirely unacceptable. I must confess, moreover, that I am at a complete loss to see how these criteria should be formulated.

Let me conclude by two minor points of criticism: (1) The author seems to be unaware of the fact that the *Theos* in theopaschitism is the same as the *Theos* in *theotokos*: God the Son. Consequently, he uses 'theopaschitism' for the position that God (*unqualified*) suffers (14, 74). (2) On p. 152 one should read *anthropolatria* for *athropolatria*.

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R.M. Berchman, *Porphyry Against the Christians* (Studies in Platonism, Neoplatonism, and the Platonic Tradition, vol. 1), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, xvi + 244 pp., € 129 / US$ 174 (case bound).

This book contains both a study and a translation of the fragments of Porphyry's anti-Christian polemics, not only in his *Contra Christianos* but also in his other writings. In spite of the many publications about Porphyry as a polemicist against Christianity, no one has published an English translation of this material since the publication of the fragments by Harnack in 1916, and as such this is a welcome book. The study which precedes the translation comprises six chapters, dealing *inter alia* with the title (for instance the question of whether *Contra Christianos* was one work), the date and place of composition, the genre and structure of the work, the religious, philosophical, and literary background, etc. The 7th chapter contains the translation of the fragments, with a numbering that differs from Harnack's, firstly because B. includes material that was not in Harnack's edition, and secondly because he arranges the material chronologically according to the authors who quote Porphyry.

All this sounds attractive and promising. In reality, however, this book is a monument of sloppiness. Of the many errors, mistakes, oversights, omissions and blunders I will present only a handful.

At p. 1 B. states that the Greek name Porphyry "was a translation of the Semitic *nomen* Malchus," which is wrong. "No complete work of Porphyry survives" (p. 1), again wrong. The long note 26 at p. 5 is repeated almost verbatim at p. 192 n. 44; in it B. does show that he is aware of the fact that Harnack's decision to include in his edition all the fragments of the unnamed opponent in Macarius Magnes' *Monogenes* (or: *Apokritikos*) is highly debatable; even so he seems to forget this in his analysis of the fragments where he treats the Macarius material as authentic Porphyrian, which is methodically sloppy. At p. 77 we find Theodoret of Cyprus [sic]; at p. 8 'aletheapigraphy' (!) as opposed to pseudepigraphy; p. 9 n. 3 betrays a lack of familiarity with pre-Porphyrian *Erotapokriseis* literature; at p. 11 (*et passim*) Porphyry's work is said to have been "part of a defense of traditional *Roman* religion," as if Greek religion and philosophy was no longer there; at p. 15 Numenius is mentioned among writers of 'chronological literature'; at p. 16 Porphyry is said to stand "within the well-defined tradition of the diatribe," but there is no such "well-defined tradition" at all; at p. 19 we find Heracules (sic). Ch. 3 presents us with a long sketch (pp. 17-71) of the religious and philosophical backgrounds of Porphyry's work; it is a

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muddled sketch with dozens of unclear formulations, mistakes, and sweeping statements without solid underpinning. E.g., p. 22: Porphyry's work "served the ends of an autocracy that exalted the princeps"; pp. 24-5: Pompey conquered Palestine not in 66 but in 63 BCE and the Bar Kochba revolt was not in 130 but in 132 CE; p. 25: "tolerance towards Jews would continue under the reign of Caligula" (incredible!); p. 27: Judaism regained its status as a *religio licita* "after its religious leadership agreed to give up active proselytism among the gentiles" (no reference to sources: there are none); *ibid.* "an economic revival ensued under the aegis of the rabbis" in the third century CE, a totally unwarranted statement; at p. 33 (*et passim*) the words 'against the Christians' are consistently printed as *Against the Christians* even if it does not refer to Porphyry's book (e.g., 'imperial pogroms *Against the Christians*'); p. 41: ". . . depriving those in imperial service who resisted these orders to be deprived"; p. 56 'andeluvian'; p. 75: 'abstintia' and 'abstentia' next to 'abstinentia'; p. 80 *deus revividus* (sic); at pp. 76-81 Lucian of Samosata is dealt with at length and the relevance for the study of Porphyry is said to be that "both were rationalists" (79); also the 20 pages on Plotinus do not substantially contribute to a better understanding of Porphyry's work against the Christians. What about p. 114: "Porphyry was among the last defenders of Romanitas," as if Symmachus was not a century later; p. 115: because of Porphyry's critique "Christian intellectuals were compelled to enter the world of Roman history, literature, philosophy, and the sciences," as if there had been no Origen; p. 121: "Most of the surviving fragments are in Patristic Greek and Latin and are astonishingly pure. The few fragments in Armenian were translated into a standard Latin idiom," a bizarre statement. And so one could go on. Many footnotes are not to the point; there is a lot of repetition; there are dozens of typo's; the bibliography is sloppy; even worse is the fact that B. does not know the new Teubner edition of the fragments of Porphyry by Andrew Smith of 1993; neither does he know the important work on *Contra Christianos* by P.F. Beatrice (see, e.g., his TRE article on Porphyry). But the worst is still to come: the translation, too, teems with errors.

Let me give only a few examples: p. 124 'his first god' should be 'his own god'; p. 125 *et lamentari fallaciis mortuum deum cantans* does not mean 'and in song crying like a god about one who died for an illusion'; p. 126: *praedicatio* is not 'prediction,' *verba* is not 'works,' and *sua contexens* is not 'presenting his own context'; p. 135 'our innovative lifestyle' misses the point of *neôterismos tou biou*; p. 138 'the depressing sufferings' does not render *ta proeirêmena* but it does von Harnack's explanatory annotation 'die erniedri-

genden Leiden' (which should have been rendered as 'the humiliating sufferings'); *ep' exêgêseis etraponto* does not mean 'they had access to interpretations', neither is *tên tôn logôn empeirian* 'a grasp of knowledge', and *Ioudaïkai graphai* are not 'Jewish writings' but 'the Jewish Scriptures'; in the translation of fr. 171 (64 Harnack) at p. 195 there are various serious mistakes in the first few lines: B.'s translation is: "And there is another argument that can be shown to be unsound teaching. Namely, the common talk everywhere about his resurrection. Why, after he had suffered and resurrected, did Jesus not appear before Pilate and claim he did nothing worthy of death?" But the correct translation is as follows: "There is yet another argument that can help to refute that weak opinion; it concerns his resurrection that is talked about all over the place. Why, after having suffered and—as you say—risen [from the dead], did Jesus not appear before Pilate, who had punished him and had maintained that he had done nothing worthy of death?" Sometimes B. omits sentences or passages in his translation without indicating that he has done so: at p. 131 B. omits 6 paragraphs from *De abst.* 4:11 so that the reader gets the impression that what is said in §12 is about the Jews in general whereas it is about the Essenes (which was indicated in the omitted paragraphs), a highly misleading policy. Again, one could go on.

The upshot of all this, however, is that this is not the tool we need for a scholarly study of Porphyry's important treatise. I do not understand why a prestigious company like Brill publishes such a sloppy and apparently unrefereed work. This is a very bad start for B.'s own new series. To B.'s credit it should be said, however, that he knows his own limitations. In the Preface he states: "There are better philologists than myself" (ix).

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Berrouard, Marie-François, *Introduction aux homélies de saint Augustin sur l'Évangile de saint Jean* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 170), Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes 2004 [Diffuseur exclusif: Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium], 275 p., ISBN 2-85121-196-X, € 35 (pb).—Collection des introductions, notes complémentaires etc. fournies par M.-F. Berrouard dans sa fameuse édition des *Homélies sur l'Évangile de saint Jean* de saint Augustin dans la série *Bibliothèque de saint Augustin* (*BA* 71-75): Chapitre I: Les homélies sur l'Évangile de Jean (9-38); II: La prédication du Verbe incarné (39-54); III: Un combat pour l'honneur du Christ: la controverse antidonatiste des *Tractatvs* (55-78); IV: La date des *Tractatvs XVII-LIV* (79-102); V: L'Auditoire (103-113); VI: Des sermons sur le Christ et sur son œuvre de salut (115-147); VII: L'Exégese du prédicateur (149-175); VIII: Les *Tractatvs LV-CXXIV* dictés à partir de novembre 419 (177-200); IX: La théologie du Saint-Esprit dans les *Tractatvs* (201-235); X: L'enseignement de la charité dans les *Tractatvs* (237-256); Bibliographie (257-264); Tables des notes complémentaires (265-275). Une mine riche des informations!

Boustan, Ra'anan S., *From Martyr to Mystic. Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2005, XXII + 376 pp., ISBN 3-16-148753-2, € 99 (cloth with jacket).—A thoroughly researched and finely produced book which is of considerable importance to understand (the parallels with and background of) central items like martyrdom and mysticism not only in Judaism but in (early) Christianity as well: Preface (VII-X); Acknowledgements (XI-XII); Abbreviations, Signs, Transcription, and Transliteration (XVII-XXII); Introduction: The Emergence of a Jewish "Mystical" Literature (1-14); 1. Heikhalot Literature and Rabbinic Martyrology (15-49); 2. From Individual Guilt to Collective Sin: The Formation of the Post-Talmudic Martyrological Anthology (51-98); 3. The Hagiographic Vita of a Priestly Rabbinic Martyr: The Figure of Rabbi Ishmael in *The Story of the Ten Martyrs* (99-148); 4. The Heavenly Cult of the Martyrs: Apocalyptic Forms in Rabbinic Martyrology (149-198); 5. Apocalypse Now: Genre Inversion and Identity Reversal in *Heikhalot Rabbati* (199-243); 6. The Making of the Merkavah Mystic: The Function of Post-Talmudic Martyrology in *Heikhalot Rabbati* (245-288); Conclusion: Toward the Middle Ages (289-293);

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Appendix A: The Thematic Evolution of Post-talmudic Martyrology: A Schematic Diagram (294); Appendix B: The Heavenly Trial Scene in *The Story of the Ten Martyrs* (295-302); Bibliography (303-335); Source Index (337-359); Modern Author Index (360-361); Subject Index (362-376).

Brottier, Laurence, *L'appel des « demi-chrétiens » à la « vie angélique ». Jean Chrysostome prédicateur: entre idéal monastique et réalité mondaine* (Série Patrimoines: Christianisme), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 421 pp., ISBN 2-204-07478-0, € 55 (pb).—'Le présent ouvrage, qui offre la traduction de nombreux extraits de l'œuvre de Jean Chrysostome, propose une lecture possible de son aventure spirituelle et pastorale. L'analyse est centrée autour de deux notions: celle de « demi-chrétiens », expression dont Jean qualifie ses auditeurs mal christianisés, et celle de « vie angélique », qui signifie pour le pasteur non la seule vie monastique, selon l'usage, mais la perfection unique à laquelle est appelé tout chrétien'.

Chrysostom: *St. John Chrysostom, Old Testament Homilies*, Volume One, *Homilies on Hannah, David and Saul.* Translated with Introduction by Robert Charles Hill, Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press 2003, 158 pp., ISBN 1-885652-65-8, US$ 14.94 (pb); *St. John Chrysostom, Old Testament Homilies*, Volume Two, *Homilies on Isaiah and Jeremiah.* Translated with Introduction by Robert Charles Hill, Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press 2003, 141 pp., ISBN 1-885652-66-6, US$ 14.95 (pb); *St. John Chrysostom, Old Testament Homilies*, Volume Three, *Homilies on the Obscurity of the Old Testament. Homilies on the Psalms.* Translated with Introduction by Robert Charles Hill, Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press 2003, 152 pp., ISBN 1-885652-67-4, US$ 14.95 (pb).

Drijvers, Jan Willem, *Cyril of Jersusalem: Bishop and City* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 72), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2004, XV + 215 pp., ISBN 90-04-13986-9, € 92 / US$ 132 (hardback).—The volume's overall theme is "the relationship between the city and its bishop and, in particular, Cyril's efforts to promote Jerusalem as the Christian city par excellence, by employing Jerusalem's religious symbols—the holy sites and the Cross": Preface (vii-viii); Abbreviations (ix); Introduction (xi-xv); Ch. I: Jerusalem in the Fourth Century (1-30); II: Life and Works (31-63); III: Bishop, City and Liturgy (65-96); IV: Pagans, Heretics, Jews, Gnostics and Manichaeans (97-125); V: Rebuilding of the Temple (127-152); VI: Promoting Jerusalem (153-176); Epilogue (177-179); Appendix I: Cyril and Arianism (181-186); Appendix II: Services celebrated by the Bishop of Jerusalem (187-190); Appendix III: Letter attributed to Cyril on the Rebuilding of the Temple (191-193); Principal Ancient Sources (195-196); Bibliography (197-207);

Index (209-214); Plan of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century; Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (215).

Ferreiro, Alberto, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions CXXV), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, xi + 371 pp., ISBN 90-04-14495-1, € 89 / US$ 115 (hardback).—A useful collection of essays both topical and wide ranging, but also with a number of typo's, misspellings and inconsistencies in the foot note references and the final bibliography, and illustrated with 28 (but sometimes rather poorly reproduced) figures: Introduction (1-8); Ch. I. Simon Magus: The Patristic-Medieval Traditions and Historiography (9-26); II. Ten Years of Editions and Publications on New Testament Apocrypha (27-34); III. Typological Portraits of Simon Magus in Anti-Gnostic Sources (35-54); IV. Simon Peter and Simon Magus in the *Acts of Peter* and the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul* (55-110); V. Jerome's Polemic against Priscillian in his *Letter* to Ctesiphon (133,4) (83-110); VI. Priscillian and Nicolaitism (111-122, repr. from *VC* 1998); VII. Simon Magus and Priscillian in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent Lérins (123-132, repr. from *VC* 1995); VIII. The Fall of Simon Magus in Early Christian Commentary (133-146); IX. Simon Magus, Dogs, and Simon Peter (147-200); X. Simon Magus and Simon Peter in Medieval Irish and English Legends (201-220); XI. Simon Magus, Nicolas of Antioch and Muhammad (221-240); XII. Vincent Ferrer's *Beati Petri Apostoli*: Canonical and Apocryphal Sources in Popular Vernacular Preaching (241-260); XIII. Pope Clement I, Martin of Tours and Simon Magus in the Cathedral of León, Spain (261-285); XIV. Simon Magus and Simon Peter in a Baroque Altar Relief in the Cathedral of Oviedo, Spain (287-306). XV. Artistic Representations of Simon Magus and Simon Peter in the *Princeton Index of Christian Art*: With-up-to-Date Inventory and Bibliography (307-335); Bibliography (337-357); Modern Author Index (359-364); Subject Index (365-371).

Gain, Benoît, Pierre Jay et Gérard Nauroy (éd.), *Chartae caritatis. Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Serie Antiquité 173), Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes 2004 [Diffuseur exclusif: Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium], 529 p., ISBN 2-85121-201-X, € 65 (pb).—*Festschrift* pour un éminent spécialiste français, bien connu pour ses études patristiques, et professeur de langue et littérature latines à l'Université Paris-X Nanterre: Avant-propos (3-5); Bibliographie d'Yves-Marie Duval (7-17); *Genres et perspectives historiques: problèmes de réception*: Antoine A. R. Bastiaensen, La philosophie comme règle de conduite chez païens et chrétiens latins (21-36); Marek Starowieyski,

L'autobiographie dans l'Antiquité chrétienne (37-54); Giuseppe Cuscito, La tradizione della chiesa aquileiese. Bilancio bibliografico-critico (55-67); Vincent Zarini, Lactance et Rome au livre V des *Institutions divines* (69-81); Hervé Savon, Remploi et transformation de thèmes philoniens dans la première lettre d'Ambroise à Just (83-95); Françoise Thelamon, Le corps pour le dire: un procédé du discours historique de Rufin d'Aquilée (97-112); Michaela Zelzer, Zur Überlieferung und Rezeption der Kaiserreden des Ambrosius im Mailänder Raum (113-125); Luce Pietri, Venance Fortunat, lecteur des Pères latins (127-141); *Questions d'exégèse*: Agnès Bastit-Kalinowska, L'impôt et le poisson: une lecture patristique de la péricope de *Matthieu* 17,24-27 (145-156); Gérard Nauroy, Une exégèse anti-arienne de *Matthieu* 19,12 et le thème de l'eunuque chez Ambroise de Milan (*De uiduis* 13,75-78) (157-176); Domingo Ramos-Lissón, El *exemplum* de la viuda de Sarepta en el tratado *De Viduis* de san Ambrosio (177-191); Piere Jay, *Super flumina Babylonis* . . . Lectures patristique du *Psaume* 136 (193-204); Martine Dulaey, Les figures des deux Testaments dans les *Formulae intelligentiae spiritalis* d'Eucher de Lyon (205-224); Pierre Monat, Angelome de Luxeuil et la geste de Joseph (*Genèse* 37-50) (225-231); *Problèmes d'édition, de traduction et d'attribution*: Bernard Pouderon, Marcel d'Ancyre et la *Cohortatio ad Graecos* attribuée à Justin (235-262: 'L'attribution à Marcel doit donc être retenue [p.e. avec Ch. Riedweg] comme hautement probable, elle doit même être prise en compte pour une nouvelle évaluation de la pensée de l'évêque d'Ancyre; mais on ne peut pas affirmer pour autant en toute certitude que la *Cohortatio* est « de la main de Marcel », faute d'indices, internes ou externes, se référant directement et sans ambiguïté à sa personne', 262); Dominique Bocage-Lefebre, Paulin de Nole, *La vie terrestre de saint Félix* (traduction de *Natalicia* 4 & 5 = *carm.* XV & XVI) (263-283); Léon Nadjo, *Desiderantissimo fratri* chez saint Augustin (285-297); François Dolbeau, Une ancienne catéchèse latine, peut-être originaire d'Afrique (299-319); Roger Gryson, Scolies inédites de Théodulphe d'Orléans sur l'*Apocalypse* (321-341); Benoît Gain, En marge de l'édition bénédictine de saint Basile (343-356); *Autour de Jérôme*: Aline Canellis, Julien d'Éclane et l'*In Ioel* 1,4 de saint Jérôme (359-375); Jean-Louis Gourdain, Jérôme et l'étranger du *Psaume* 38,13 (377-383); Benoît Jeanjean, « Quand il ne reste plus que le droit de gémir. » Jérôme lecteur de Cicéron et de Sénèque le Père (385-399); Patrick Laurence, *Virilis* et *effeminatus* chez saint Jérôme (401-416); *Théologie, morale et esthétique*: Jérôme Alexandre, Aux sources de la conception augustinienne du péché originel: l'*originis uitium* de Tertullien (419-436); Michel Jean-Louis Perrin, Beauté de Dieu, beauté de la Création, fausse beauté dans les *Traités* de

Cyprien de Carthage (437-447); Paul Mattei, Novatien précurseur à la fois d'Apollinaire et de Nestorius? Équivoques rétrospectives et portée réelle de la formule christologique dans le *De Trinitate* (449-466); Marc Milhau, Lire le livre 4 du *De Trinitate* d'Hilaire de Poitiers (467-480); Michel Cozic, Rhétorique, foi et morale conjugale au Ve siècle d'après un chapitre « exemplaire » du *Liber ad Gregoriam* d'Arnobe le Jeune (481-494); Index scripturaire (495-499); Index des noms propres et titres d'œuvres (501-526); Tables des matières (527-529).

Goodwin, Deborah L., *"Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew". Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions CXXVI), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, XII + 300 pp., ISBN 90-04-14905-8, € 99 / US$ 134 (hardback).—Expanded and substantially revised doctoral dissertation on 'Herbert of Bosham's Psalms Commentary (c. 1190)', University of Notre Dame 2001, with e.g. relevant passages on Jerome's Bible exegesis and both Augustine's typical view of Jews and Judaism and its reiterations and elaborations during the Middle Ages from Gregory the Great onwards.

Helvetia Sacra, Section IV, *Les ordres suivant la Règle de saint Augustin*, Volume I: *Les chanoines réguliers de saint-Augustin en Valais. Le Grand-Saint-Bernard, Saint-Mauricce d'Agaune, les prieurés valaisans d'Abondance.* Rédaction Brigitte Degler-Spengler et Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, Bâle et Francofort-sur-le-Main: Helbig & Lichtenhahn 1997, 564 p., ISBN 3-7965-1216-X, Fr. 180 / € 126 (relié et avec jaquette); Abteilung IV, *Die Orden mit Augustinerregel*, Band 2, *Die Augustiner-Chorherren und die Chorfrauen-Gemeinschaften in der Schweiz.* Redigiert von Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, Basel: Schwabe Verlag 2005, 573 S. + Faltkarte, ISBN 3-7965-1217-8, Fr. 190 / € 133 (Gebunden mit Schutzumschlag).—In IV, 1 die eindrucksvolle und akribische Beschreibung der Geschichte der Augustiner-Chorherren des Wallis; in IV, 2 die ebenso sehr eindrucksvolle und akribische Beschreibung der Geschichte von allen anderen Schweizer Chorherren-Klöster und der Chorfrauen-Gemeinschaften. Die Bände sind schön verlegt worden und werden von ausführlichen Indices entschlossen; beide sind inzwischen vom Schwabe Verlag erhältlich. Selbstverständlich wird aus der alten Kirchengeschichte Augustinus oft erwähnt, aber z.B. auch Thekla.

Nauroy, Gérard, *Ambroise de Milan. Écriture et esthétique d'une exégèse pastorale. Quatorze études*, Bern etc.: Peter Lang 2003, XIII + 676 p., ISBN 3-906770-73-7, € 72 (pb).—Avant-propos (3-5); Abréviations (6); *Introduction: Un homme entre tensions et quête de l'unité*: I. Ambroise de Milan. Un saint qui « de ce qui était divisé a fait de l'únité » (9-32); *Première partie: Exégèse et combats du siècle*: II. Le fouet et le miel. Le combat d'Ambroise en 386

contre l'arianisme milanais (33-189); III. Une exégèse anti-arienne de *Matthieu* 19,12 et la figure de l'eunuque. Ambroise de Milan (*De uiduis* 13,75-78) (191-216); IV. Ambroise et la question juive à Milan à la fin du IVe siècle. Une nouvelle lecture de l'*Epistula* 74 (*Maur.* 40) à Théodose (217-244); *Deuxième partie: Entre Bible et liturgie: exégèse et problèmes d'Écriture*: V. L'Écriture dans la pastorale d'Ambroise de Milan. Les sens de l'Écriture, les formes et styles de l'exégèse: mimétisme biblique (247-300); VI. La méthode de composition d'Ambroise et la structure du *De Iacob et uita beata* (301-354); VII. Les frères Maccabées dans l'exégèse d'Ambroise de Milan ou la conversion de la sagesse judéo-hellénique aux valeurs du martyre chrétien (355-383); VIII. Du combat de la piété à la confession du sang. Ambroise de Milan, lecteur critique du *IVe Livres* [sic] *des Maccabées* (385-412); IX. La structure du *De Isaac uel anima* et la cohérence de l'allégorèse d'Ambroise de Milan (413-449); X. Deux lectures de la liturgie du baptême chez Ambroise de Milan. Du témoignage brut à son élaboration littéraire (451-481); *Troisième partie: Influence et réception: disciples et lecteurs critiques de l'exégèse ambrosienne*: XI. Chromace d'Aquilée, disciple critique de l'exégèse d'Ambroise de Milan. Réalité et limites de l'influence de l'*In Lucam* sur les *Tractatus in Matthaeum* (485-519); XII. Jérôme, lecteur et censeur de l'éxégèse d'Ambroise de Milan (521-558); XIII. Le martyre de Laurent dans l'hymnodie et la prédication des IVe et Ve siècles. Nouvelles réflections sur l'authenticité ambrosienne de l'hymne « Apostolorum supparem » (559-615); XIV. La courtisane au désert et la vierge sacrifiée. Ambroise de Milan, médiateur culturel entre Euripide et Anatole France? (617-636); Indices: Index scripturaire (639-643); Index des œuvres d'Ambroise (645-655); Index des noms propres et titres d'œuvres (657-676).

Orlov, Andrei A., *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2005, xii + 383 pp., ISBN 3-16-148544-0, € 99 (cloth with jacket).—In several respects a magnificent book, based on a doctoral dissertation accepted at Marquette University in October 2003, and of great importance to understand many an essential feature of (Gnostic) Christian origins as well: 'Orlov examines the tradition about the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch, tracing its development from its roots in the Mesopotamian lore to the Second Temple apocalyptic texts and later rabbinic and Hekhalot materials where Enoch is often identified as the supreme angel Metatron. He explores the imagery of the celestial roles and titles of the seventh antediluvian hero in Mesopotamian, Enochic and Hekhalot materials. The analysis of the celestial roles and titles shows that the transition from the figure of patriarch Enoch to the figure of angel Metatron occurred already

in the Second Temple Enochic materials, namely, in *2 (Slavonic)Enoch*, a Jewish work, traditionally dated to the first century CE. The author then demonstrates that mediatorial polemics with the traditions of the exalted patriarchs and prophets played an important role in facilitating the transition from Enoch to Metatron in the Second Temple Period'.

Pastor, Jack & Menachem Mor (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity. A Collection of Articles*, Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press 2005, 387 pp., ISBN 965-217-151-329, US$ 49 (case bound).—Interesting collection of (usually brief) essays, being the (sometimes slightly updated) proceedings of the Conference *The Beginnings of Christianity*, held at Tel Aviv University and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem in Jan. 1997: Foreword (3-7); Abreviations (9-11); I. *Tributes*: David Rosenthal, Tribute to Profesor David Flusser on his Eightieth Birthday (15-20); Peter Schäfer, Martin Hengel at Seventy (21-34); Hermann Lichtenberger, The Tübingen School and a Tübingen Scholar (35-41); II. *The Emergence of Christianity—Methological Reflections*: Étienne Nodet, The Origins of Christianity: Problems of Method (45-51); Justin Taylor, The Western Text of the New Testament: Its Nature and Interest (53-63), Günther Stemberger, The Pre-Christian Paul (65-81); III. *Christian Messianology—Jewish Background and Its Consequences*: Martin Hengel, The Beginnings of Christianity as a Jewish-Messianic and Universalistic Movement (85-100); William Schweiker, The End of Time and the Moral Texture of Reality in Early Christian Ethics (101-124); Friedrich Avemarie, Paul and the Claim of the Law according to the Scripture: Leviticus 18:5 in Galatians 3:12 and Romans 10:5 (125-148); IV. *Early Christianity and the Jewish Society*: Chana Safrai, The Mother of the Zebedee Brothers (Matthew 20:20-28) (151-159); Tal Ilan, It's Magic: Jewish Women in the Jesus Movement (161-172); Michael Mach, Jesus' Miracles in Context (173-201); V. *Jewish Law in the Background of Christianity*: Paula Fredriksen, Paul, Purity, and the *Ekklēsia* of the Gentiles (205-217); William Horbury, *Cena Pura* and the Lord's Supper (219-265); VI. *Judea in Early Christian Theory and Practice*: Amos Kloner, Reconstruction of the Tomb in the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre According to the Archaeological Finds and Jewish Burial Customs of the First Century CE (269-278); Joshua J. Schwartz, Temple and Temple Mount in the Book of Acts: Early Christian Activity, Topography, and *Halakhah* (279-295); Zeev Safrai, Nakdimon b. Guryon: A Galilean Aristocrat in Jerusalem (297-314); Asher Ovadiah, Symbolic Aspects of Early Christian Art (315-322); VII. *Parting of the Ways: Self-Definition and Polemics*: Yaron Z. Eliav, A New/Old Reading of the "*Lithos Epi Lithon*" Prophecy and the Role of the Temple Mount in the Jesus Movement (325-347); David Flusser,

The Antichrist and "The House of Israel Alone" (349-357); Frédéric Manns, Justin's Dialogue with Trypho (359-378); Martin Goodman, The Persecution of Paul by Diaspora Jews (379-387).

Petrichev, Wladimir, *Augustinus in Bildern. Szenen aus dem Leben des Kirchenvaters. Eine Hommage der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Augustinus-Forschung e.V. sowie des Verlagshauses Schwabe in Basel zum 1650. Geburtstag des Kirchenvaters am 13. November 2004*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag 2004, 47 S., ISBN 3-7965-2123-1, Fr. 14 / € 10 (Broschur).—Zehn sehr ansprechende Bilder, mit einführendem Text des eminenten Spezialisten Cornelius Petrus Mayer: 'Der in Würzburg lebende Künstler Wladimir Petrichev ließ sich jüngst erst aufgrund der Lektüre der *Confessiones* zu einem Zyklus von Bildern inspirieren, der am 25. Oktober 2003 bei der Jahresvollversammlung der *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Augustinus-Forschung e.V.* ausgestellt war und dort erhebliche Beachtung fand' (S. 10).

Pizzolato, Luigi F. & Chiara Somenzi, *I sette fratelli Maccabei nella Chiesa antica d'Occidente* (Studia Patristica Mediolanensia 25), Vita e Pensiero: Milano 2005, IX + 261 pp., ISBN 88-343-1237-6, € 20 (pb).—I. Linee evolutive della tradizione maccabaica nella Chiesa antica d'Occidente (3-45); II. Egesippo, Ambrogio e la tradizione romana dei Maccabei (47-77); III. Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum. Studio critico (79-127); *Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum.* Testo e traduzione (129-169: 'Il testo riproduce quello stabilito da H. Dörrie, *Passio SS. Machabaeorum. Die antike lateinische Übersetzung des IV. Makkabäerbuches*, Göttingen 1938, pp. 66-104', p. 130 n. 1); IV. Un approccio letterario al *Carmen de Martyrio Maccabaeorum* (171-200); V. La sete di Davide (4 Maccabei 3) (201-224); Bibliografia (225-234); Indice biblico (235-237); Indice degli autori antichi (239-261).

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237-249; Augustin, *De utilitate credendi*, über das Verhältnis des Interpreten zum Text, 251-265; *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture?* 267-286; Zwei Bemerkungen über Literatur in den neuen Augustin-Briefen, 287-294; Zur 'Alcestis Barcinonensis', 295-302; Zum paganen Umfeld der christlichen Predigt, 303-326; Sachen und Wörter. Christliche Innovation in der spätantiken lateinischen Literatur, 327-340; 5. *Nachleben* (343-367); *Anhang* (371-391).

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ISSN 0042-6032 (print version)
ISSN 1570-0720 (online version)

This journal is printed on acid-free paper.

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Vigiliae Christianae

A Review of Early Christian Life and Language

VOL. LX NO. 3 2006

ALSO AVAILABLE ONLINE
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LEIDEN—BOSTON

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PUBLISHER: Brill Academic Publishers

PUBLISHED: Four times a year: February, May, August and November

SUBSCRIPTIONS: The subscription price of Volume 60 (2006) is EUR 229.– (US$ 286.–) for institutions, and EUR 71.– (US$ 89.–) for individuals, *inclusive of postage and handling charges.* All prices are exclusive of VAT in EU-countries (VAT not applicable outside the EU).

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only. Orders take effect with the first issue of any year. Orders may also be entered on an automatic continuing basis. Cancellations will only be accepted if they are received before October 1st of the year preceding the year in which the cancellation is to take effect. Claims for missing issues will be met, free of charge, if made within three months of dispatch for European customers and five months for customers outside Europe.

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THE OTHER CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA: COSMIC HIERARCHY AND INTERIORIZED APOCALYPTICISM[1]

BY

BOGDAN G. BUCUR

ABSTRACT: Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae Propheticae*, and *Adumbrationes* depict a cosmic hierarchy featuring, in descending order, the divine Face, the seven beings first created, the archangels, and the angels. This account is problematic in that it seems to incorporate a contradiction: one set of texts presents a fix cosmic hierarchy populated by different types having at its top the seven *protoctists*. A second set of texts, however, interprets this process of initiation as a continuous ascent on the cosmic ladder, marked by an ongoing cyclical transformation of humans into angels, of angels into archangels, and of archangels into *protoctists*.

This article sets forth the principles governing Clement's hierarchical cosmos, and proposes a solution to the apparent contradiction between the two accounts. In essence, Clement of Alexandria internalizes the cosmic ladder and the associated experience of ascent and transformation, offering an early example of what scholars have termed "interiorized apocalypticism."

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[1] (*) An earlier version of this study was presented before the Seminar on the Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism at Marquette University (*www.mu.edu/maqom*), in April of 2004. I would like to thank the participants, and especially Fr. Alexander Golitzin, Dr. Andrei Orlov, and Dr. Kevin Sullivan, for their pertinent observations and critique. Many thanks also to Fr. Elijah Mueller, Rebecca Luft, and Dr. Vlad Niculescu, who read the manuscript. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Julian Hills for a wonderful semester spent reading and discussing Clement's *Eclogae Propheticae*.

The Greek text is that of the GCS critical edition (O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, U. Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus* [3 vols; 4th ed.; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1985—]). For the *Stromateis*, I am using the text available in the ANF collection, with slight modifications (indicated as such); references to the *Stromateis* indicate book, chapter, and section. The passages from the *Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae Propheticae*, and *Adumbrationes* are my own translation.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 251-268

1. *"The Other Clement" and the Secret Tradition*

Dwarfed and almost obscured by the "canonical" Clement of Alexandria—the Hellenist, the Christian Middle Platonist and Stoic, the heir to Philo, the precursor of Origen—there exists, as it were, "another" Clement. The voice of this "other Clement," echoing the theology and practices of the "elders"—Jewish Christian teachers of earlier generations—is dominant in the surviving fragments of the *Hypotyposes*: the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, the *Eclogae Propheticae*, and the *Adumbrationes*.[2]

The "other Clement" is one of our most eminent witnesses of secret traditions ascribed to the apostles and circulating among Jewish Christian teachers during the first three centuries of the common era.[3] According to Jean Daniélou, this secret tradition, imparted orally, only to advanced Christians, was "the continuation within Christianity of a Jewish esotericism that existed at the time of the Apostles" and concerned in large measure the mysteries of the heavenly worlds; more precisely, among Jewish-Christians, starting as early as the apostles themselves, the concern was to relate the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection to the mysteries of the heavenly world.[4] In his own exploration of this topic, Gedaliahu Guy Stroumsa sug-

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[2] On the *Hypotyposes* and their place in the Clementinian corpus, → Pierre Nautin, "La fin des *Stromates* et les *Hypotyposes* de Clément d'Alexandrie," *VigChr* 30 (1976), 268-302. For a survey of other theories pertaining to the origin and function of the *Excerpta* and the *Eclogae*, see 270-282. On the presence of Jewish and 'Jewish Christian' traditions in these works by Clement, see Jean Daniélou, 'Les traditions secrètes des Apôtres,' *Eranos Jahrbuch* 31 (1962), 199-215. Throughout this essay, the term 'Jewish Christian' will be taken in the sense described by Daniélou in his classic work *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964). As long as the narrative of an early and radical parting of the ways between 'Christianity' and 'Judaism' remains normative, despite its inability to explain a great deal of textual evidence from the first four centuries, the term 'Jewish Christianity' remains useful as a description of 'Christianity' itself. For more recent treatments of this problem, see the essays collected in A.H. Becker, A.Y. Reed (eds.), *The Ways that Never Parted* (TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[3] Clement mentions such Jewish Christian teachers—"the elders"—and their oral teaching with great reverence: *Eclogae* 11; 27.1; *Adumbrationes* in 1 Jn 1:1; fragments 8, 14, and 25 (in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.14.5, 6.9.2, 6.13.9).

[4] "Le contenu de cette tradition secrète concerne les secrets du monde céleste, qui était déja dans le judaïsme l'objet d'un savoir réservé. Cette tradition secrète n'est donc à aucun degré relative à l'essence du message apostolique, qui est le Christ mort et ressuscité. Mais elle correspond à une explicitation de ce mystère dans sa relation avec le monde céleste. Les Apôtres pensaient que cette explicitation ne relevait pas de

gested that Clement of Alexandria lays out something quite similar to the "secret tradition" of contemporary Rabbinic circles (*Mishna Hagiga* 2:1): an initiation to *ma'asse bereshīt* ("the things pertaining to creation"), and an initiation into the mysteries of the divine throne (*ma'asse merkavah*), on the basis of mystical exegesis of key-texts in Genesis and Ezekiel.[5] Stroumsa's brief note is worth exploring in greater detail.

According to Clement, "the gnostic tradition according to the canon of the truth" comprises first an account of the world's coming into being (περὶ κοσμογονίας), beginning with "the prophetic utterances of Genesis" (ἀπὸ τῆς προφητευθείσης . . . γενέσεως), followed by an ascent to "the subject-matter of theology" (ἐπὶ τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶδος).[6] This θεολογικὸν εἶδος is elsewhere (*Strom* 1.28.176) also described as a matter of visionary contemplation, ἐποπτεία, and explained in light of Plato and Aristotle.[7] Yet εἶδος also happens to be the term used by the LXX version of Ezekiel 1:26 (ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου). Moreover, we know that Jews and Christians of the Greek diaspora were fond of drawing a connection between Ezekiel 1:26 and the Platonic theory of forms (e.g., εἶδος ἀνθρώπου in Parm 130 C).[8] It appears quite likely, then, that "the subject-matter of theology" that Clement has in

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l'enseignement commun, mais d'une initiation plus poussée, de caractère oral" (Daniélou, "Les traditions secrètes des Apôtres," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 31 (1962), 214.

[5] Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, "«*Paradosis*»: Esoteric Traditions in Early Christianity," in *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism* (Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill, 1996), 42-43. See also his article "Clement, Origen, and Jewish Esoteric Traditions," in *Hidden Wisdom*, 109-131.

[6] *Strom* 4.1.3: ἡ γοῦν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας κανόνα γνωστικῆς παραδόσεως φυσιολογία, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐποπτεία, ἐκ τοῦ περὶ κοσμογονίας ἤρτηται λόγου, ἐνθένδε ἀναβαίνουσα ἐπὶ τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶδος. ὅθεν εἰκότως τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς παραδόσεως ἀπὸ τῆς προφητευθείσης ποιησόμεθα γενέσεως . . . ("The science of nature, then—or rather vision—, as contained in the gnostic tradition according to the rule of the truth, depends on the account of the world's coming into being, ascending thence to the subject-matter of theology. Whence, then, we shall begin our account of what is handed down with that which was prophesied in Genesis . . .," ANF modified).

[7] Ἡ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Μωυσέα φιλοσοφία τετραχῇ τέμνεται . . . καὶ τέταρτον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶδος, ἡ ἐποπτεία, ἣν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων τῶν μεγάλων ὄντως εἶναι μυστηρίων, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ καλεῖ. ("Now, the Mosaic philosophy is divided into four parts . . . and the fourth, above all, is the subject-matter of theology, the vision, according to Plato, of the truly great mysteries [cf. Phaedr. 250 BC; Symp. 210 A]; Aristotle calls this 'meta-physics'" [ANF, modified]).

[8] Jarl Fossum, "Colossians 1.15-18a in the Light of Jewish Mysticism and Gnosticism," *New Test. Stud.* 35 (1989), 188. Cf. Alan Segal, *Paul the Convert. The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1990), 42.

mind concerns both Plato's "vision of truly great mysteries," and Ezekiel's vision of the divine chariot-throne.[9]

Within this second area of speculative concern—"the ascent to the subject-matter of theology," to use the phrase in *Strom* 4:1:3—the following pages will discuss the hierarchical cosmology that Clement inherited from earlier tradition, and the way in which he modified it to suit his own theological concerns.

2. *Clement of Alexandria's Celestial Hierarchy*

On the basis of a theological tradition inherited from Jewish Christian "elders," Clement of Alexandria furnishes a detailed description of the hierarchical structure of the universe.[10]

a. *The Principles of the Hierarchy*

This celestial "hierarchy"—if the anachronism is acceptable—features, in descending order, the Face, the seven beings first created, the archangels, finally the angels.[11] Clement's "celestial hierarchy" comprising the Logos,

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[9] The outlined similarity is, of course, not suggestive of any sort of direct borrowing. "Clement does not reflect living contacts with Jewish scholars" (Annewies van den Hoek, "The 'Catechetical' School of Early Christian Alexandria and Its Philonic Heritage," HTR 90 [1997], 80). However, Jewish traditions of the second Temple are influential in the shaping of both Christianity and Judaism.

[10] The fact that Clement's strictly hierarchical universe goes back to earlier tradition has been demonstrated by older research: Paul Collomp, "Une source de Clément d'Alexandrie et les Homélies Pseudo—Clémentines," *Revue de philologie et littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 37 (1913), 19-46; Wilhelm Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom: Literarische Untersuchungen zu Philo und Clemens von Alexandria, Justin und Irenäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915). Despite the pertinent critique of some of Bousset's conclusions (Johannes Munck, *Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandria* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933], 127-204), the thesis of a Jewish and Jewish-Christian literary source behind Clement remains solidly established (see Georg Kretschmar, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1956], 68, n. 3).

[11] The term "hierarchy" was coined centuries later by the anonymous author of the Pseudo-Areopagitic Corpus. I have taken the liberty to use it for Clement's description of the celestial realm, because the fundamental operating principles of the Clementinian and Dionysian universes are quite similar. This fact has been noted in passing by Alexander Golitzin (*Et Introibo Ad Altare Dei: The Mystagogy of Dionysius Areopagita, with Special Reference to its Predecessors in the Eastern Christian Tradition* [*Analekta Vlatadon* 59; Thessalonica: 1994], 265), but has not yet received adequate treatment.

the seven *protoctists*, the archangels, and the angels[12] seems to be continued by an ecclesiastical hierarchy, since Clement affirms that "the advancements (προκοπαί) pertaining to the Church here below, namely those of bishops, presbyters and deacons, are imitations (μιμήματα) of the angelic glory" (*Strom.* 6:13:107). The orienting principle (ἀρχή) of the hierarchy is the "Face of God," a theme whose prominence in the apocalyptic literature of Second Temple Judaism was only amplified with the emergence of Christianity.[13] More than "the radiant façade of God's anthropomorphic extent," more than a code-expression for "a vision of the enthroned Glory,"[14] the Face of God is for Clement, as for some later Hekhalot traditions, a hypostatic "Face."[15] For Clement, "the Face of God is the Son" (*Excerpta* 10:6)—an

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[12] Since God is neither an accident (συμβεβηκός), nor described by anything accidental (*Strom.* 5:12:81), he is beyond the hierarchy, and should not be counted as the first of five hierarchical levels (*pace* Collomp, "Une source," 24, and Oeyen, *Engelpneumatologie* 20). To designate the Father, Clement repeatedly alludes to the famous Platonic "beyond ousia" (ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, Rep 509b), which had been already appropriated by Justin (ἐπέκεινα πάσης οὐσίας, *Dial* 4:1). God is one and *beyond* the one and the monad (*Paed.* 1:8:71), and *beyond* cause (τὸ ἐπέκεινα αἴτιον, *Strom.* 7:2:2).

[13] C.L. Seow, "Face," in K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden; Boston: Brill; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 322-325. According to Andrei Orlov (*The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* [TSAJ, 107; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck; 2005], 153, 279), early Enochic texts, such as 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, or the Book of Giants, make little use of "face" imagery; however, in the context of an ongoing polemic against other Jewish traditions of divine mediatorship, later Enochic booklets—2 Enoch, 3 Enoch—produce extensive reflections on the Face. For a theological evaluation of the theme of the Face in the Pseudepigrapha, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*; "Exodus 33 on God's Face: A Lesson From the Enochic Tradition," *SBLSP* 39 (2000), 130-147; "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic *Ladder of Jacob*," in C.A. Evans (ed.), *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation & Transmission Of Scripture* (London/New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2004), 59-76; April De Conick, "Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First-Century Christology in the Second Century," in C.C. Newman, J.R. Davila, G.S. Lewis, eds. *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism* [JSJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 327-29.

[14] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 282: "It is evident that all four accounts, Exodus 33:18-23, Psalm 17:15, 1 Enoch 14, and 2 Enoch 39:3-6, represent a single tradition in which the divine Face serves as the *terminus technicus* for the designation of the Lord's anthropomorphic extent."

[15] According to Nathaniel Deutsch (*Guardians of the Gate: Angelic Vice Regency In Late Antiquity* [Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999], 43), at least one Merkabah passage (§§ 396-397), "explicitly identifies Metatron as the hypostatic face of God," so that "the title *sar ha-panim* . . . is better understood as 'prince who is the face [of God].'" See also Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 124-125.

affirmation repeated elsewhere.[16] To describe the continual propagation of light from the Face down to the lowest level of existence, Clement uses the adverb προσεχῶς, suggesting immediacy, the lack of any interval between the levels: each rank of spiritual entities is "moved" by the one above it, and will, in turn, "move" the immediately lower level. The purpose of hierarchy consists in the spiritual progress, or "advancement" (προκοπή) of each of the spiritual levels, or τάξεις.[17]

The first level of celestial entities contemplating the Face is constituted by the seven πρωτοκτίστοι, celestial beings "first created." On the one hand, these *protoctists* are numbered with the angels and archangels, their subordinates.[18] On the other hand, they are bearers of the divine Name, and, as such, they are called "gods."[19] Clement equates them with "the seven eyes

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[16] *Excerpta* 12:1: "But the Son is the beginning of the vision of the Father [lit.: 'fatherly vision'], called 'the Face (Πρόσωπον) of the Father.'" April DeConick ("Heavenly Temple Traditions," 325) states that "the image of the Son as the Father's Face may have played a significant role in Valentinian theologies." However, the repeated occurrence of the same designation in Clement of Alexandria (*Paed* 1:57 and 1:124:4, *Strom* 7:58, as well as in Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* 14), suggests that "Face" as a Christological title was at least as popular in the "Great Church" (to use Celsus' designation: Origen, *Against Celsus* 5:59) as it was in Valentinian tradition.

[17] According to François Sagnard, προσεχῶς "indique la continuité dans l'espace, sans intermédiaire. La dynamis (ou: le logos) du Père passe continuellement dans le Monogène pour l'engendrer. On peut dire aussi que le Monogène *est* cette dynamis du Père" (*Excerpta*, 79, n. 2; Emphasis mine); "l' ὑπεροχή est la différence entre deux échelons" de la προκοπή (Sagnard, *Extraits* 77, n. 3). Pointing to *Strom.* 7:2:10, Christian Oeyen explains: "Die verschiedenen Stufen des Fortschrittes heissen . . . τάξεις, das Fortschreiten von einer zur anderen προκοπή" (*Eine frühchristliche Engelpneumatologie bei Klemens von Alexandrien* [Bern, 1966], 9).

[18] "Hae namque primitivae virtutes ac primo creatae (rendering πρωτόγονοι καὶ πρωτόκτιστοι δυνάμεις), inmobiles exsistentes secundum substantiam, cum subiectis angelis et archangelis" (*Adumbrationes in 1 Jn 2:1*). Stählin's critical edition introduces a comma between "inmobiles" and "exsistentes." I prefer to revert to Zahn's text, which has no comma. Thus, I take "inmobiles exsistentes secundum substantiam" to mean that their substance is immovable according to substance, i.e., does not undergo change. A number of scholars (Zahn, Kretschmar, Barbel) identified these "powers" with two paracletes; on the other hand, the idea that the "powers" under discussion are the seven *protoctists* is supported by François Sagnard, the editor and translator of the *Excerpta* for Sources Chrétiennes (*Excerpta* 77, n. 2), and, more recently, by Henning Ziebritzki (*Heiliger Geist und Weltseele: das Problem der dritten Hypostase bei Origenes, Plotin und ihren Vorläufern* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], 122, n. 148). But the most extensive argumentation has been furnished by Oeyen (*Engelpneumatologie*, 31-33).

[19] "Now, in the Gospel according to Mark, when the Lord was interrogated by the high priest if He was 'the Christ, the Son of the blessed God,' He answered saying, 'I

of the Lord" (Zech 3:9, 4:10; Rev 5:6), the "thrones" (Col 1:16), and the "angels ever contemplating the Face of God" (Mat 18:10).[20] The *protoctists* are seven, but they are simultaneously characterized by unity and multiplicity: although distinct in number, Clement writes, "their liturgy is common and undivided."[21]

The *protoctists* fulfill multiple functions: in relation to Christ, they present the prayers ascending from below (*Excerpta* 27:2); on the other hand, they function as "high priests" with regard to the archangels, just as the archangels are "high priests" to the angels, and so forth (*Excerpta* 27:2). In their unceasing contemplation of the Face of God, they represent the model (προκέντημα) of perfected souls (*Excerpta* 10:6; 11:1).

Here we find a definite echo of the Jewish and Jewish-Christian traditions about the highest angelic company. The group of seven is found in Ezekiel

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am; and you shall see the Son of man seated at the right hand of power (*a dextris virtutis*).' But 'powers' indicates the holy angels. Further, when He says 'at the right hand of God,' he means the same ones, on account of the equality and likeness of the angelic and holy powers, which are called by the one name of God (*quae uno nominabantur nomine dei*)" (*Adumbrationes in Juda* 5:24). Clement equates here "power" in the Gospel text with "angels"; in an earlier sentence, he had equated "glory" with "angels": "*In the presence of His glory*: he means before the angels . . ." (*Adumbrationes in Juda* 5:24).

[20] *Excerpta* 10; *Eclogae* 57:1. For a synthetic presentation of the *protoctists*, see A. Le Boulluec, *Commentaire*, in *Clément d'Alexandrie: Stromate V, tome 2* (SC 279; Paris: Cerf, 1981), 143.

[21] *Excerpta* 10:3-4: οἱ δὲ Πρωτόκτιστοι, εἰ καὶ ἀριθμῷ διάφοροι καὶ ὁ καθ' ἕκαστον περιώρισται καὶ περιγέγραπται, ἀλλ' ἡ ὁμοιότης τῶν πραγμάτων ἑνότητα καὶ ἰσότητα καὶ ὁμοιότητα ἐνδείκνυται. Οὐ γὰρ τῷδε μὲν πλέον, τῷδε δὲ ἧττον παρέσχηται τῶν Ἑπτά, οὐδ' ὑπολείπεται τις αὐτοῖς προκοπή· ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπειληφότων τὸ τέλειον ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ("As for the *protoctists*, even while they are distinct in number, and individually defined and circumscribed, the similarity of [their] deeds nevertheless points to [their] unity, equality and being alike. Among the seven, there has not been given more to the one and less to the other; nor is any of them lacking in advancement; [they] have received perfection from the beginning, at the first [moment of their] coming into being, from God through the Son"). I am using two different English words for ὁμοιότης ("similarity" and "being alike"), because our post-Nicene theological bias would automatically weaken the bearing of this word in Clement: the second time he uses ὁμοιότης, Clement has in mind "being like" as opposed to "being unlike," not to "being the same as."

Excerpta 11:4: Καὶ δύναμιν μὲν ἰδίαν ἔχει ἕκαστον τῶν πνευματικῶν καὶ ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν· καθὸ δὲ ὁμοῦ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀπειλήφασιν οἱ Πρωτόκτιστοι, κοινὴν τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ ἀμέριστον. ("And each of the spiritual beings has, on the one hand, both its proper power and its individual dispensation; but, on the other hand, given that the *protoctists* have come to be and have received [their] perfection at the same time, their service is common and undivided.")

9:2-3 (seven angelic beings, of which the seventh is more important than the other six), Tob 12:15 (seven "holy angels" who have access before the Glory, where they present the prayers of "the saints"), and 1 Enoch.[22] A list of references to "angel/angels of the face" in the Pseudepigrapha is furnished by Seow, in his article on "Face," referred to above.[23] The notion of "first created" is important to the author of *Jubilees*: the angels of the presence are said to be circumcised from their creation on the second day, thus possessing a certain perfection, and functioning as heavenly models and final destination of the people of Israel (*Jub* 2:2; 15:27). The *Prayer of Joseph* seems to imply that Israel ranks higher than the seven archangels, as chief captain and first minister before the face of God.[24]

Among the Christian texts available to Clement, Revelation mentions seven spirits/angels before the divine throne (1:4; 3:1; 4:5; 5:6; 8:2), and the *Shepherd of Hermas* knows of a group of seven consisting of the six "first created ones" (πρῶτοι κτισθέντες) who accompany the Son of God as their seventh (Vis 3:4:1; Sim 5:5:3).

Moving on to later Jewish writings, 3 En 10:2-6 mentions that Metatron is exalted above the "eight great princes" who bear the divine Name. *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer*, composed around 750 CE, but incorporating material going back to the Pseudepigrapha, combines the number seven and the notion of "first created."[25]

It is quite clear that Clement's references to *protoctists* reflect ancient angelological speculations characteristic of Second Temple Judaism. However, it should be noted that Clement subjects this material to the spiritualizing interpretation and the Logos-theology inherited from Philo. The

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[22] 1 En 20 (*The Book of the Watchers*) features seven archangels, echoed by "the seven first snow-white ones" in 1 En 90:21 (*Dream Visions*); 1 En 40:9 (*Similitudes*) counts only four archangels.

[23] Jub 2:2, 18; 15:27; 31:14; T. Levi 3:5; 4:2; T. Judah 25:2 (tr. de Jonge!); 1 QH 6:13. In 2 En 19:1, a group of seven angels is placed in the sixth heaven. See also James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2001), 87-89, 126-127; Charles Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1998), 124-151.

[24] See also the introductory study by J.Z. Smith in OTP 2:704, where Christ and the seven *protoctists* in the *Excerpta* are offered as a parallel!

[25] God "has a scepter of fire in his hand, and a veil spread before him, and his eyes run to and fro throughout the whole earth, and the seven angels which were created first minister before him within the veil, and this (veil) is called Pargod" (*Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer [The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great] According to the Text of the Manuscript Belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna* [tr. G. Friedländer; New York: Hermon, 1965], iv:23).

protoctists are both "angelic powers" and "powers of the Logos" that mark the passing of divine unity into multiplicity, and, conversely, the reassembly of cosmic multiplicity into the unity of the Godhead.[26]

The entire hierarchy is characterized by relative corporality.[27] On the presupposition that anything that exists is an οὐσία, and is implicitly characterized by form, nothing is "without form," whether angels, archangels, *protoctists*, or even Christ.[28] However, Clement immediately notes, this type of "form" is entirely different from any earthly forms;[29] moreover, the corporality of the spiritual beings is characterized by progressive "subtlety," in proportion to their position in the hierarchy.[30] In fact, this type of corporality is entirely relative, since the beings on any given level can be

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[26] In *Strom.* 4:25:156, Clement presents a typical Middle Platonic cosmology, featuring an utterly transcendent God, and the Logos who, as God's agent, founds multiplicity of creation, which eventually will be reduced to Logos. According to Lilla, "Clement found already formed in Philo the doctrine of the Logos as the totality of powers which are identical with the ideas" (Salvatore Lilla, *Clement*, 204. Eric Osborn [*The Philosophy of Clement* 41] affirms that Clement "explained the existence and nature of things by 'powers' just as Plato had done by 'forms' and the earlier Stoics had done by immanent reason or divine fire"). However, the simple equation of the "powers" with the Platonic ideas does not account for the complexity of the text. I submit that he is here attempting to fuse the Logos-speculation with an earlier and established teaching on the "powers of the spirit," a teaching originating not in the philosophical tradition, but in Jewish or Jewish Christian speculation about angelic "powers." It is significant in this respect that Clement immediately quotes the Book of Revelation: "the Word is called the Alpha and the Omega. . . ." (Rev 1:8; also 21:6; 22:13). What he has in mind is surely the throne-visions of Revelation, depicting Christ and the seven spirits or angels in attendance before the throne (Rev. 1:4; 8:2).

[27] As Collomp ("Une source," 34; 39) has already demonstrated, here Clement seems to be reworking a source either identical or similar to what has been preserved in the Ps.-Clementine Homilies (17:7), featuring much cruder descriptions.

[28] *Excerpta* 10:1: Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ πνευματικὰ καὶ νοερά, οὐδὲ οἱ Ἀρχάγγελοι, <οὐδὲ> οἱ Πρωτόκτιστοι, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτός, ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἀσώματός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μορφὴν ἔχει ἰδίαν καὶ σῶμα ἀνὰ λόγον τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τῶν πνευματικῶν ἁπάντων· ("But neither the spiritual and intelligible beings, nor the archangels, nor the *protoctists*, not even [Christ] himself, are without form, without shape, without frame, and bodiless; rather they do have both individual form and body . . .").

[29] *Excerpta* 10:2-3: Ὅλως γὰρ τὸ γενητὸν οὐκ ἀνούσιον μέν, οὐχ ὅμοιον δὲ μορφὴν καὶ σῶμα ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ σώμασιν ("On the one hand, anything that has come to be is not without *ousia*; on the other, they [referring back to the spiritual beings] do not have a form and a body like the bodies [to be found] in this world").

[30] The form, shape and body of spiritual entities is "in proportion to their degree

described at the same time as "bodiless"—from the perspective of inferior ranks—, and "bodily"—from the perspective of superior levels of being.[31]

b. *The Function of the Hierarchy*

The advancement on the cosmic ladder leads to the progressive transformation of one level into the next, an idea for which Clement offers a highly complex account.[32] According to Clement's *Eclogae Propheticae*, the believers are being instructed by the angels; their horizon is one of angelification. At the end of a millennial cycle, they are translated into the rank of angels, while their instructors become archangels, replacing their own instructors who are also promoted to a higher level. All degrees of the hierarchy move one step higher every one thousand years; humans become angels, and will function as the angelic guides and teachers of humans:

> For those among humans who start being transformed into angels are instructed by the angels for a thousand years, in order to be restored to perfection. Then the instructors are translated into archangelic authority, while those who have received instruction will in turn instruct those among humans who are transformed into angels; thereupon they are, at the specified period, reestablished into the proper angelic state of the body (*Eclogae* 57:5).

This periodic "upgrading" also applies to the top level of the hierarchy. Even the *protoctists*, "the first-created, at the highest level of restoration" (*Eclogae* 57:1)—are "set" higher,

> so that they may no longer exercise a definite ministry, according to providence, but may abide in rest and solely in the contemplation of God alone. But those closest to them will advance to the degree that they themselves have left; and the same occurs by analogy with those on an inferior level (*Eclogae* 56:5).

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among spiritual beings"; the *protoctists* have form and shape "in proportion to the level of the beings below them." I use "in proportion to" to render ἀνὰ λόγον + G, and "level" for ὑπεροχή.

[31] *Excerpta* 11:3: Ὡς πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν τῶν τῇδε σωμάτων (οἷον ἄστρων) ἀσώματα καὶ ἀνείδεα, <ἀλλ'> ὡς πρὸς τὴν σύγκρισιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ σώματα μεμετρημένα καὶ αἰσθητά· οὕτως καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα παραβαλλόμενος. ("Thus, compared to the bodies here (such as the stars) they are bodiless and shapeless; yet, compared to the Son, they are measured and sensible bodies. Likewise is the Son in regards to the Father.")

[32] See Collomp, "Une source," 23-24, and especially Oeyen, *Engelpneumatologie*, 8-9, 12.

3. *The Problem*

As Christian Oeyen has rightly noted, in his fundamental study dedicated to Clement's *Engelpneumatologie*, this raises numerous problems.[33] Have the *protoctists* been created perfect and immutable (*Excerpta* 10:3; 11:4), or have they *acquired* perfection? (*Eclogae* 57)? How can the *protoctists* be a group of no more and no less than seven, given that no limitation on the number of those "promoted" in their stead has been mentioned? If the *protoctists* are "the highest level of disposition" (*Eclogae* 57:1), to what "higher" level can they be translated?[34]

4. *Towards a Solution: "Interiorized Apocalypticism"*

To answer the questions just raised, it is necessary to determine in how far the Alexandrian master is in agreement with the Jewish and Jewish Christian traditions that he is drawing on. It is well-known that Clement shares Philo's interest in "noetic exegesis."[35] I submit that the result of such exegesis is the internalization of the cosmic ladder and of the associated experience of ascent and transformation.

a. *Clement on the Interior Ascent*

In *Strom* 4:25:158, Clement discusses the necessity of the seven-day purification required for the priest who has touched a corpse (Ezekiel 44:26). Since the entire text is a prophetic vision about the eschatological temple and its ministers, Clement can easily allude to an interpretation of the seven days of purification and subsequent entry into the temple as a purification

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[33] Oeyen, *Engelpneumatologie*, 12.

[34] It should be mentioned that the vast majority of scholars are in agreement that all of these passages belong to Clement. Salvatore Lilla (*Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* [Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1971], 176-183) instead, attributes them to a Gnostic source (179: "perhaps to Theodotus himself"), arguing that the type of *Himmelsreise* present in these passages "plunges directly into Gnosticism" (181, cf. 183). The underlying understanding of "Gnosticism" has in the meantime become untenable. But even if one were to concede the Gnostic character of *Excerpta* 10-15 and 27, the problem remains no less acute, because *Eclogae* 57 would then also be labeled as "Gnostic" (see Lilla, *Clement*, 185; 179, n. 6). In short, whether Clementinian, "Jewish-Christian," or Gnostic, these passages incorporate a contradiction.

[35] Osborn, "Philo and Clement: Quiet Conversion and Noetic Exegesis," in *The Studia Philonica Annual* 10 (1998), 108-124.

from *moral* corruption,[36] followed by the ascent through the seven heavens.[37] However, Clement moves beyond the traditional seven-storied cosmology:

> Whether, then, the time be that which through the seven periods enumerated returns to the chiefest rest, or the seven heavens, which some reckon one above the other; or whether also the fixed sphere which borders on the intellectual world be called the eighth, the expression denotes that the Gnostic ought to rise out of the sphere of creation and of sin.[38]

It seems that all imagistic details, such as specific intervals of space or time are emptied of the literal meaning they had had in the apocalyptic cosmology inherited from the "elders." Whether "seven days," or "one thousand years," or "seven heavens," or "archangels," or "*protoctists*," the details of the cosmic-ladder imagery become images of interior transformation. This is why the inconsistencies in Clement's account about the *protoctists* are only apparent. At times, Clement refers to the data he has received from tradition. Thus, in the *Stromata*, he shows himself familiar with the idea that "the whole world of creatures . . . revolves in sevens" and that "the first-born princes of the angels (πρωτόγονοι ἀγγέλων ἄρχοντες), who have the greatest power, are seven";[39] and in the *Excerpta* he presents a detailed description of the entire hierarchy. At other times, however, Clement suggests that these data ought to be further interpreted. For instance, he speaks of

> . . . gnostic souls that surpass in the greatness of contemplation the mode of life of each of the holy ranks (τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τῆς θεωρίας ὑπερβαινούσας ἑκάστης ἁγίας τάξεως τὴν πολιτείαν) . . . ever moving to higher and yet higher places [litt. "reaching places better than the better places," ἀμείνους ἀμεινόνων τόπων τόπους], embracing the divine vision (θεωρίαν) not in mirrors or by means of mirrors. This is the vision attainable by "the pure in heart"; this is the function (ἐνέργεια) of the Gnostic, who has been perfected, to have convene with God through the great High Priest . . . The Gnostic even forms and

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[36] Clement explicitly rejects anti-somatic ideas: "not that the body was polluted, but that sin and disobedience were incarnate, and embodied, and dead, and therefore abominable."

[37] For the origin of the seven-heaven cosmology in Second Temple Judaism and Christianity, see Ioan-Petru Culianu, *Psychanodia: A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Ascension of the Soul and its Relevance* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), and Adela Yarbro-Collins, "The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses," in J.J. Collins, M. Fishbane (eds.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (New York: SUNY, 1995), 59-93.

[38] *Strom* 4:25:159, ANF.

[39] *Strom* 6:16:142-143.

> creates himself (ναὶ μὴν ἑαυτὸν κτίζει καὶ δημιουργεῖ); and besides also, he, like to God, adorns those who hear him;[40]
>
> . . . Then become pure in heart, and near (κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς) to the Lord, there awaits them restoration to everlasting contemplation; and they are called by the appellation of "gods," being destined to sit on thrones with the other gods that have been first put in their places by the Savior;[41]
>
> . . . "This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the Face of the God of Jacob" (Ps. 24:3-6). The prophet has, in my opinion, concisely indicated the Gnostic. David, as appears, has cursorily demonstrated the Savior to be God, by calling Him "the Face of the God of Jacob" . . .[42]

In these passages, the "Gnostic soul" is described as possessing unmediated, perfect access to the vision of the Face, taking its stand in His immediate proximity, κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς (cf. the repeated use of προσεχῶς in the *Excerpta* to express the immediacy, the lack of any interval between the levels of the hierarchy!). The true Gnostic has been brought "*in the presence of His glory*: he means before the angels, *faultless in joyousness*, having become angels."[43] The Gnostic "has pitched his tent in *El*, that is, in God."[44] Clement arrives at this conclusion after a creative exegesis of Ps 18:2 ("he pitched his tent in the sun"), by moving from ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ to ἐν τῷ ἢλ, on the basis of similarity of sound,[45] and from ἐν τῷ ἢλ to ἐν τῷ θεῷ on the basis of Mark 15:34 ("*Eli, Eli*, that is, *my God, my God*").[46] Moreover, when Clement says that "the function (ἐνέργεια) of the Gnostic who has been perfected" is such that "he even forms and creates himself (ναὶ μὴν ἑαυτὸν κτίζει καὶ δημιουργεῖ" (*Strom* 7:3:13), the verbs (κτίζει and δημιουργεῖ) are a transparent allusion to Gen

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[40] *Strom* 7:3:13, ANF slightly modified.

[41] *Strom* 7:10:56-57.

[42] *Strom* 7:10:58.

[43] *Adumbrationes in Juda* 5:24.

[44] *Eclogae* 57.3.

[45] It appears that "aspiration had ceased in Athens already before the end of the classical period. When observed in script, it was as an old relic, not as a living item of language . . ." (Chris Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament* [WUNT 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004] 391). According to the rhetorician Tryphon, living in the first century BCE, aspiration was "a rule of the ancients, which the moderns set aside" (Caragounis, *Development* 391, n. 166).

[46] *Eclogae* 57:3: καὶ μή τι τὸ «ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ» οὕτως ἐξακούεται ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ ἢλ ἤγουν θεῷ, ὡς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ «ἠλὶ ἠλὶ» ἀντὶ τοῦ «θεέ μου, θεέ μου». ("And is not *he set his tabernacle in the sun* to be understood as follows: *he set in the* "sun," that is "in El," or "God," just as in the Gospel: *Eli, Eli* instead of *my God, my God*?").

1:26, and signal the transfer of divine functions to the Gnostic.[47] One could well say that the Gnostics actually become *protoctists*, since Clement states that "they are called by the appellation of 'gods,' being destined to sit on thrones with the other gods that have been first put in their places by the Savior."[48]

There can be no doubt that Clement preserves something that will be eliminated in mainstream Christian theology, but retained by certain strands of Judaism: the real, ontological "angelification." In 2 Enoch, the patriarch is not merely a visitor to the heavenly realms, but "a servant permanently installed in the office of the *sar happanim*."[49] Similarly, *Test Levi* 4:2 is explicit about the possibility of becoming a "prince of the presence." Hekhalot lore speaks about becoming superior, more glorious than the "eight great princes" (3 Enoch 10:2-6), becoming "little YHWH" (3 Enoch 12).[50] In Christian tradition, however, despite extensive talk about the ascetical holy man living as an "angel in the body," and despite the depiction of an angelic life in heaven, the transformed human being appears "angelomorphic," rather than ontologically "angelic."[51] The "real angelification" of the earlier tradition, echoed by Clement, was eventually discarded. The cause had probably something to do with the concern for the Incarnation as a "confirmation" of human existence, and with an awareness of the difficulties that Clement's worldview raises for eschatology.[52]

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[47] Alain Le Boulluec, the editor and translator of *Strom* 7 for the Sources Chrétiennes series, draws attention to the verbs (*Clément d'Alexandrie, Stromate VII*; [SC 428 Paris: Cerf, 1997] 70, footnote 2).

[48] *Strom* 7:10:56-57.

[49] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 156.

[50] According to Deutsch (*Guardians of the* Gate, 32-34), "Metatron's . . . transformation from a human being into an angel reflects an ontological process which may be repeated by mystics. . . ."

[51] I am using the term "angelomorphic" according to the following definition: "Though it has been used in different ways by various scholars, without clear definition, we propose its use wherever there are signs that an individual or community possesses specifically angelic characteristics or status, though for whom identity cannot be reduced to that of an angel" (Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (WUNT 94; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 14-15.

[52] In his concise but very dense treatment of Clement's eschatology, Brian Daley notes that Clement's dynamic conception of "a painstaking development rather than . . . eschatological crisis" is consonant with his view of the punishments after death as "a medicinal and therefore temporary measure" (*The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* [reprint; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2003], 46).

I conclude that Clement interprets the tradition about millennial cycles and the ascent on the cosmic ladder as descriptions of an interior phenomenon. He also happens to have been the one to supply the convenient shorthand for this interiorized ascent to heaven and transformation before the divine Face: θέωσις, "deification."

b. *The Relevance of the Church Hierarchy*

Confirmation of this view can be found in Clement's affirmations about the church hierarchy. I have noted earlier his conviction that "the advancements (προκοπαί) pertaining to the Church here below, namely those of bishops, presbyters and deacons, are imitations (μιμήματα) of the angelic glory."[53] This would yield a model of "church hierarchy," composed of bishops, priests, and deacons, quite similar to that advocated by Ignatius of Antioch.

However, Clement undermines this edifice, by offering the following exegesis:

> Such a one is in reality a presbyter of the Church, and a true minister (deacon) of the will of God, if he do and teach what is the Lord's; not as being ordained by men, nor regarded righteous because a presbyter, but enrolled in the presbyterate because righteous. And although here upon earth he be not honored with the chief seat, he will sit down on the four-and-twenty thrones, judging the people, as John says in the Apocalypse.[54]

Quite clearly, Clement takes "bishop," "priest," or "deacon" not as designations of ecclesiastical office-holders—he appears, in fact, quite unhappy with those "ordained by men" and "honored with the chief seat"—, but rather as functional designations of the stages of spiritual advancement.[55] For Clement (and, later, for Origen), the function trumps the degree; or, to be more accurate, the inner quality creates the function, which is then reflected in the degree.[56]

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[53] *Strom* 6:13:107. Cf. *Strom* 7:1:3: the presbyters and deacons are "images" of the (angelic) models of superordinate and subordinate activities (κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν μὲν βελτιωτικὴν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι σῴζουσιν εἰκόνα, τὴν ὑπηρετικὴν δὲ οἱ διάκονοι).

[54] *Strom* 6:13:106, ANF.

[55] Evidently, Clement's assertions about Church hierarchy imply their real existence of ecclesiastical office holders in Alexandria (Jakab, *Ecclesia Alexandrina*, 183).

[56] This point is argued emphatically and supported by quotations from Origen and Cyprian of Carthage, by Roncaglia, *Histoire de l'église copte* (Beirut: Dar al-Kalima, 1971), 3:187-189, 192-194. Jakab (*Ecclesia Alexandrina*, 183) offers the same interpretation.

The "promotion" from one level of the hierarchy to the next reflects the one's spiritual progress:

> . . . those who, following the footsteps of the apostles, have lived in perfection of righteousness according to the Gospel . . . [are] taken up in the clouds, the apostle writes, will first minister [as deacons], then be classed in the presbyterate, by promotion in glory (for glory differs from glory) till they grow into "a perfect man."[57]

If the affirmation that the church hierarchy is an imitation of the celestial hierarchy is given full weight, it would seem logical for Clement to posit the same sort of "promotion" and transformation on the cosmic ladder—from "angels" to "archangels" to "*protoctists*"—as dependent solely upon the degree of spiritual progress. Obviously, the number twenty-four in the case of the elders from Revelation is not taken any more literally than the number seven in the case of the *protoctists*.

Conclusions

The "celestial hierarchy" echoed by Clement, goes back not only to Pantaenus, but to an older generation of Jewish-Christian "elders."[58]

Clement's hierarchy has, on this point, great affinities with that of Dionysius. However, in order to uphold the perfect mirroring between the celestial and the ecclesiastical hierarchies in spite of a disappointing historical reality, they adopt divergent strategies: while Clement approaches the issue from the perspective of "function" and thus challenges the authenticity of any "degree" that does not fully mirror the "function," Dionysius writes from the perspective of "degree" and is forced to paint a "supremely idealistic—to say the least—portrait of the Christian clergy . . ." (Golitzin, *Et Introibo*, 134). For the ongoing tension between hierarchy and personal holiness in ascetic literature (reaching back to Origen), see Golitzin, "Hierarchy Versus Anarchy? Dionysius Areopagita, Symeon the New Theologian, Nicetas Stethatos, and Their Common Roots in Ascetical Tradition," SVTQ 38 (1994), 131-179.

[57] *Strom* 6:13:107, ANF.

[58] On the place of Pantaenus in the development of Alexandrian catechetical tradition, see Martiniano Pellegrino Roncaglia, "Pantène et le didascalée d'Alexandrie: du Judéo-Christianisme au Christianisme Hellénistique," in Robert Fisher (ed.), *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Christian East* (Chicago: The Lutheran School of Theology, 1977), 211-223. Other scholars judge the evidence about Pantaenus insufficient for an assessment of his theology: Attila Jakab, *Ecclesia Alexandrina: Evolution sociale et institutionelle du christianisme alexandrin (IIe et IIIe siècles)* (Bern/Berlin/Bruxelles/Frankfurt a. M./New York/Oxford/Vienna: Peter Lang, 2004), 111, 115.

A fitting formula to describe Clement of Alexandria's treatment of the inherited apocalyptic cosmology of the elders would be "interiorized apocalyptic." This term—which, in keeping with the established definitions,[59] I would change to "interiorized apocalypticism"—has been proposed for the use of apocalyptic motifs in Byzantine monastic literature, and its definition seems perfectly applicable to Clement: "the transposition of the cosmic setting of apocalyptic literature, and in particular of the 'out of body' experience of heavenly ascent and transformation, to the inner theater of the soul."[60] Golitzin has furnished proof of this transposition as early as the fourth and early fifth century Eastern monastic literature; Stroumsa, on the other hand, argues that the shift was completed, at least in the Christian West, with Augustine of Hippo.[61] I believe that we may safely affirm that Clement of Alexandria offers one of the earliest examples of "interiorized apocalypticism."

The archaic theory of the elders, postulating the celestial hierarchy as the locus of a real transformation from archangels into *protoctists*, from angels into archangels, and from humans into angels, may prove illumining for our understanding of Clement's statements about the perfected human as "living as an angel on earth, but already luminous, and resplendent like the sun," ἰσάγγελος μὲν ἐνταῦθα· φωτεινὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος λάμπων (*Strom* 7:10:57). Clearly, such views are not unrelated to the later notion of the ascetical *bios angelikos*. However, if the Jewish-Christian worldview echoed by Clement constitutes the original framework of the "angelification," providing it with a very specific meaning, it would be interesting to see to what degree later ascetical literature retained these cosmological associations.

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[59] Credit goes to John J. Collins (*The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* [New York: Crossroad, 1984], 2-11) for the distinction between "apocalypticism" as a worldview and "apocalypse" as a literary form. Apocalypticism is "a worldview in which supernatural revelation, the heavenly world and eschatological judgment play an essential role" (10).

[60] Golitzin, "Earthly Angels and Heavenly Men: the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Nicetas Stethatos, and the Tradition of Interiorized Apocalyptic in Eastern Christian Ascetical and Mystical Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), 125-153.

[61] "For him [Augustine], the real secrets are no longer those of God, but those of the individual, hidden in the depth of his or her heart, or soul. With him, we witness more clearly than elsewhere, perhaps, the link between the end of esotericism and the development of a new interiorization. This process of interiorization is *ipso facto* a process of demotization: there remains no place for esoteric doctrine in such an approach" (Stroumsa, *Hidden Wisdom*, 7).

The texts discussed in these pages are paradigmatic for the widespread hierarchical cosmology in the early centuries of the common era, as well as for the type of difficulties faced by the emerging Christian theology. The most acute problem was the necessity of adapting the hierarchical framework to a theology of the Trinity; more precisely, the difficulty of "fitting" the Holy Spirit in the hierarchy. In relation to Clement of Alexandria, this topic has been dealt with masterfully and in great detail by Christian Oeyen, in his *Engelpneumatologie*. A larger presentation would have to take into account the conjunction of hierarchy, prophecy, and the angelic spirit, characteristic not only of "the other Clement," but also of other early Christian authors. I leave the demonstration of this thesis for a later and much larger undertaking.

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CHRISTIAN USE AND VALUATION OF THEOLOGICAL ORACLES: THE CASE OF LACTANTIUS' *DIVINE INSTITUTES*

BY

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ABSTRACT: In four places in his *Divine Institutes* the Latin apologist Lactantius (about AD 250-325) quotes Greek hexameters from Apollinic oracles. An analysis of these quotations yields the following results: the oracles either provide rhetoric *lumen* in so far as the pagan God appears as witness for the Christian doctrine or they are introduced as a concession to this pagan readers. Within Lactantius' apologetic concept the oracles play but a small part both in quantity and argumentation. It is unclear which sources Lactantius draws his oracles from. Since most verses cited by Lactantius are transmitted elsewhere, too, and date from a time long before him, one will have to assume there was a collection of oracular responses generally accessible. No connection at all can be found with Porphyry's *De philosophia ex oraculis*. The theory supported in recent research that Lactantius refers to this work in his apology is untenable.

Lactantius[1] (AD 250-325) is the first[2] Christian Latin author to use theological oracles in his writings: apart from Sibylline oracles,[3] Hermetic

[1] His full name is Lucius Firmianus Caelius Lactantius. See A. Wlosok's fundamental article "L. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius", § 570 (pp. 375-404), in: R. Herzog/P.L. Schmidt (edd.), *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike*: V. Restauration und Erneuerung, München 1989, or the slightly updated French version: "Lactance", § 570 (pp. 426-459), in: iid., *Nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature Latine*: V. Restauration et Renouveau, Turnhout 1993; for further biographical and bibliographical information cf. ibid.

[2] For the primacy of Lactantius and the term 'theological oracle' cf. A.D. Nock, "Oracles théologiques", *REA* 30 (1928), 280-290, especially 288, and S. Pricoco, "L'oracolo teologico", in: *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità*. A cura di A. Garzya, Napoli 1990, 267-285, especially 277-285.

[3] See Brandt's index vol. II pp. 258-261 in his standard edition: *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti opera omnia*, recensuerunt S. Brandt et G. Laubmann, I: Divinae institutiones et epitome divinarum institutionum, recensuit S. Brandt, Prag/Wien/Leipzig 1890 (CSEL 19); II: Libri de opificio dei et de ira dei, carmina, fragmenta, vetera de Lactantio testimonia, edidit S. Brandt, Prag/Wien/Leipzig 1893 (CSEL 27/1), L. Caecilii qui inscriptus est de mortibus persecutorum liber vulgo Lactantio tributus, recensuerunt S. Brandt et G. Laubmann, Indices, confecit S. Brandt, Prag/Wien/Leipzig 1897 (CSEL 27/2).

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 269-284

literature[4] and some other so-called 'divine testimonies' (*testimonia diuina*),[5] he quotes Apollonian oracles in Greek hexameters in five passages. For the *Quellenforschung* in the oracles in Lactantius, one of these quotations has become particularly far-reaching: in the last chapter of his late treatise *On the Anger of God* (*De ira dei*, after AD 320),[6] Lactantius argues that it cannot be supposed that "the majesty of the heavenly government can exist without anger and fear".[7] Then, before finally repeating that philosophers who deny the anger of God are wrong, he quotes:

> The Milesian Apollo being consulted concerning the religion of the Jews, inserted these things in his answer:
>
> > *"'God, the King and Father of all,*
> > *before whom the earth trembles, and the heaven and sea,*
> > *and whom the recesses of Tartarus and the demons dread.'"*[8]

The same oracle, translated into Latin prose, is cited by Saint Augustine and ascribed to a work of the Neoplatonist Porphyry of Tyre (about AD 234-305/310),[9] entitled *On Philosophy from Oracles* (*De philosophia ex oraculis*).[10]

Brandt's edition, however, is now going to be replaced by L. Caelius Firmianus Lactantius, *Diuinarum institutionum libri septem*, edd. E. Heck/A. Wlosok, Fasc. 1 (Libri I et II), München/Leipzig 2005.

[4] See A. Löw, *Hermes Trismegistos als Zeuge der Wahrheit.* Die christliche Hermetikrezeption von Athenagoras bis Laktanz, Berlin/Wien 2002, 88ff.

[5] See Cic. *part.* 6 *Cicero: Testimoniorum quae genera sunt? Pater: Diuinum et humanum; diuinum est ut oracula auspicia, ut uaticinationes et responsa sacerdotum aruspicum coniectorum; [. . .].* Cf. Cic. *top.* 77; Quint. *inst.* 5,7,35; 5,11,42.

[6] For the date cf. Lactance, *La colère de Dieu.* Introduction, texte critique, traduction, commentaire et index par C. Ingremeau, Paris 1982 (Sources Chrétiennes 289), 25-36.

[7] Lact. *ira* 23,11 *nedum putemus caelestis imperii maiestatem sine ira et metu posse consistere.* Text: Ingremeau (cf. note 6 above), translation: W. Fletcher, *The Works of Lactantius*, II, Edinburgh 1909 (= Ante-Nicene Christian Library XXII).

[8] Lact. *ira* 23,12 *Apollo Milesius, de Iudaeorum religione consultus, responso haec introducit:*
ἐς δὲ θεὸν βασιλῆα καὶ ἐς γενετῆρα πρὸ πάντων,
ὃν τρομέει καὶ γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
ταρτάρεοί τε μυχοὶ καὶ δαίμονες ἐρρίγασιν.
(*ἐρίγγασιν* in Ingremeau's text is a misprint, cf. E. Heck, *Gnomon* 57 [1985] 146)—The oracle is fr. 51 in J. Fontenrose, *Didyma. Apollo's oracle, Cult, and Companions*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1988.

[9] On Porphyry see M. Chase's article "Porphyrios", *DNP* 10 (2001) 174-180; an annotated bibliography is G. Girgenti, *Porfirio negli ultimi cinquant' anni.* Bibliografia sistematica e ragionata della letteratura primaria e secondaria riguardante il pensiero profiriano e i suoi influssi storici, Milano 1994.

[10] For the fragments of Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας (*De philosophia ex oraculis*, abbre-

That is why, in 1856 already, Gustav Wolff inserted this and some other oracular quotations from Lactantius into his edition of Porphyry's *On Philosophy from Oracles*.[11] In recent scholarship, the relationship between Lactantius and Porphyry has gained in importance for the interpretation of Lactantius' work as a whole: Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, from 1998 onwards, has been proposing the following theory[12] concerning Lactantius' main work, the *Divine Institutes* (*Diuinae institutiones*), a comprehensive introduction to Christian faith, written between 303 and 311: The œuvre is, she says, a reply to Porphyry's *On Philosophy from Oracles*. The Neoplatonist's work, according to Digeser, is merely an anti-Christian pamphlet. She assumes that one of the main issues by which the *Divine Institutes* and *On Philosophy from Oracles* are "directly connected"[13] is the use of oracles. She argues that "both Porphyry and Lactantius [. . .] depend heavily on oracles as evidence for the 'truth' of their position", that "Lactantius' own use of oracles appears to take seriously Porphyry's reliance on oracular testimony", and finally that "Lactantius also seems to be aware of Porphyry's special devotion to the oracles of Apollo".[14] Additionally, however, our knowledge of the oracles in Lactantius and their sources has been deepened by four important studies of Salvatore Pricoco: he assumes that Lactantius partly rests on the same sources as Porphyry, partly on an oracular collection that is already a reaction to him.[15]

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viated here *phil. or.*) see *Porphyrii philosophi fragmenta*, edidit A. Smith, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1993, fr. 303-350. The fragment in question is no. 344 = Aug. *civ.* 19,23: *Item ad ea, quae interrogauit Apollinem, quid melius, uerbum siue ratio an lex: 'respondit', inquit, 'uersibus haec dicens', ac deinde subicit Apollinis uersus, in quibus et isti sunt, ut quantum satis est inde decerpam: 'in deum uero, inquit, generatorem et in regem ante omnia, quem tremit et caelum et terra atque mare et infernorum abdita et ipsa numina perhorrescunt; quorum lex est pater, quem ualde sancti honorant Hebraei.'* The last verse is obviously left out by Lactantius.

[11] *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda librorum reliquiae*, edidit G. Wolff, Berlin 1856, 106.178 (see note 53 below). 184-186.

[12] E. DePalma Digeser, "Lactantius, Porphyry, and the Debate over Religious Toleration", *JRS* 88 (1998), 129-146, especially 138-140; ead., *The Making of a Christian Empire*: Lactantius and Rome, Ithaca/London 2000, especially 101-107; cf. ead., "Porphyry, Lactantius, and the Paths to God", *Studia Patristica* 34 (2001), 521-528.

[13] Digeser, 2000, cf. note 12 above, 102.

[14] Digeser, 2000, cf. note 12 above, 104.

[15] S. Pricoco, "Un oracolo di Apollo su Dio", *RSLR* 23 (1987) 3-36; id., "Un oracolo di Apollo sull' anima (Lact. *inst.* 7,13,6)", in: *Hestiasis*. Studi di tarda antichità offerti a S. Calderone, V (= Studi Tardoantichi V), Messina 1988, 173-201; id., "Per una storia dell' oracolo nella tarda antichità. Apollo Clario e Didimeo in Lattanzio", *Augustinianum* 29 (1989) 351-374; id., "Tre frammenti oracolari di Apollo (Lact. *inst.* 1.7.9-10)", in:

In this paper, the oracular quotations in Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* shall be briefly reconsidered. The focus shall be on how these oracles are used in the line of argumentation and what the Christian author says about them. On this basis, some conclusions shall be drawn about their possible sources. Finally, based on an overall picture of Lactantius' use of oracles, it shall be discussed whether the oracular responses in the *Divine Institutes* seem to point to Porphyry and his *On Philosophy from Oracles.*

The *Divine Institutes* contain a total of sixteen Greek hexameters from six different oracular responses. They are distributed among four passages in the work. The first and second passage give oracles by Apollo of Clarus, near Colophon, those cited in the third and fourth passage are responses of Apollo of Didyma, near Miletus. These oracular sites were the most important ones in Asia Minor.[16] The four passages that contain oracular quotations shall now be briefly examined:

(1) In the first book of the *Divine Institutes*, Lactantius advocates Christian monotheism. As usual,[17] he provides two types of proofs: in chapter 3, he presents rational arguments, then, from chapter 4 to the beginning of chapter 7, he lists testimonies of authorities: biblical prophets, to whom, however, he realistically ascribes only little credibility among his pagan audience (chapter 4), poets and philosophers (chapter 5), finally the divine testimonies.[18] Under this category he subsumes, with some reservations,[19] Hermes Trismegistus (chapter 6, §§ 1-5), and, without any doubts, the "evidence from oracular responses and sacred songs".[20] These are the Sibylline oracles (chapter 6, §§ 6-17, about six modern pages) and a response of the Apollonian oracle of Clarus (chapter 7, §§ 1-3, little more than half a page). The text says:

> "Apollo is seen as divine, and especially as oracular, more than other gods; when he spoke at Colophon (where he went from Delphi because, I suppose,

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Polyanthema. Studi di letteratura cristiana antica offerti a S. Costanza, vol. II, Messina 1991, 337-353.

[16] See H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London/Sydney 1985; on the oracle of Didyma B. Haussoullier, *L'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*, Paris 1902; Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above, 1-175.

[17] See Wlosok, 1989, cf. note 1 above, 387.

[18] Lact. *inst.* 1,6,1 *Nunc ad testimonia diuina transeamus.* The Latin text of the *Divine institutes* is taken from Brandt's edition (see note 3 above).

[19] Lact. *inst.* 1,6,1; cf. 7,13,4.

[20] Lact. *inst.* 1,6,6 *de responsis sacrisque carminibus testimonia.*

of the charm of Asia Minor), upon being asked who or what god really was, he replied in twenty-one verses. Here are the first three:

> *'He is self-born, untaught, unmothered, unaffectable,*
> *unnameable by any word, dwelling in fire,*
> *god thus, and we his messengers are a little fraction of him.'"*[21]

The apologetic exploitation of the oracle is short and puts little emphasis on the contents of the oracle. Furthermore, Lactantius gives a contrasting Hermetic utterance, which in his opinion is more exact: from the definition of god given here, this cannot be a reference to Jupiter, and Hermes Trismegistus is right in calling god not only "unmothered", but also "unfathered", since the procreator cannot be himself procreated.[22] So the Apollonian oracle is one little testimony in addition to Hermetic and Sibylline quotations, to which Lactantius refers much more extensively. Further conclusions on the rhetorical purpose of the quotation can be drawn from the following passage. Leaving aside the Sibylline oracles, Lactantius leads his readers to the Apollonian oracle with these words:

> "But since we are defending the cause of truth before people who are astray from it in the service of false religions, what sort of proof could we better use against them than to rebut them with the evidence of their own gods?"[23]

Taking all together, it can be said that Lactantius uses the oracle for two reasons: First, he wants to present a pagan god as chief witness against paganism. Second, he makes a concession to his audience, that is to say, since Lactantius supposes at least some of his pagan readers to have

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[21] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,1 *Apollo enim, quem praeter ceteros diuinum maximeque fatidicum existimant, Colophone residens, quo Delphis credo migrauerat amoenitate Asiae ductus, quaerenti cuidam quis aut quid esset omnino deus, respondit uiginti et uno uersibus, quorum hoc principium est:*

> *αὐτοφυής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος,*
> *οὔνομα μηδὲ λόγῳ χωρούμενος, ἐν πυρὶ ναίων,*
> *τοῦτο θεός, μικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.*

All translations from the *Divine Institutes* are taken from Lactantius, *Divine Institutes.* Translated with an introduction and notes by A. Bowen and P. Garnsey, Liverpool 2003.

[22] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,2f. *num quis potest suspicari de Ioue esse dictum, qui et matrem habuit et nomen? quid quod Mercurius ille Termaximus, cuius supra feci mentionem, non modo ἀμήτωρα ut Apollo, sed ἀπάτορα quoque appellat deum, quod origo illi non sit aliunde? nec enim potest ab ullo esse generatus qui ipse uniuersa genera uit.*

[23] Lact. *inst.* 1,6,17 *sed cum defendamus causam ueritatis aput eos qui aberrantes a ueritate falsis religionibus seruiunt, quod genus probationis aduersus eos magis adhibere debemus quam ut eos deorum suorum testimoniis reuincamus?*

confidence in the oracle's authority, he quotes it in order to support the Christians' cause. This latter purpose is also confirmed by the words that introduce the literal quotation from the oracle: there, Lactantius mentions the 'charm' of Asia Minor, which had attracted the deity. This is clearly a *captatio beneuolentiae*. It seems that Lactantius, here, has in mind especially an audience which takes pride in Asia Minor's famous Apollonian oracles. This would go well with the fact that Lactantius wrote the *Divine Institutes* in relative proximity, in the Bithynian city of Nicomedia, which had been the seat of imperial power since the time of Diocletian.

Another point has to be noted: the oracle quoted partially by Lactantius has also been transmitted in two other sources. The Tübingen Theosophy has preserved, apart from the questioner's name and request, sixteen verses,[24] an inscription from the city of Oinoanda in Lycia (about AD 200) contains the verses cited by Lactantius and an additional one.[25] With regard to Lactantius, some important conclusions can be drawn: the oracle cited by the Christian Latin author has been transmitted in several ways. It is much older than the texts of Porphyry and Lactantius. And, finally, it seems to have been widely known at least in Asia Minor. In other words, this oracle was probably widespread enough to be found by Lactantius in any kind of source.

(2) Immediately thereafter, Lactantius concludes the series of proofs of monotheism by a short excursus on a question which has obviously been inspired by Cicero's *Hortensius*: would not a single god feel lonely and thus

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[24] Cf. *Theosophia Tubingensis* 13, text: *Theosophorum Graecorum fragmenta*, iterum recensuit H. Erbse, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1995; cf. P.F. Beatrice, "Pagan Wisdom and Christian Theology according to the Tübingen Theosophy", *JECS* 3 (1995) 403-418.—That the Tübingen Theosophy knows more verses than Lactantius who claims to cite the beginning of the oracle points to the fact that both belong to different traditions.

[25] Cf. L. Robert, "Un oracle gravé à Oinoanda", *CRAI* 1971, 597-619; M. Guarducci, "Chi è Dio? L'oracolo di Apollo Klarios e un epigrafe di Enoanda", *RAL* 27 (1972) 335-347; A.S. Hall, "The Klarian oracle at Oenoanda", *ZPE* 32 (1978) 263-268; R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius*, Oxford 1978, 22f.; Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above, 224f.—This epigraphic evidence and the fact that there is nothing in Porphyry that points to this oracle refute the assumption of R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, London/New York 1986, 171, that Lactantius depends on the Neoplatonist here.—Pricoco (1987, cf. note 15 above, especially 35 note 97) assumes the transmission of a genuine Clarian oracle to be as follows: the oracle of Oenoanda directly depends on the original; both the *Vorlage* of Lactantius (Labeo?) and that of the author of the Theosophy (Porphyry?) trace back to the same source, which in turn depends on the Clarian original.

be unhappy?[26] The answer is a short demonology:[27] God is not lonely since he has created himself servants. After Seneca and Orpheus,[28] the third authority cited and discussed in that context is Apollo, most probably Apollo of Miletus.[29] First, Lactantius reminds his readers of the oracle quoted above in which Apollo had not only denied Jupiter's, but all pagan gods' divinity and had said that they were 'messengers', i.e. 'angels' of God.[30] But, Lactantius continues, "on the subject of himself Apollo has told a lie: though he belongs among the demons, he has attached himself to the angels of God. In other responses he admitted that he was a demon."[31] In order to confirm this, he quotes two single verses in which Apollo, according to Lactantius, expressed a wish to be addressed as 'demon' (δαῖμον).[32] Subsequently, he cites two successive verses from another response in which Apollo, according to Lactantius, confesses that he and other demons are even physically subject to the true God:

> *"'The demons who roam by land and sea*
> *are subdued by the whip of the unwearying God.'"*[33]

Finally, Lactantius says to what the quotation testifies: Apollo himself involuntarily admits that there are, as God's servants, angels and demons.[34]

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[26] Lact. inst. 1,7,4 *sed fortasse quaerat aliquis a nobis idem illut quod aput Ciceronem quaerit Hortensius* (Cic. *phil.* frg. V 62 Straume-Zimmermann). *si deus unus est, quae esse beata solitudo queat.*

[27] This subject is widely treated in the second book of the *Divine Institutes*, cf. E. Schneweis, *Angels and Demons According to Lactantius*, Washington 1944, especially 81ff.

[28] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,5-7.

[29] On this subject and oracular quotation in general Pricoco (1991, cf. note 15 above). Cf. Ogilvie, 1978, cf. note 25 above, 23f.

[30] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,8 *credant Apollini suo, qui eodem illo responso ut Ioui principatum, sic etiam ceteris diis abstulit nomen. tertius enim uersus ostendit ministros dei non deos, uerum angelos appellari oportere.*

[31] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,9 *de se quidem ille mentitus est, qui cum sit e numero daemonum, angelis se dei adgregauit: denique in aliis responsis daemonem se esse confessus est.*

[32] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,9 *nam cum interrogaretur quomodo sibi supplicari uellet, ita respondit:*
πάνσοφε παντοδίδακτε πολύστροφε κέκλυθι δαῖμον.
item rursus cum precem in Apollinem Sminthium rogatus expromeret, ab hoc uersu exorsus est:
ἁρμονίη κόσμοιο, φαεσφόρε, πάνσοφε δαῖμον.

[33] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,10 *nam et in alio responso ita dixit:*
δαίμονες οἳ φοιτῶσι περὶ χθόνα καὶ περὶ πόντον
ἀκαμάτου δαμνῶνται ὑπαὶ μάστιγι θεοῖο.

[34] Lact. *inst.* 1,7,11 *nunc interim nobis satis est quod dum honorare se uult et in caelo conlocare, confessus est, id quod res habet, quomodo sint appellandi qui deo semper adsistunt.*

Thus, once again, like in the reinterpretation of the first oracle, Apollo unintentionally appears as chief witness to support the Christians' cause.

The four oracular verses cited by Lactantius are not transmitted elsewhere. Salvatore Pricoco rightly observes that the two successive verses show an archaising style and, unlike the two single verses, imply a negative connotation of 'demon'.[35] Nevertheless, the context absolutely requires verses which the audience would indubitably identify as Apollonian.[36] Apart from this, it can only be assumed that Lactantius chose his verses from quite a large collection of Apollonian oracles.

(3) The next quotation can be found in the fourth book of the *Divine Institutes*, which deals with Christology: in chapter 13, Lactantius proves the unity of human and divine nature in Jesus Christ with evidence from Hermetic writings (§§ 2-4), from the Old Testament prophets (§§ 6-10), and from an Apollonian oracle:

> "Besides, Apollo of Miletus when asked whether he was god or man replied in this fashion:
>
> *'He was mortal in the flesh, wise in miraculous deeds,*
> *but he was made prisoner by the Chaldean lawgivers*
> *and nailed to stakes, and came to a painful death.'"*[37]

This is followed by an extensive interpretation of the oracle (§§ 12-17).[38] However, Lactantius exclusively refers to the first verse: although Apollo, being a demon, tried to conceal the truth, he was not able to do so. Undoubtedly, the words 'wise in miraculous deeds' as opposed to 'mortal in flesh' point to Jesus Christ's divine nature and profess the Christians' Master to be 'wise'. But no wonder Apollo got pagans to believe that Christ performed his 'miraculous deeds' by the use of magic, not by divine power: even the Jews thought so.[39]—So far Lactantius' commentary on the

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[35] Pricoco, 1991, cf. note 15 above, 346-348.

[36] In my opinion, this rules out Pricoco's (1991, cf. note 15 above, 351-353) assumption that the two successive verses come from a collection composed in reaction to anti-Jewish or anti-Christian oracle collections.

[37] Lact. *inst.* 4,13,11 *propterea Milesius Apollo consultus utrumne deus an homo fuerit, hoc modo respondit.* For the Greek text of the oracle see note 42 below.

[38] See the excellent analysis by F. Gloning, *De vera sapientia et religione.* Kommentar und Untersuchungen zum vierten Buch der "Divinae institutiones" des Laktanz, diss. Salzburg 1967, 140-144.

[39] Lact. *inst.* 4,13,12-17 *primo uersu uerum quidem dixit, sed argute consultorem fefellit sacra-*

oracle. The second and fourth verses, as it seems, are not quoted for any other purpose than to affirm the oracle's reference to Jesus Christ.

One other very important point, however, has to be made: there also seems to be an allusion to the trial and execution of Jesus Christ in an oracle which Augustine translates into Latin prose and which he ascribes to Porphyry's *On Philosophy from Oracles*:

> "You may perchance more easily write in lasting letters on water, or spread light pinions and fly like a bird through the air, than recall to her senses an impious wife who has once polluted herself. Let her continue as she pleases, persisting in her empty delusions, and lamenting in song as a god once who died for deslusions, who was condemned by judges whose verdict was just, and executed publicly by the worst iron-bound death."[40]

Digeser assumes that Lactantius' "oracle may be the Greek source" of the fragment preserved in Augustine and refers to common ideas in the context.[41] Yet, a comparison between the two texts shows that the oracle

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mentum ueritatis penitus nescientem: uidetur enim negasse illum deum. sed cum fatetur secundum carnem fuisse mortalem, quod etiam nos praedicamus, consequens est ut secundum spiritum deus fuerit, quod nos adfirmamus. quid enim fuerat necesse carnis facere mentionem, cum satis esset dicere fuisse mortalem? quid enim fuerat necesse carnis facere mentionem, cum satis esset dicere fuisse mortalem? sed ueritate pressus negare non potuit quemadmodum se res haberet, sicut illut, quod ait sapientem fuisse. quid ad hoc, o Apollo, respondes? si sapiens fuit, ergo doctrina eius sapientia est nec ulla alia, et sapientes qui secuntur nec ulli alii. cur igitur uulgo pro stultis et uanis et ineptis habemur, qui sectamur magistrum etiam ipsorum deorum confessione sapientem? nam quod ait portentifica illum opera fecisse, quo maxime diuinitatis fidem meruit, adsentiri nobis iam uidetur, cum dicit eadem quibus nos gloriamur. sed colligit se tamen et ad daemoniacas fraudes redit. cum enim uerum necessitate dixisset, iam deorum ac sui proditor uidebatur, nisi quod ab eo ueritas expresserat, mendacio fallente obscurasset. ait ergo illum fecisse quidem opera miranda, uerum non diuina uirtute, sed magica. quid mirum, si hoc Apollo ueritatem ignorantibus persuasit, cum Iudaei quoque, cultores ut uidebantur summi dei, hoc idem putauerint, cum ante oculos eorum cottidie fierent illa miracula? nec tamen tantarum uirtutum contemplatione inpelli potuerunt ut deum crederent, quem uidebant.

[40] Aug. *civ.* 19,23 = Porph. *phil. or.* fr. 343 Smith. For the Latin text see note 42 below. Translation: W.C. Greene, Saint Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, VI, Cambridge/Mass. 1960.

[41] Digeser, 2000, cf. note 12 above, 102: When Lactantius says that Jesus Christ and his disciples are 'wise' (inst. 4,13,14), he certainly does not reply to a particular reproach made by Porphyry that Christians are stupid, superstitious and primitive (Digeser refers to *phil. or.* frr. 343; 345f. Smith), but simply interprets the word σοφός in the first verse of the oracle favourably for the Christians, who always and generally had to face prejudices of that kind—already in New Testament times, see *Acts* 4,13; cf. e. g. Min. Fel. 5,4 and G.W. Clarke, *The Octavius of Marcus Minucius Felix*, New York/Paramus 1974, ad. l. 183f.

from Porphyry in Augustine cannot possibly be the Latin translation of Lactantius:[42]

1. The two texts have completely different intentions: while the Greek oracle seems to describe the person executed in a respectful manner and does not say anything about his disciples, the Porphyrian oracle polemises in a very misogynous way against a woman's superstition and belief in a god who has been ignominiously executed.
2. The first verse of the oracle in Lactantius and the first three quarters of that in Porphyry have absolutely nothing in common.
3. The only remaining issues in common are the trial and the execution. There, too, however, the descriptions vary in some details: in the Greek oracle, the person in question is 'taken prisoner', in the Latin oracle, judges pass a sentence. The Greek oracle clearly alludes to a crucifixion, the Latin oracle emphasises that the person in question suffers an ignominious execution. The Latin oracle's 'iron-bound death' not easily corresponds with the Greek's 'nailed to stakes'.

These differences are extremely unlikely to be due to a free translation by Augustine.[43] And if Lactantius had "himself changed the text" not only with regard to the 'Chaldean lawgivers', as Digeser[44] assumes, but in all

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[42] See the following comparison:

Greek oracle: Lact. *inst.* 4,13,11 = fr. 49 in Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above	oracle in Latin prose translation 19,23 Aug. *civ.* = Porph. *phil. or.* fr. 343 Smith
Θνητὸς ἔην κατὰ σάρκα, σοφὸς τερατώδεσιν ἔργοις,	*forte magis poteris in aqua inpressis litteris scribere aut adinflans leues pinnas per aera auis uolare, quam pollutae reuoces impiae uxoris sensum. pergat*
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Χαλδαίοισι δικασπολίαισιν ἁλώσας,	*quo modo uult inanibus fallaciis †perseuerans et lamentari fallaciis mortuum deum cantans, quem*
γομφωθεὶς σκολόπεσσι πικρὴν ἀνέπλησε τελευτήν.	*iudicibus recta sentientibus perditum pessima in speciosis ferro uincta mors interfecit.*

[43] First of all, Augustine has no reason to make such changes and to add detailed information. Secondly, other texts preserved both in Greek and in Augustine's translation (e.g. Porph. *phil. or.* fr. 345 and fr. 345a Smith or notes 8 and 10 above) show that, normally, he reproduces his *Vorlage* quite strictly.

[44] Digeser (2000, cf. note 12 above, 166, note 66) assumes that Lactantius introduced the 'Chaldean lawgivers' into the text in order to "point toward Porphyry, who was

the points mentioned, it would mean that he had composed his own oracle. To sum up, it is a matter of fact that there are two completely different oracles, and we do not know anything about the provenance of the oracular verses apart from the information given by Lactantius.

(4) Finally, Lactantius quotes an oracle in the seventh and last book of the *Divine Institutes*, entitled *The Life of Bliss*. There, in chapter 8 to 13, he deals with the immortality of the soul, an idea that particularly implies that, in the moment of death, the soul is not dissolved, but separated from the body, and expects the Last Judgement. Having rejected Plato's arguments for the immortality of the soul (chapter 8), Lactantius gives his own explanation on the subject (chapter 9 to 11) and discursively extends his teachings by refuting Epicurean arguments for the mortality of the soul (chapter 12). Chapter 13 concludes the treatment of the subject and provides some testimonies: at the beginning, Lactantius explains his reason for omitting evidence from the Old Testament prophets: "I shall refer to people who simply have to be believed by those who reject the truth."[45] Therefore, he gives a quotation from the *Corpus Hermeticum*[46] that testifies that man consists of two natures, one of which is divine and immortal (§ 3). Then, however, taking into account that Hermes Trismegistus could be suspected to offer only a philosophical, not a divine testimony (§ 4), Lactantius continues as follows:

> "We should be looking for a more important piece of evidence. A certain Polites consulted Apollo of Miletus whether the soul lived on after death or broke up, and Apollo replied in a verse as follows:
>
> *'As long as the soul is bound by fetters to the body,*
> *in feeling perishable pains it yields to mortal anguish.*
> *But when it has found the mortal dissolution of great speed for itself,*

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keenly interested in Chaldean ideas". But the manipulation of a Greek hexameter is certainly one of the most difficult and useless ways of 'pointing toward Porphyry'—why did he not just mention him or say that the 'judges' (or 'lawgivers') are Chaldean? Furthermore, the 'Chaldean lawgivers' spoil the Christian interpretation of the oracle (cf. Porph. *phil. or.* fr. 324 Smith = Eus. *PE* 9,10,4, where a distinction is made between Chaldeans and Hebrews). There is no reason why Lactantius should intentionally have alienated the text so much. Finally, Digeser's theory cannot explain the many other differences. Lactantius especially would have composed the first verse himself, to which he extensively refers.

[45] Lact. *inst.* 7,13,2 *in testimonium uocabo [. . .] eos potius quibus istos qui respuunt ueritatem credere sit necesse.*

[46] A.D. Nock/A.-J. Festugière (edd.), *Hermès Trismégiste* IV, Paris 1954, fr. 15.

after the body has decayed, it is entirely borne up into the sky,
ageless for eternity, and survives unscathed for ever.
God's first-born providence so appointed.'"[47]

Subsequently, Lactantius indicates that the Sibylline oracles testify to the same, but will be quoted later on.[48] The oracle contains, as Salvatore Pricoco has convincingly shown,[49] late antiquity's most important commonplaces of the soul and its afterlife. Lactantius could find confirmed his own position on the immortality of the soul, i.e. that the soul is locked up in the body, that, due to its connection to the body, it is sensitive to pain, that it is separated from the body in the moment of death and returns to its heavenly origin.[50] Nevertheless, he takes very little notice of the oracle: he quotes it in a kind of appendix to the discussion about the immortality of the soul. In this appendix, additional testimonies for pagans who particularly abhor the truth are given. For these, the Apollonian oracle is a last resort. It is employed against those who even reject the Hermetic quotation—this is the meaning of 'a more important piece of evidence' (*testimonium maius*) here. And finally, having just concluded the quotation, Lactantius immediately mentions the next divine testimony in a *praeteritio*.[51] To sum up, the Milesian Apollo's response on the destiny of the soul is of very little relevance to the argumentation.

There is no evidence of the source of the oracular quotation, but some details lead to the supposition that Lactantius possibly cites a widely known, perhaps genuine oracle from Didyma:[52] first, the name of Polites is well

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[47] Lact. *inst.* 7,13,5f. *maius igitur testimonium requiramus. Polites quidam consuluit Apollinem Milesium utrumne maneat anima post mortem an dissoluatur, et respondit his uersibus:*

Ψυχὴ μὲν μέχρις οὗ δεσμοῖς πρὸς σῶμα κρατεῖται,
φθαρτὰ νοοῦσα πάθη θνηταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν εἴκει·
ἡνίκα δ' αὖτε λύσιν βροτέην μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθὲν
ὠκίστην εὕρηται, ἐς αἰθέρα πᾶσα φορεῖται,
αἰὲν ἀγήραος οὖσα, μένει δ' ἐς πάμπαν ἀτειρής.
πρωτόγονος γὰρ τοῦτο θεοῦ διέταξε πρόνοια.

The Greek text is fr. 50 in Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above.

[48] Lact. *inst.* 7,13,6 *quid? carmina Sibyllina nonne hoc ita esse declarant, cum fore aliquando denuntiant ut a deo de uiuis ac mortuis iudicetur? quorum exempla paulo post inferemus.*

[49] Cf. Pricoco, 1988, cf. note 15 above, 176-189, and 1989, cf. note 15 above, 359f.

[50] Cf. Lact. *inst.* 7,8,6; 12,11; 12,14-19; 20,7-0; 5,27 add. 12; 12,5; 2,12,14.

[51] This is followed by a repeated polemic against several philosophers who teach the dissolution or the in-existence of the soul, cf. Lact. *inst.* 7,13,7-11.

[52] Pricoco (1988, cf. note 15 above, 188f.) quite reasonably assumes that the oracle is genuine—I am indebted to him in some of the points made above. Furthermore,

attested in the region of Miletus, once through an inscription in the sanctuary itself.[53] Secondly, a very similar oracle is cited in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*[54] (*Vita Apollonii*, about AD 217). This could show that oracular texts of that kind were commonly used. There is, finally, one further piece of evidence for this assumption: the oracle in question is also preserved in the Tübingen Theosophy (37), but with remarkable textual differences. It is likely that the author of the Theosophy knew a second version besides Lactantius'.[55]

Concluding the analysis of the four passages in Lactantius' *Divine Institutes* that contain oracular quotations, some general observations can now be recorded. The quotations discussed above will be referred to by their numbers (1) to (4):

- *Use of oracles.* Two rhetorical patterns for the use of oracles could be found. According to the first, which appears in oracular quotations (2) and (3), the pagan god Apollo himself is presented as involuntary chief witness. His testimonies can be interpreted in favour of the Christians' cause by their clever lawyer Lactantius. According to the second, which appears in oracular quotations (1) and (4), Apollo is cited out of consideration for the audience who ascribe particular credibility to the oracular deity. Lactantius intimates that he does not think

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Pricoco is undoubtedly right in rejecting Wolff's (1856, cf. note 11 above, 178) arbitrary attribution to Porphyry, which is, however, still reported e.g. by Parke (1985, cf. note 16 above, 91).

[53] Cf. L. Robert, "Trois oracles de la Théosophie et un prophète d'Apollon", *CRAI* 1968, 568-599, here 590. T. Wiegand, *Didyma.* Zweiter Teil: Die Inschriften. Von A. Rehm, herausgegeben von R. Harder, Berlin 1958, inscription no. 40, line 3; Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above, 233.

[54] Philostr. *VA* 8,31

ἀθάνατος ψυχὴ κοὐ χρῆμα σόν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας,
ἣ μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθέν, ἅτ' ἐκ δεσμῶν θοὸς ἵππος,
ῥηιδίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἠέρι κούφῳ
δεινὴν καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην·
σοι δὲ τί τῶνδ' ὄφελος, ὅ ποτ' οὐκέτ' ἐὼν τότε δόξεις;
ἢ τί μετὰ ζῳοῖσιν ἐὼν περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις;

[55] See H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburg 1944, 13. Pricoco's (1988, cf. note 15 above, 195-201) complicated theory (dogmatic reasons for changing the text after Lactantius) is not convincing since it disregards Erbse's important observation that Tübingen Theosophy, although it follows a different textual version in that passage, nevertheless contains Lactantius' *βροτέην* in verse 3.

highly of these testimonies, but supposes them to be merely a rhetorical concession to certain readers.

- *Relevance of oracles.* The oracular quotations in the *'Divine Institutes'* are of very small importance. A total of sixteen verses is cited in a work of more than 650 (modern) pages. All quotations are embedded in a series of philosophical (quotation (2)) or, mostly, divine (quotations (1), (3) and (4)) testimonies. The use of such divine testimonies is a conventional means of rhetorical argumentation.[56] Lactantius does not put special emphasis on the oracular responses within the divine testimonies; on the contrary, he obviously prefers the Sibylline oracles in quotations (1) and (4).
- *Sources.* Lactantius knows more oracles than he cites, as can be seen from quotations (1) and (2). Besides, the fact that all quotations perfectly fit into their contexts leads to the assumption that Lactantius could choose from a wide range of oracular quotations. Furthermore, the adjustment of the oracles to certain readers and the fact that quotations (1) and (4) have a parallel transmission could induce you to think that Lactantius counted on the possibility that at least some of his readers knew oracles of the kind he quotes and had access to them. This assumption is affirmed by the fact that Lactantius, in the *Epitome diuinarum institutionum*, an abridged version of the *Divine Institutes* (about AD 320), encourages those among his readers he hitherto has failed to convince for lack of divine testimonies to consider, in addition to the other divine testimonies mentioned, the responses of the Milesian Apollo.[57] Anyway, all the quotations discussed would be rhetorically useless if the audience could not at least suppose the responses to be genuine. Furthermore, quotation (1) is more than a hundred years older than Lactantius' text, and there is a parallel version of quotation (4) from about AD 217. Oracular responses like those in Lactantius had thus already existed for a long time.

  When speaking about the oracles' sources, one additional factor, which particularly concerns the Apollonian oracle of Didyma, has to be mentioned. From there, i.e. from the 'Apollo of Miletus', comes the oracle from the treatise *On the Anger of God* cited at the beginning,

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[56] See note 5 above.

[57] Lact. *epit.* 65,6 *id enim sacrae litterae ac uoces prophetarum docent. quod si cui parum uidetur, legat carmina Sibyllarum, Apollinis quoque Milesii responsa consideret, ut intellegat delirasse Democritum et Epicurum et Dicaearchum, qui soli omnium mortalium quod est euidens negauerunt.*

and two oracles from the *Divine Institutes* just presented in (3) and (4).[58] The oracle of Didyma was highly influential in the time of Lactantius: Diocletian consulted it before starting the Great Persecution in 303.[59] This is also mentioned by Lactantius, who in that context calls Apollo of Miletus an "enemy of divine religion".[60] Constantine's co-emperor Licinius, too, is said to have received a response from the oracle before his defeat in 324.[61] Furthermore, several inscriptions containing oracular responses have been found in Didyma.[62]

All this leads to suppose that Lactantius used any kind[63] of oracular collection and expected his audience to have access to such oracular texts, too—texts, which seem to have been a sort of common property, highly estimated in Asia Minor at that time.

What then, finally, about Porphyry of Tyre? Going through the oracular quotations, you cannot find anything that points to the assumption that the *Divine Institutes* are a reply to *On Philosophy from Oracles*, as Elizabeth DePalma Digeser suggests: in the *Divine Institutes*, the use of oracles is definitely a marginal phenomenon and it follows conventional rhetorical rules. The limitation to Apollonian oracles can be explained by their importance and predominance in Asia Minor at that time—and in the eyes of some of Lactantius' readers, as quotations (1) and (4) show. Quotation (3),

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[58] Cf. *Apollo Milesius* Lact. *ira* 23,12; *inst.* 4,13,11; 7,13,5.

[59] Cf. Wiegand/Rehm/Harder, 1958, cf. note 53 above, inscriptions no. 89, 90 (Diocletian in Didyma) and especially 306 (on Diocletian's persecutions?—cf. also Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above, 206-208); Eus. *VC* 2,50 (Constantine's experience of the oracle of Didyma); Parke, 1984, cf. note 16 above, 97-103; Pricoco, 1988, cf. note 15 above, 190-194.

[60] Lact. *mort. pers.* 11,7 *imperator [. . .] deos potissimum consulere statuit misitque haruspicem ad Apollinem Milesium. Respondit ille ut diuinae religionis inimicus.* On the possible epigraphic transmission of the response see note 59 above.

[61] Cf. Soz. 1,7,3.

[62] Cf. Wiegand/Rehm/Harder, 1958, cf. note 53 above, 299-302; and in general Fontenrose, 1988, cf. note 8 above.

[63] Pricoco (e.g. 1987, cf. note 15 above, 35; 1991, cf. note 15 above, 353) thinks of indirect connections between Porphyry's and Lactantius' oracular sources. This might be possible, but is based on complicated, and thus vulnerable considerations. Ogilvie (1978, cf. note 25 above, 24) assumes a collection inspired by Jewish or Christian thought based on Porphyry. This is unprovable and, at any rate, unnecessary: why should Porphyry, who passed most of his life in Athens, Rome and Sicily, have had better access to oracles from Asia Minor than Lactantius?

which Digeser supposes to be identical with a fragment in Porphyry, is undoubtedly a testimony of its own.[64]

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[64] All this also calls into doubt the use of Porphyry's *On philosophy from oracles* in *On the Anger of God* (*ira* 23,12): the oracle says, what already Plutarch (*On Stoic Self-contradictions*, chapter 38, i.e. *mor.* 1051e) had supposed all his readers to know, that the god of the Hebrews is fearful. What Lactantius needs is a testimony that the true God shows anger. Neither the conflict between paganism and Christianity nor the reference to the Jews is taken into account. So even if Lactantius took the quotation from Porph. *phil. or.*, he did not enter into confrontation with Porphyry. But, as we have seen, Lactantius had his own sources for oracular quotations. Therefore, as can be seen from the reference to the Jews, Lactantius had in mind the oracle, as did Porphyry, but did not rest on him.

THE *EUCHARISTICOS* OF PAULINUS PELLAEUS: TOWARDS A REAPPRAISAL OF THE WORLDLY CONVERT'S LIFE AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY

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ABSTRACT: After a sketch of Paulinus' autobiography, his spiritual life is outlined, whereby the view of his adherence to a 'heresy' is rejected. Next the intentions underlying the composition of the *Eucharisticos* are reconsidered: they are to be sought in the author's need to reassure and to comfort himself rather than to impress his contemporaries. Instead of censuring the poem as marred with inconsistencies—many of which are rather due to modern misreadings—the verses of thanksgiving are viewed as a remarkable and mostly successful attempt at coming to grips with the disruptions and inconsistencies of the world Paulinus lived in.

The Aquitanian nobleman Paulinus—called *Pellaeus* by modern scholars after his Macedonian birth place but, in fact, hailing from a Bordeaux family—was born in summer A.D. 377 and lived on to compose an autobiographical poem, his *Eucharisticos Deo*, in the first half of 460.[1] He was thus

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* Celebrating his 65th birthday in September 2006, Heinz Heinen retires from the chair of Ancient History at Trier University, which he has occupied with care and passion ever since 1971. He shall continue to work, among other things, as the director of the project *Antike Sklaverei* at the Mainz Academy.—My acknowledgements to Richard Finn (Oxford) and Manuel Tröster (Trier) for their helpful suggestions.

[1] For the chronology, see below, sect. III.3 with n. 71.—The only critical eds. are by G. Brandes, "Paulini Pellaei *Eucharisticos*", in: *Poetae Christianae minores I* (*CSEL* 16.1, 1888), 263-321, and C. Moussy, *Paulin de Pella, Poème d'action de grâces et Prière* (Paris 1974) (with French transl. and comm.). Further bilingual eds. have been produced by H.G. Evelyn White, *Ausonius*, vol. 2 (London 1921), 293-351; J. Vogt, "Der Lebensbericht des Paulinus von Pella", in: W. Eck et al. (eds.), *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte* (Cologne 1980), 527-72; A. Marcone, *Paolino di Pella, Discorso di Ringraziamento* (Florence 1995).—Apart from these, the following works will be cited only in abbreviation: A. Brun, "Un poète à

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rooted in the heyday of the Late Roman empire, but experienced several invasions of Germanic tribes and transformations of his socio-political environs, hence growing old in the early Middle Ages.[2]

If his famous grandfather Decimius Magnus Ausonius (ca. 311-394) or his compatriot and namesake, the later bishop of Nola (ca. 352-431), are taken as benchmarks, the younger Paulinus appears quite marginal a figure: neither his literary skills nor his personality stand up to theirs; both men had played outstanding roles in the Roman Empire and bequeathed considerable collections of literary works.[3] While these prominent characters have

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Marseille au Ve siècle", *Provincia* 2 (1922), 22-32.—Ch. Caeymaex, "Paulin de Pella", *MB* 1 (1897), 186-99.—F.E. Consolino, "Il discorso autobiografico nella poesia latina tarda", in: eadem et al. (eds.): *La componente autobiografica nella poesia greca e latina* (Pisa 1993), 209-28.—A. Coşkun, "Chronology in the *Eucharisticos* of Paulinus Pellaeus", *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002a), 329-44.—idem, *Die* gens Ausoniana *an der Macht* (Oxford 2002b).—idem, "Notes on the *Eucharisticos* of Paulinus Pellaeus", forthcoming in *Exemplaria Classica* 9 (2005).—P. Courcelle, *Les Confessions de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris 1963).—idem, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques* (^3^1964).—J.F. Drinkwater/H. Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul* (Cambridge 1992).—A. Fo, "Tentativo di introduzione a Paolino di Pella", in: A. Garzya (ed.), *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità* (Naples 1989), 361-82.—P. Galtier, "Pénitents et 'convertis' (Suite et fin)", *RHE* 33 (1937), 277-305.—R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius* (Oxford 1991).—É. Griffe, "Un exemple de pénitence publique au Ve siècle", *BLE* 59 (1958), 170-5.—R. Helm, "Paulinus von Pella", *RE* 18.4 (1949), 2351-5.—W. Kirsch, "Spätantike Dichtung als Quellen zur Sozialgeschichte", *Index* 17 (1989), 275-82.—A. Marcone, "Il mondo di Paolino di Pella", in: *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine* (Paris 1992), vol. 1, 339-48.—R.W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul* (Leiden 1993).—idem/H. Sivan, "Forging a New Identity", in: A. Ferreiro (ed.), *The Visigoths* (Leiden 1999), 1-62.—J.F. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, A.D. 364-425* (1975).—S. Mattiaci, review of Marcone (1995), *Prometheus* 22 (1996), 92-6.—N.B. McLynn, "Paulinus the Impenitent", *JECS* 3 (1995), 461-86.—G. Misch, *A History of Autobiography* (^1^1907, ^2^1931, transl. in collab. with E.W. Dickes, London 1950, repr. 1998).—Ch. Müller, *Observationes grammaticae in Paulini Pellaei carmen Eucharisticum* (Berlin 1932/33).—B. Näf, *Senatorisches Standesbewußtsein in spätrömischer Zeit* (Fribourg/N. 1995).—A. Quacquarelli, "Gregorio di Nazianzo e Paolino di Pella", in: idem, *Esegesi biblica e patristica* (Bari 1991), 129-47.—M. Roberts, "The Treatment of Narrative in Late Antique Literature", *Philologus* 132.2 (1988), 181-95.—M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine* (Paris 1979).—K.F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen 1948).—D.E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola* (Berkeley 1999).

[2] Cf. also R. van Dam, "The Pirenne Thesis and Fifth-Century Gaul", in: Drinkwater/Elton (1992), 321-33, esp. 331, on the question: "Was fifth-century Gaul ancient or Medieval?".

[3] For the works of Ausonius, cf. the ed. by Green (1991); for his biography, Coşkun (2002b). For Paulinus Nolanus, cf. *CSEL* 29-30, ed. by W. von Hartel (1894); 2nd ed. by M. Kamptner (1999); for his life, Trout (1999); S. Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola* (Göttingen 2002); for his year of birth, Coşkun (2002b), 31.

thus left their traces in dozens of sources, today's knowledge of Paulinus is limited solely to the 616 verses of his autobiography. These are shaped as a thanksgiving to God's merciful providence, but contain, at the same time, bitter lamentations over the political disruptions afflicting its protagonist, so that his material losses inflicted may sometimes appear to be his prime concern.

Together with such inconsistencies, a deficient command of prosody, style, and grammar reveals literary dilettantism as well as unveiling the mediocre personality of an egotistic and elderly, but nonetheless immature nobleman. Small wonder that Paulinus' biography has predominantly served scholars either to illustrate the political, social, and cultural decline of Late Roman Gaul or to demonstrate, more particularly, how the fame of the *gens Ausoniana* evaporated in the third generation.[4] But since Late Antiquity is now to an increasing extent being looked at with less bias, if not viewed as a crucial period of change *and* continuity in its own right, the poem has much more to reveal to its attentive reader—though it likewise provokes many and partly new questions.

In the absence of a full-scale commentary, which one day might complete or emend the substantial treatments by Wilhelm Brandes (1888), Pierre Courcelle (1948/64 and 1963), Claude Moussy (1974), Neil McLynn (1995), and Arnaldo Marcone (1995),[5] the following argument confines itself firstly to sketching Paulinus' (auto-)biography, secondly to deconstructing the view of his adherence to a 'heresy', and thirdly to reconsidering the intentions underlying the composition of the *Eucharisticos*. In this way, new light will also be shed on the character of its author.

I. *A Sketch of Paulinus' Life According to His Autobiography*

After explaining the motivation of writing his autobiography in the preface and duly invoking God at the beginning of the poem (v. 1-21), Paulinus sets out to tell the story of his life from his birth down to the time of his writing

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[4] Cf., e.g., Misch (1950), 546: "with no originality in him"; Matthews (1975), 324-5: the pessimistic tone being inappropriate for a thanksgiving; Mathisen (1993), 542: "poverty-stricken exile"; Marcone (1995), 9: "in versi di qualità non superiori alla personalità del loro autore". But for a partial reappraisal, cf. Roberts (1988), 187-89; Fo (1989), 379-80; McLynn (1995), 484. For his reception of classical and Christian poetry, cf. also Moussy (1974), 39-41; Marcone (1995), 126-7.

[5] For a more detailed survey on Paulinian scholarship, cf. Coşkun (2005).

the poem.[6] It began with some kind of Odyssey, as his father (Thalassius) held prominent posts in the imperial administration: Paulinus was born in Pella, while Thalassius was the "deputy of the illustrious prefecture" (v. 24-6 on A.D. 376-77). Due to his promotion to the African proconsulship, the family travelled to Carthage, where they spent 18 months (spring 378 to autumn 379). After visiting the city of Rome (v. 37), they returned home to Bordeaux, where the boy met his famous grandfather for the first time (v. 42-9, towards the end of A.D. 379).[7]

The verses devoted to Paulinus' childhood strongly focus on his education (v. 55-140). His parents' zeal is remarkable and seems to betray the influence of the Professor Ausonius: they had him learn Greek as his first language from their Eastern servants (v. 76-80) and playfully taught him the basics of how to speak and how to behave before the completion of his fifth year (v. 60-71). At this age, then, his regular schooling began with the reading of Homer, who was soon to be accompanied by Virgil, though Paulinus admits that his family's high expectations exceeded his mental capacity. When he was just fifteen (A.D. 392), he was struck down with malaria (v. 119 *quartana febris*), while he was *studiis intentus litteraturae* (v. 114). The illness lasted long and obstructed his schooling.[8] Judging the pressure of studies to be one reason for his physical weakness (also v. 82-84, 115-18), his father introduced him to a more leisurely lifestyle. Thus the youth became fond of horses and hunting, of valuable clothes, and perfume (v. 122-53). Despite these problems, his harmonious childhood and family life are remembered as something of a paradise.

In his old age, Paulinus did not even conceal his sexual experiences with his slave maids, which made him a father some day between his eighteenth and twentieth year (A.D. 394/7). The *spurius*, however, died a few days after his birth, even before his father had seen him (v. 159-75).

To some extent at least, the serious side of life began when he was twenty (A.D. 397): he was compelled to marry a rich heiress, whose hitherto neglected estates required his strenuous attention. It is worth noting that Paulinus describes her only in terms of her material and social value (v. 180-6). At any rate, he managed her estates successfully and recovered their prosperity. His idyllic life changed, but remained unspoilt for another

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[6] Apart from the proems of classical epics, cf. also Aug., *Conf.* 1.5.5.

[7] For the chronology of his infancy and his family, cf. Coşkun (2002b), 147-58.

[8] Cf. esp. v. 136-7 *invexere mihi iugem iam deinde legendi / desidiam* . . .

decade. Restrictions to his sumptuous spending were set alone by the fear of being frowned upon as an extravagant spendthrift (v. 176-225).

Just after completing his thirtieth year (v. 232 ad A.D. 407), he suffered a double stroke of fate: his much loved father died shortly before 'barbarian' raiders arrived *Romani in viscera regni* (v. 235), doing harm to his estates "in particular" (v. 239-40).[9] The grief over his father's premature death—the dominating subject of this passage—was exacerbated by his *indocilis frater*'s contesting the testament, which favoured their (or only Paulinus'?) mother (v. 248-53).[10]

Next Paulinus indicates that his (remaining) wealth exposed him to vain ambitions and serious dangers (v. 254-7). His reluctance to remember the ensuing events is only overcome by the experience of Christ's final assistance. Having thus increased the reader's suspense (v. 258-63), he reflects on the advantages and perils that his mighty patrons' support caused him.[11] This reasoning is interrupted in v. 271 by his regrets at not having left Gaul for a better life in the East. There he owned considerable estates—only much later will he state more precisely that they were scattered over the provinces of *Epirus Vetus, Epirus Nov<a>*, and *Achaea* (v. 414-5). Paulinus mainly blames his kinsmen for not having escaped the misfortune in time, but he admits that he himself was likewise indecisive, partly out of fear of the risks, partly because he would not renounce all the good things to be enjoyed in Bordeaux (v. 275-85).

Thus the description of his prosperous situation unexpectedly links up to the revelation that his house was the only one freed of the duty to lodge Goths (v. 285), a tribe that had occupied Gaul only in A.D. 412, as is known from other sources. Paulinus even rose to the *comitiva largitionum privatarum* under the short-lived emperor Attalus, who in fact was a puppet ruler installed by king Athaulf (v. 291-301 ad A.D. 414).[12]

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[9] For the invasions and usurpations of A.D. 406-418, cf. Matthews (1975), 307-28; H. Wolfram, *Die Goten* ([3]1990), 168-80; P. Heather, *Goths and Romans 332-489* (1991), 219-25; Drinkwater/Elton (1992); J.F. Drinkwater, "The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413)", *Britannia* 29 (1998), 269-98.

[10] Neither the background nor the outcome of the case is revealed. For further details, cf. Coşkun (2005).

[11] V. 264-70 seem to indicate that he held various posts under the Gallic usurpers, cf. Coşkun (2005).

[12] For the historical background, cf. Mathisen/Sivan (1999), 1-17, and see above, n. 9.

The higher the position, the deeper the downfall. When the central government broke with the Goths in A.D. 414, the latter left Gaul but not without taking revenge to the cost of the Gallo-Romans. Among those was Paulinus, whose house was burnt down together with his home city. But even worse, as *comes* of the usurper he was held responsible for the misery of his compatriots and suffered further punishment: together with his family, he was expelled from Bordeaux (v. 315-27). Notwithstanding his later conversion to immortal values, he appears never to have recovered from this humiliation, which he goes on to remember with contrite bitterness.[13]

Paulinus then moved to Bazas, the *patria maiorum* (v. 332). But the decision soon turned out to be unfortunate. Right after his arrival, the city was besieged by Alans, who accompanied the Goths on their raids. As if it were not yet enough, an uprising of a *factio servilis*, joined by "furious" youths of free birth, occurred inside the walls. They are said to have aimed at killing the nobility, with Paulinus being one of their "special" targets, but the rabble-rousers were instantly put to death (v. 333-40).[14]

The subsequent account shows Paulinus in the most dangerous undertaking of his life. Trying to escape the siege together with his family, he took the risk of meeting the Alan king personally. Paulinus still regarded him a close friend (v. 346 *praesidio regis dudum mihi cari*) and was aware of his attacking Bazas only reluctantly (v. 351 *imperio gentis cogente Gothorum*). He was all the more stunned to hear that his friend not only refused to support him, but—for the sake of his own safety—the king was even considering his extradition to the Goths, who still had a score to settle with the Bordelaise (v. 360 *gnarus quippe Gothos rursum mihi dira minari*).[15] As an alternative, he offered to protect the city, if he was allowed to enter it with his people. There is no doubt that, at this moment, Paulinus felt as though he had the choice between Scylla and Charybdis.

Eventually, however, he managed to mediate a mutually beneficial agreement between the Alans and the *primates urbis*: the enemies became allies, with an exchange of noble hostages; although the Alan warriors were not permitted to enter the walls, they quickly built ramparts to defend themselves together with the city against the Goths (v. 372-89). The latter's sub-

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[13] Cf. *praef.* § 2 *in peregrinatione diuturna*; v. 491 *perpetuum exilium*; 542 *exul.* On the circumstances of the condemnation, cf. Coşkun (2005).

[14] The event is best be explained as a hunger revolt, cf. Coşkun (2005).

[15] According to Kirsch (1989), 279, he was held responsible for the war as a representative of the Romans.

sequent retreat is presented by the autobiographer as being induced by this betrayal, but the approach of Honorius' general Constantius, whose threats had put pressure on Athaulf to leave Bordeaux shortly before, will have been the more decisive factor, as other testimonies suggest. In the end, however, Bazas escaped pillage owing to Paulinus' endeavours, as he himself modestly indicates (v. 399-406). Notwithstanding this success, he calls his adventure an "error" (v. 345, 401) rather than a heroic deed, and his frankness shall be of importance for the interpretation of the whole autobiography.[16]

None of the remaining stages of imperial history or of Paulinus' private life is dealt with in similar detail.[17] What follows instead, are mainly reflections on his state of mind or on his family life. In v. 408, he resumes his consideration of moving to his *materni census* in Greece and Epirus, a promising option, which he failed to translate into action even after enduring the misfortunes of A.D. 414/15. The latter are specified as *barbaricae rapinae* and the sacrilegious injustice of the "Romans", including the misdeeds of his relatives (v. 423-30). But, he continues, the loss of his terrestrial goods enabled him to look for imperishable values (v. 431-50), thus somehow linking up to his conversion in A.D. 427 (v. 451-78, see sect. II).

As Paulinus once more takes up his plan of moving eastwards, now blaming the *nimius metus* of his *indocilis coniunx* for its eventual failure, he indicates that his conversion had not entirely finished the discussion within the family (v. 479-88). But, with the diminishing value of the Eastern estates, a new aspect in his deliberations gradually gained weight, for a part of them seem to have been sold (v. 481-2 *peregrino . . . adstricto iam censu*).[18] The conclusion is drawn in due course: *ita frustratus spe iam meliore quietis* accounts for his *perpetuum exilium* (v. 489-91).[19] Whether subconsciously or in full awareness, Paulinus imposes a heavy moral burden on his wife by how he links these subjects.

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[16] For unheroic confessions, cf. v. 345-9, 364-5, 399; for his sincerety, see below, sect. III-IV. For the circumstances and a general assessment of the events in Bazas, cf. Coşkun (2005).

[17] Thus the *foedus* between Constantius and king Vallia in A.D. 416 and the subsequent resettlement of the Goths in Aquitaine in 418 go unmentioned, or are at best vaguely alluded to in v. 302-8, see below, sect. III.3.

[18] Having stressed their extent and exuberant prosperity in v. 413-9, this passing comment is quite surprising.

[19] The *pars Orientis* has been called *altera patria* in v. 272. A systematic enquiry into Paulinus' 'national identity' would be rewarding, cf. the suggestions in Coşkun (2005). See also below, sect. III.3, with n. 73.

At any rate, the condition of his "exile" worsened by his loneliness after the death of his *socrus, mater*, and *coniunx* (v. 492-7). He may have lost them by the mid-430s. Next Paulinus tells of his sons' misfortune. They left him after his conversion, in order to recover as much from their Bordelaise patrimony as possible (v. 501-2). Paulinus, though saddened by their absence, hoped to benefit from their efforts (v. 502-7).[20] While deploring their unlucky fates, he reveals that they had in fact been successful for some years, notwithstanding the necessity of sharing their possessions with Gothic settlers (v. 502).[21] But the estates of the one who was a priest were stripped in a *rapina* at his death (v. 508-11). And having gained a king's (i.e. Theoderic I's) friendship, the other son infuriated that ruler *actu simul eventu sinistro* (v. 512-14), perhaps some year between A.D. 335 and 340.

As a result, the family had to leave the king's direct sphere of influence.[22] Paulinus settled in Marseille, where he happened to have "dear" relatives of clerical standing and still owned a house with a garden and a small field (v. 520-34). As these properties had been abandoned, much care was required to get them shipshape again. Paulinus may have given a hand himself, though he was still accompanied by a large group of servants. He also cultivated rented estates to broaden the livelihood for his *familia* (v. 535-8). But, gradually, together with the number of the *servi*, his physical constitution dwindled (v. 539-41). At some point, he seriously considered to return to Bordeaux, but, due to the indecisiveness typical of him, he stayed (v. 539-46).[23]

Further lamentations about his impoverishment follow, but they are intermingled with his thankful recognition of divine support (v. 552-3 *[ut . . .] renovatas/saepius expensas te prospiciente viderem*). In this context, Paulinus surprisingly mentions his "rich children", whereas he pretends to feel ashamed of having been dependent on the care of others (v. 556-60) and of losing the property rights of his house in Marseille (v. 572-4). This awkward representation of being supported by his own offspring is at least partly due to the narrative strategy: the sigh about his *damna pudoris* (v. 581) enhances

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[20] Although he does not state explicitly to have received support, this is suggested by v. 515.

[21] For a bibliography on the allotments of the Gothic settlement in Gaul, cf. Coşkun (2005).

[22] It has generally been accepted that the son was executed, but the passage itself (esp. v. 513 *qui superest*), the link with Paulinus' move (v. 515-20) and the existence of *nati* (v. 558) speak against; cf. Coşkun (2005).

[23] Cf. McLynn (1995), 478-9; Coşkun (2005).

God's ultimate intervention in his old age: suddenly a Gothic settler appeared and paid him for an estate which had once been his, but had been considered lost long since. Though not thinking the sum appropriate, Paulinus accepted it, because it laid the ground for his material independence (v. 564-81).[24]

After this sort of a 'happy ending', the poem turns to an effusive praise of God's compassion, which ends in a long prayer for Christ's assistance in the face of death (v. 582-616).

II. *Paulinus' Heresy, or Rather the Spiritual Biography of a Gallo-Roman Nobleman*

Paulinus' spiritual conversion reaches its climax in v. 468-73:

> *confessusque igitur penitenda quae mihi noram*
> *proposita studui constrictus vivere lege,*
> *non digno fortasse pians commissa labore,* (470)
> *sed rectam servare fidem non inscius ipse*
> ***errorum** discendo vias per **dogmata prava**,*
> *quae reprobans sociata aliis nunc respuo culpis.*
>
> And thus, after confessing of what I knew that it deserved my repentance,
> I tried to live strictly according to the set rule;
> maybe I did not atone for my deeds by the appropriate punishment,
> but myself I was well aware to keep the right faith,
> by learning the ways which lead to errors through corrupt doctrines,
> which I now disapprove and reject together with other sins.

With Priscillianism, Arianism, Pelagianism and Semipelagianism, four identifications for the "wrong doctrines" have been suggested.[25] The first

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[24] For the narrative strategy, cf. also McLynn (1995), 465-6; on the historical background, Coşkun (2005).

[25] The assumption of a heresy goes back to Tillemont, cf. Galtier (1937), 287 n., who withholds from a specification though; likewise Stroheker (1948), 203. Today, a political motivation is frequently hypothesised, so that Arianism seems to be the *dogmata prava*, cf. Evelyn White (1921), 341; Ch. Johnston, "Paulinus of Pella", *History Today* 25 (1975), 761-69, 768; Quacquarelli (1991), 142; Marcone (1992), 347-8; McLynn (1995), 475 n. 85. However, Marcone (1995), 115-6 follows Moussy (1974), 182-4 in suggesting Pelagianism, which had already been assumed by Caeymaex (1897), 191; Misch (1950), 674. Cf. also G. Krüger, "Paulinus von Pella", in: M. Schanz et al., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, vol. IV^2 (München 1920), 376: Pelagianism or Semipelagianism "sind naheliegend, aber rein geraten"; similarly P. Courcelle, review of Moussy (1974), *REA* 77 (1975), 406. Moussy and Marcone reject the assumption of Priscillianism or Semi-Pelagianism, as held by Brandes (1888), 275; Brun (1922), 32; Müller (1932/33), 80, who dates the adherence to the sect A.D. 405-425.

would presuppose not only fanatical ascetism, but also the readiness to accept social and juridical exclusion, both readings being incompatible with the character of the autobiographer. Likewise, conversion to Arianism would have entailed being outlawed and losing Roman (not only Bordelaise) citizenship. Moreover, the latter heresy was no viable option for a Gaul, before the Goths finally settled in A.D. 418.[26] But Paulinus had celebrated the Eucharist within the Catholic community for the last time as early as 407.

From the doctrinal point of view, Pelagianism seems to be the most attractive choice. On the one hand, the author of the *Eucharisticos* explicitly states the importance of God's grace in reference to perpetrating, avoiding, and pardoning sins (e.g., v. 108-12), which might be seen as a deliberate anti-pelagian confession of the convert. But the constant attitude of believing to be on the right side (see below, sect. III.5) could be regarded as a typical predisposition of a Pelagian on the other. However, the latter feature is hardly restricted to one particular sect. Last but not least, the Pelagian dispute only began to be an issue in Gaul after A.D. 415, and it was not before 425 that partisan bishops of the heretic were condemned in Arles. Under these circumstances, one may at best wonder whether the "saints" did not compare Paulinus' behaviour to the anathematised teaching, in order to reinforce their demand that he return to the Catholic church. But if he had really become involved in 'specialist' discussions in 426/7, he would probably have been warned not to overstress divine grace, because Augustine's pre-destinatarian doctrine was then fervently discussed and mostly rejected in Gaul.[27]

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[26] The interlude in A.D. 414 was certainly too short to encourage anyone to make such an opportunistic decision. Cf. the contrasting example of the usurper Attalus: after his conversion to Arianism in A.D. 409/10 (cf. Marcone [1992], 347-8), he stayed with the Goths and fled the Romans. For the legal consequences of adhering to a heresy, cf. *CTh* 16.5. For the Arian church in fifth-century Gaul, cf. Mathisen/Sivan (1999), 37-44.

[27] For the Pelagian controversy in general, cf. B.R. Rees, *Pelagius* (Bury St. Edmond 1988); for Gaul, cf. Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth-Century Gaul* (Washington D.C. 1989), 37-42; idem, "For Specialists Only: The Reception of Augustine and His Teachings in Fifth-Century Gaul", in: J.T. Lienhard et al. (eds.), *Augustine* (New York 1994), 29-41, esp. 33: Gallic anti-Pre-destinatarians were distortedly called 'semi-Pelagians'. Marcone (1995), 115-6 misleadingly differentiates between the condemnation (A.D. 407) and excommunication (418) of Pelagius. In fact, pope Innocentius and his successor Zosimus only reluctantly condemned him in 417 and 418, whereupon Honorius outlawed the heresy. As late as A.D. 425, some Gallic bishops adhered to Pelagian doctrines, whence they were compelled to undergo the judgement

What Paulinus *does* refer to frequently, are his *errores*. Throughout the poem, this term either relates to aimlessly wandering around (v. 74 *erroresque Ulixi*), to his political jeopardy in Bazas (v. 345, 401), to alienation from God through sin (v. 105, 141), or to an opaque mixture of various modes of going astray (v. 275, 473)—but never to doctrinal disputes. Particularly telling are the two sections where he muses over his conversion: apart from the above-quoted v. 472, his *errores* are also specified in v. 105-7: "whatever blameworthy deed I have incautiously and whatever trespass I have irresponsibly committed throughout the dissipating seasons of my life" (*incautus quidquid culpabile gessi/ inlicitumque vagus per lubrica tempora vitae*). Hence, in what follows, the understanding of Paulinus' *dogmata prava* and *errores*, but also of the *Eucharisticos* as a whole is deepened by scrutiny of the "treacherous seasons of (his) life" and their particular "errors".

Throughout my analysis, I shall indicate the impact of Augustine's *Confessions*. It is well known that, after their composition in A.D. 397/401, they had gained widespread popularity by the end of the bishop's life and served as a model to subsequent Latin autobiographies. Among these, the *Eucharisticos* is the first undisputable example. As will soon become apparent, Paulinus was especially keen on following many of the patterns designed by Augustine. But, nevertheless, one can find far more than empty commonplaces in his poem.[28]

To start with the general decisions to begin the autobiography with an invocation of God and then to proceed with the author's infancy and school days: they had surely been induced by book I of the *Confessions*. In both cases, the parents' above-average concern for the children's education is emphasized. While the outstanding financial efforts of Augustine's parents and their hopes of social advancement are stressed (*Conf.* 1.9.14, 2.3.5-8), the noble family's prime interest was classical erudition (v. 61-84, 113-21, 129). Paulinus' problems with Latin (v. 75-84) seem to be a specific counterpart to young Augustine's dislike of Greek (*Conf.* 1.13.20, 14.23).[29] Besides, the children's manners and characters were also taken care of (*Conf.*

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of Patroclus, bishop of Arles. It is unlikely that Paulinus was influenced by the few partisans of Augustine (Prosper Aquitanus and a certain Hilarius), for Vincent of Lérins and Faustus of Riez made sure that the pre-destinatarian doctrine remained heretic in Gaul.

[28] For the reception of *Conf.*, cf. Aug., *Retr.* 2,6; *Persev.* 53; Misch (1950), 668-81; Courcelle (1963), 207-10; Moussy (1974), 19-21; Consolino (1993), esp. 225. The present chapter, though adding to the aforesaid works, does not satisfy the want of a systematic comparison. For the rationale of the imitation, see below, sect. IV.

[29] Cf. Courcelle (1963), 208-9; Consolino (1993), 226; McLynn (1995), 483.

2.3.7/v. 62-3, 89-91, perhaps also 67). But in contrast to the religious zeal of the saint's mother Monnica (*Conf.* 1.11.17),[30] Paulinus' parents are said to have been less anxious about his faith than the boy himself (v. 92-99).[31]

Thalassius and his wife—like mainstream Catholics among the late Roman elite, which is well represented by Paulinus' grandfather Ausonius—were happy to believe in salvation through Christ and to accept a certain moral code, for all their pragmatic, if not indulgent, attitude towards traditional ways of life. Beyond the educational focus already mentioned, this is amply illustrated by the luxurious and joyful lifestyle they afforded their son. They did so despite "my wishes at the very beginning . . ., to be kept for ever as your boy, Christ" (v. 94-6). This lenient criticism does not imply that Paulinus formerly rejected his parents' values, thereby threatening his harmonious relationship with them. No religious concern of such a magnitude is mirrored in the *Eucharisticos*, nor anything else comparable to the frictions entailed, e.g., by the conversion of Paulinus Nolanus.[32]

As the autobiographer explicitly states to have been readmitted to holy communion in A.D. 427 after having previously attended the Eucharist for the last time in 407 (v. 474-8, esp. *reversus* and *recepi*),[33] one would like to know more precisely, at which stage of his life he had been baptized. The poem does not hint at a particular commitment during the third decade of his life (A.D. 397-407), while the previous couple of years are excluded due to the regular sexual intercourse with slave maids. But these 'sinful' experiences are introduced as follows: "I broke out in new pleasures of youthful dissipation which—when still a boy—I formerly thought I could avoid" (v. 157-8 *in nova prorupi iuvenalis gaudia luxus, / quae facile ante puer rebar me posse cavere*). This goes along with the above-quoted wishes "to be kept for ever as your *boy*, Christ" (v. 96). Since a certain degree of maturity was required, one may conclude that Paulinus was baptised at the age of 12 to 15.[34]

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[30] His father's paganism is mitigated with his religious tolerance and his late conversion (*Conf.* 1.11.17, 2.3.6).

[31] Kirsch (1989), 278 thinks that Paulinus did not receive religious education from his parents, which is, in turn, overstated by Caeymaex (1897), 188. But v. 94-5 imply that the initial decision for a Christian life had been made in unison.

[32] For the latter's conversion, cf., beside the works quoted above, n. 3, Coşkun (2002b), 99-111; 234-7.

[33] Galtier (1937), 278 n. already rejected the idea that these verses may refer to baptism, which is still ignored by PLRE 1 (1970), 678; R. van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley 1985), 150-1.

[34] Cf. v. 94 *nostris primo sub tempore votis*; 96 *perpetuo ut puerum servarent me tibi Christe*; 98 *carnis ut inlecebris breviter praesentibus expers*. For the age of 14 as *terminus ad quem*, see below

At first sight, it is hard to understand why he withholds any direct information on so substantial an event of his spiritual biography. Admittedly, the offensive impression of the trespasses yet to come is in some sense mitigated this way. But it is more illuminating to evoke the overall model, again since Paulinus' conversion in terms of penitence was designed to imitate the turning point in Augustine's life (Easter 387), the explicit mention of his own christening already in his childhood would have been disturbing.[35]

As early as in v. 98-9, Paulinus blames carnal lust as an obstacle to achieving his eternal good. His first account is theological: he credits divine providence with his aberrations, for only these enabled him to experience God's pardon (v. 100-12, 108): *te indulgente mihi totum scio posse remitti.* The second approach is psychological: having hinted at his weak health already before (v. 83-4), Paulinus now specifies his illness as *quartana febris*, which urged him to change his life style at the age of fifteen. He was then enticed by joy and luxury, ridding himself of his former discipline (v. 119-40). The temptations of the youngster's soul are powerfully illustrated in v. 153: *inlecebras urgentes undique mundi.* Note that fifteen-year-old Augustine was likewise seduced, when interrupting his studies due to a lack of money (*Conf.* 2.3.5, 2.5.10 *inlecebra*).

Although Paulinus describes his parents' concerned efforts for his return to help with warm affection, he acknowledges their moral perils (v. 141): *qua ratione auctus noster quoque crevit et error.* Thus he permits himself, again, leniently to criticize his parents (cf. v. 94-6, quoted above). In this he may have been encouraged by Augustine's complaint that his christening was postponed as soon as he had recovered from a serious illness in his (early) childhood (*Conf.* 1.11.17-8). Since there is no explicit mention of baptism in this context of the *Eucharisticos*, Paulinus had in all likelihood already been initiated to the sacraments by the age of 14.[36]

Next, the autobiographer confesses his sexual *lasciva licentia.* The subject is oddly introduced by a reference to his parents' wish of grandchildren, followed by the information that his puberty began comparatively late

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with n. 36. Cf. also Griffe (1958), 171: "vers sa douxième année"; on p. 172, he interprets these verses as a wish to become a cleric. Highly improbable is Galtier (1937), 278 n.: "peu après sa naissance".

[35] For comparison, cf. A. Breitenbach, "Der unfreiwillige Hochzeitsgast. Die verschiedenen Berufungen des Gregor von Nazianz und das Schweigen über seine Taufe", in: S. Harwardt/J. Schwind (eds.), *Corona Coronaria* (Hildesheim 2005), 31-48.

[36] Malaria befell him shortly after the completion of his fifteenth year (v. 119-21), thus towards the end of A.D. 392, whereas Easter was the usual occasion for baptism.

(v. 154-6). It is thereby insinuated that the ensuing experiences had not only been tolerated, but even encouraged by his parents. Likewise, Augustine's father took pleasure in his son's puberty, being more interested in the latter's offspring than chastity; despite her serious concerns, even Monnica would rather tolerate his whoring than tame his sexual drive by an early marriage, which would distract him from his career (*Conf.* 2.3.5-8; also 3.1.1, 3.5). However, in contrast to the saint (*Conf.* 2.3.7), Paulinus confined himself to his family's female slaves, in order to avoid any offence against the law (v. 161 *crimina*) or the social code of behaviour (v. 168); he did not even violate a slave (v. 163). Despite these mitigating circumstances, he acknowledges his sin (v. 161 and 167 *culpa*), before embedding the whole theme in Christ's order of salvation (v. 175).

Notwithstanding several factual differences when it comes to details,[37] the parallels to the *Confessions* culminate in the begetting of a *spurius* (4.2.2, 9.6.14/v. 172). But the equation goes even further: after his carnal lust had been inflamed early in his puberty, young Augustine soon decided to live with only one concubine, thus at least improving his moral standard to some extent (*Conf.* 4.2.2). Paulinus, too, started a family at a young age (he was 20 years old) and thereby overcame his promiscuity (v. 176-225). In stressing that he married the rich heiress (v. 181-2) only reluctantly (v. 178-9), he alludes to another experience of Augustine's life: in order to engage him with a girl of a distinguished family, Monnica urged him to separate from his concubine, who even had to leave her son Adeodatus behind (*Conf.* 6.13.23, 15.25). In contrast to this drama, Paulinus later remarks that he renounced a move overseas because of his wife, for "it seemed right to me not to abduct her anywhere against her will, and I found it likewise unjust to leave her alone, taking away our children from her" (v. 487-8 *quam nec invitam trahere usquam fas mihi rebar / parque nefas esset subtractis linquere natis*).

At any rate, Paulinus then mended his ways as a *pater familias*, at once regaining his eagerness and responsibility (v. 187-201). Admittedly, there was still something to be reproached for, in that he remained fond of earthly values. While denying that he was *census augendi cupidus* or an *ambitor honorum* (v. 214-5), he calls himself a *sectator deliciarum* (v. 216). Some scholars have explained these qualifications in terms of Horatian influence.[38] But such atti-

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[37] Augustine loved his concubine (but see below) and his son, while there is no such affection discernible in Paulinus towards his maids, his *spurius*, or even his wife, whom he lived with in a *matrimonium iustum*.

[38] Cf. also v. 204 *ab ambitione remota* (sc. *quies*), with Matthews (1975), 79-80. On the alleged *mediocritas* of his possessions, cf. Marcone (1995), 96 and Colombi (1996), 409-10,

tudes were certainly not essential to his relationship to the church, because they hardly imply a closer reflection of especially pagan values, let alone the adherence to the hedonistic doctrine of Epicurus. One may at best wonder whether the allusion was intended to match Augustine's fascination with the Academy induced by Cicero's *Hortensius* (*Conf.* 3.4.7-8). At any rate, the poet seems to remember that the African professor of rhetoric did strive for public offices and riches (*Conf.* 6.11.19).

While writing the *Eucharisticos*, Paulinus regards the third decade of his life as his 'golden age',[39] characterized by peaceful harmony and considerable wealth, though used with some moderation.[40] No word about his adherence to the church or Christ, with any explicit statement of alienation missing, too. What figures most prominently instead is the *pietas* between father and son. Consequently, the former's death in A.D. 407 caused him *inmodicus dolor* (v. 241). Both Thalassius' dominant role whilst alive and Paulinus' pathetic moans at his loss, very clearly recall Augustine's intense relation to Monnica, which culminates in his desperate grief upon her death (*Conf.* 9.8.17-13.37).[41] As to Thalassius, it is certainly no exaggeration for Paulinus to say: *per quem cara mihi et patria et domus ipsa fiebat* (v. 242). In contrast, Monnica is explicitly credited with acquainting Augustine with God (also *Conf.* 1.11.17).

Seven eventful years followed, which saw Paulinus suffering barbarian raids before again living in wealth and with honours. But after briefly flourishing in the favour of the Goths, he was eventually stripped of his Bordelaise estates and expelled from his home city (v. 254-327). Allusions to the *Confessions* become rarer, but are still notable.[42] As before, he refrains

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with reference, e.g., to Hor., *Serm.* 1.1.106-7; Aus., *Hered.* Colombi explains that the motif of *rusticitas* served to reconcile classical culture and Christian mentality; similarly Näf (1995), 130. She further evidences the theme of *publica molestia* (Symm., *Epist.* 6.38) or *administrationis fastidium* (Symm., *Epist.* 1.42) as topical (pp. 419-20).

[39] For his nostalgia, cf. v. 226-8 *cuius vitae utinam nobis prolixior usus / concessus largo mansisset munere Christi, / persistente simul priscae quoque tempore pacis* ("alas, if only the company of his life had more generously been conceded to me by a liberal gift of Christ and thus maintained, while also the time of ancient peace continued").

[40] For his self-restraint, cf. v. 203 *mediocria desideranti*; 219 avoidance of *nota luxoriae*; see above, n. 38.

[41] Besides, the deep affection within Paulinus' family and his wish to remind it in his verses recall Ausonius' willingness to communicate similar feelings, cf. *praef.* 1; *Ad patr.*; *Epiced.*; *Pat. ad fil.*; *Hered.*; *Parent.*

[42] For career ambitions and dependence on patronage, see above (*Conf.* 6.11.19) and below (6.11.18).

from reflecting on his former spiritual state of mind, only crediting Christ *ex eventu* for his having escaped the worst (v. 258-63, 264-5, 325).

In several instances, Paulinus accounts for not having left for a better life in the East. This failure, he tells, brought him much evil: "Misfortunes laid hands on me, which yet for long had been due to me, since I was—however reluctantly—kept in prolonged and tortuous paths firstly by the very lethargy of my kin, etc." (v. 274-6 *iniecere manum mala sed mihi debita dudum, / quod me et invitum protracto errore tenerent / agminis ipsa mei primum molitio pigra*, etc.). The qualification *mihi debita dudum* is hardly explained only by his failure to emigrate, though even less by the sin of adhering to a 'heresy'. Paulinus may rather have had tragical figures in mind, such as Polycrates of Samus or the biblical Job.[43] If *protractus error* should have a spiritual connotation at all, this would only become apparent in v. 461-2, prior to which the dreams of a monastic life and of settlement overseas have never been linked together. But when Paulinus considered leaving Gaul for the first time, he had not yet been exiled from Bordeaux, at least according to the chronology of his autobiography. With the train of thought thus being partly incomplete and partly troubled, the plans and religious convictions he had between A.D. 407 and 415 remain obscure.

The same applies to the subsequent events in Bazas. In v. 337-42, he thanks God for saving him from the uprising, whereas his risky decision to address the Alan king is styled *novus error* (v. 345)—despite its prosperous outcome. The praise of the Lord's compassion announces his rescue (v. 366-7), which consisted in the successful agreement with the councillors of Bazas. This is explained by divine support, for the king is said to have enjoyed God's grace by then (v. 375 *auxiliante deo, cuius iam munus habebat*). The adventure is rounded off by a further acknowledgement of God's assistance, with the repetition of *error* framing the episode (v. 401 *erroremque meum Deus in nova gaudia vertit*). It is impossible to draw any conclusion as to the inclinations Paulinus had at that time from this cryptic account.[44]

Soon he resumes the consideration of moving East. This time, the autobiographer exclusively focuses on the material value of the Greek estates (v. 406-22). The subsequent censure of the ones guilty for his misfortunes

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[43] For a comparision with Job, though in a different context, cf. also Caeymaex (1897), 194.

[44] PLRE 2 (1980), 514-5 and McLynn (1995), 474 n. 76 have recently objected to identifying the king with the 'pagan' Goar, but the qualification is apologetic, cf. Coşkun (2005).

(v. 423-30) is by no means written in the spirit of Christ: there is no trace of understanding, let alone pardon. Only afterwards, Paulinus reflects on the metaphysical meaning of his terrestrial losses, which enabled him to search for imperishable goods. But this newly gained insight does not seem to diminish the guilt of his worldly opponents. In the same context, Paulinus reveals that he never stopped praying throughout his life, although he admits that he only aimed at preserving his wealth (v. 433-7).[45] Thus he thanks God for having ignored his vanity by responding to his real needs instead.

The revelation that, only "late" in his old age, he had fully learnt to love immortal values (v. 438-43), ends in a praise of divine wisdom (v. 444-50), clearly recalling Augustine's hymnic *sero te amavi, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova, sero te amavi* (*Conf.* 10.27.38).[46] Hence, it is tempting also to explain the repeated references to the fruitless plan to emigrate as being indebted to the indecision of the *cor inquietum*, which eventually found its peace in returning to the belief once embraced in childhood (*Conf.* 1.1.1; also 6.11.19-20).

Next, Paulinus likewise credits divine providence with preventing him from leading too demanding an ascetic life. Oddly enough, for him, *monachi perfecto vivere ritu* (v. 456), would have meant to retire to his Eastern possessions together with his family, servants included, thus neither in poverty nor as a hermit (v. 451-63). One may question whether such day-dreams had been inspired by the general lessons on the fragility of terrestrial goods, not least because the whole context implies that Paulinus was unable to view his life from a deeply Christian perspective. It was rather the frustration about the political situation in Gaul that rendered emigration so attractive a prospect. Albeit, following the advice of "saints",[47] he refused to jeopardize his family by moving overseas (v. 461-7). Instead, he was recommended simply to follow the *mos vetustus* of the church (v. 465-7). The imposition of strict

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[45] His ideals appear to be reflected in the so-called *Paulini Oratio*, which has been preserved in the mss. of Paulinus Nolanus (*CSEL* ²30.2, see above, n. 3); for a comm., cf. Moussy (1974), 211-25. Courcelle (1964), 293-302 established Paulinus Pellaeus as its author, a view now generally accepted, cf. Moussy (1974), 211; Green (1991), 250; Näf (1995), 129; Colombi (1996), 410; A. Soler Merenciano, "La *oratio* cristiana de dos autores profanos: Ausonio y Paolino de Pela (s. IV d. JC.)", *SEAug* 66 (1999), 127-31; Trout (1999), 271. But the argument is far from cogent.

[46] Cf. Caeymaex (1897), 198; Courcelle (1963), 210; idem, *Recherches sur les confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris 1968), 441-78.

[47] On possible identifications of these "saints", cf. the references in Coşkun (2005). Note that Augustine had also been addressed by God through *sancti homines*, cf. *Conf.* 3.7.14.

ecclesiastical rules appears to have been some kind of compromise (v. 468 *igitur*).[48] Accordingly, on Easter 427, he confessed his sins (v. 468), promised to live bound to ecclesiastical law (v. 469), and finally returned to the sacramental community (v. 477-8).

Recapitulating Paulinus' spiritual biography so far, it is difficult to see which heresy he might have adhered to:[49] speaking of *dogmata prava* is rather another tribute to the *Confessions* of the ex-Manichean Augustine; and the sacramental conversions are the climaxes within the autobiographies.[50] At any rate, *dogmata prava* (v. 472) are predominantly defined in a negative way, in that they include everything that leads astray from the Catholic Church, as may also be implied by the plural. But the particular implication of the chronology is yet to be accounted for. After being present at the Eucharist for the last time in A.D. 407 (v. 474 *exacta iam tetreteride quinta*), Paulinus saw his deeply venerated father die and his estates ravaged for the first time before these losses were further exacerbated by the quarrel with his brother. It is therefore not too daring to suggest that these strokes shattered Paulinus' harmonious world and embittered him. Of course, he will never have declared himself decidedly anti-Catholic, let alone an atheist, but preferred to maintain some distance from the church, perhaps favouring a kind of inner religiosity which is well known from his grandfather.[51]

What changed in Paulinus' life after his return to the church? The most important factors have already been mentioned: he tried to live according to the ecclesiastical rules and probably did not absent himself too often from the sacramental community. Compare also the brief reflection on sin and pardon, after he had mentioned the *carnis inlecebrae* for the first time (v. 98, 100-12, esp. 109): *me reprobans lapsum ad tua iura refugi.* To speak of "laws" is symptomatic and corresponds to the subsequent theme: the omission of further sins after the granting of pardon. God is credited for both his

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[48] Mathisen (1993), 95 oddly quotes Paulinus' failure to become a monk as the first example of the restricted number of church offices.

[49] Cf. also Griffe (1958), 173-5, who opposes the view of doctrinal errors; Marcone (1995), 21, who denies Paulinus the capability of opting for a heresy; Näf (1995), 130: "Dass Paulinus . . . Abstand von häretischen Ideen nahm, heisst noch lange nicht, dass er vorher unter dem Einfluss des Pelagius gestanden haben muß".

[50] Cf. Courcelle (1963), 209; Moussy (1974), 184-5. For Augustine's Manicheism, cf. *Conf.* 3.10.18-5.14.25.

[51] Cf. Aus., *Ephem.* 2.7-10, 3.1; *Vers. Pasch.* 3-5 with H. Heinen, *Frühchristliches Trier* (1996), 177-202; M. Skeb, "Subjektivität und Gottesbild", *Hermes* 128 (2000), 327-52; Coşkun (2002b), 216-37, esp. 229-32.

absolution from *peccata* and his assistance to avoid further ones.[52] In contrast to Paulinus' confession, Augustine does not presume to have avoided any other sins in a similar passage (*Conf.* 2.7.15).

But in spite of all this, Paulinus' mentality was not altered significantly.[53] Although the octogenarian, while writing his autobiography, was able to interpret his setbacks in the light of divine salvation on the one hand, on the other he still idealized his former prosperity and shows no less contempt for his opponents in Bordeaux and Bazas. And although he has just stated that, as a penitent, he had "understood the paths of (his) errors directed by wrong doctrines" (v. 472), it was only after the catastrophes of his sons that he could accept "that everything is to be sought" from God (v. 518). Not even this seems to have implied an ascetic life style.[54]

Against this background, it is, again, remarkable how Paulinus emphasizes his impoverishment (v. 515-6, 520 *pauper*, 542 *inops*, 551-60, 572-4), although he must be regarded as belonging to the better offs at any time of his life.[55] Nor is there the slightest consideration for all those contemporaries whose suffering was worse than his. As to the obscure "appeal to Christian communism" in v. 561-3, commentators have long noticed the allusion to the *Acts of the Apostles* (2.44, 4.32).[56] It should be added that Augustine once planned to set up a community where friends owned property in common, but failed (*Conf.* 6.14.24). Also noteworthy is the fact that Paulinus attributes

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[52] Cf. v. 110-12 *et si ulla umquam potui peccata cavere, / quae mihi maiorem parerent commissa reatum, / hoc quoque me indeptum divino munere novi* ("and if I have ever been able to avoid any sins, which, if committed, would have increased my guilt, I will have achieved this as well thanks to divine grace, as I know").

[53] The relevance of the conversion for his life has been overstressed, e.g., by Caeymaex (1897), 191-2; Stroheker (1948), 203; Griffe (1958), 174; Moussy (1974), 26-7.—Bipartition (Marcone [1995], 16-7; 23) or tripartition (Colombi [1996], 413: the first break being the marriage) may be useful concepts only with a view to structuring the autobiography, not the life itself.

[54] *Pace* Moussy (1974), 32-4; Mattiaci (1996), 93.—Paulinus mentions that his family was still alive when he converted, but many of them died shortly thereafter, with the final disaster causing his move to Marseille (v. 479-520). Perhaps this disposition has also been influenced by the *Confessions*: baptism of Augustine and Adeodatus, who died soon afterwards (9.6.14); Monnica's death before resettling in Africa (9.8.17).

[55] Cf. also v. 239-40, 317-8, 481-2, 519-20 on previous bereavements. For his impoverishment, see above, n. 4.

[56] Cf., e.g., McLynn (1995), 480 (quotation). In contrast, Näf (1995), 132 states with a view to the alleged addressees (on whom see below, sect. IV): "Besitz und Familie hatten hingegen erstrangige Bedeutung".

his political career to *potentum gratia* (v. 264-5) and *patronorum studia* (v. 269-70)—as if the grandson of Ausonius had not belonged to the highest echelons himself.[57] On the one hand, the Gospel, with its benedictions of the poor and weak as well as with its polemics against the rich and powerful, not only induced a few noblemen to convert to ascetism, but also brought along an illusive rhetoric of poverty and humility. On the other hand, the verses clearly allude to the *Confessions*, again.[58]

Finally, Paulinus' attitude to the approach of death may serve as an ultimate barometer of his faith. The final prayer for Christ's assistance at the end of his life is passionate, but neither apt nor designed to conceal his fear of the uncertainty, which is all pervasive (v. 598 *timenda*, 602 *intrepidam mentem*, 607 *metuam*, 609 *formidine*, 613 *dubium pavorem*). Aware of the inconsistency implied, the autobiographer feels obliged to make the mitigating acknowledgement "that many things are rather to be feared than death" but, with regard to its *vicinitas* (v. 606-7, cf. 598-9), he admits that "there is nothing I can think of that I should rather wish" than comfort in this critical situation.[59] At any rate, it is this fear that eventually does not leave him with a further choice: it enables him to regard himself as entirely belonging to Christ and to place all his hopes in the Saviour. In professing this expectation, however, he carefully avoids a clear reference to the divine Trinity, limiting his words to the mystical truth of being part of Christ's body, as celebrated in the Eucharist.[60]

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[57] McLynn (1995), 470 convincingly suggests to identify the *patroni* with the usurpers.

[58] For patronage, cf. *Conf.* 6.11.18 *amicos maiores, quorum suffragiis opus habemus*; also 6.14.24 on the rich Romanianus. For further biblical allusions, cf. Moussy (1974), 41-2 and see the references above, n. 4. For the impact of Christian rhetoric, cf. also Coşkun (2005) with further references.

[59] V. 598-600 *quia vita in hac, qua nunc ego dego, senili / ipsa morte magis plura agnosco timenda, / nec mihi, quid potius cupiam, discernere promptum est.* Brandes' insertion of <*haut*> before *agnosco* has to be rejected. It is likewise inappropriate to relate the negation *nec* not only forward to *est*, but also backwards to *agnosco*. This explanation has been put forward by Müller (1932/33), 64-6 and is followed by Moussy (1974), 204-5; Vogt (1980), 570-1, but rightly ignored by Marcone (1995), 72-3.—Courcelle (1964), 95 is mislead to assume that "la mort prochaine le console après tant de malheurs".

[60] For a different assessment of his 'theology', cf. Caeymaex (1897), 193-4.

III. *Innocence, Silence, and Righteousness: on the Apologetic Nature of the* Eucharisticos

1. *The Inconsistent Account of an Innocent Nobleman?*

It is uncontroversial that the *Eucharisticos* is not simply a chronological account of Paulinus' biography (*praef.* § 5), since it is interspersed with more general reflections and apologetic in style. Most scholars find that this does not detract from the honesty, modesty and innocence of the author.[61] For instance, there is no dispute that by explaining why he opted for peace with the Goths he reveals his ever-lasting bitterness about his condemnation as a traitor in A.D. 414, before the same policy became official in 418.[62] He may likewise, though implicitly, be arguing against humiliating suspicions by stressing that the female members of his family remained unviolated during the disaster at Bordeaux (v. 320-7).

There is a bit more tension between the heavenly ideals of the Christian autobiographer and the mundane values of the Aquitanian nobleman when the days of his wealthy youth are remembered with nostalgia in his old age (esp. v. 122-53). Likewise, the criticism of the Gothic settler's paying too little for his *agellus* is disconcerting, given that the unexpected intervention is regarded as a divine grant of material independence (v. 575-81). Even more striking is the fact that all of Paulinus' losses and setbacks are considered godly interventions for the sake of his soul, while the harsh criticism of the ones responsible is in no way mitigated (esp. v. 423-30).[63] With a view to such inconsistencies, some scholars have assumed two hearts beating in the breast of the converted aristocrat. Thus Alessandro Fo concludes that "il cristiano non ha del tutto convinto il borghese", while Arnaldo Marcone qualifies him as an "asceta per costrizione".[64]

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[61] Cf. Caeymaex (1897), 191; Misch (1950), 673: "the unpretentious sincerity with which he offers facts instead of rhetoric"; 675 "artless appearance . . . rarely found in antiquity"; Helm (1949), 2353: "Er sagt ehrlich und ungeschminkt die Wahrheit . . ."; Courcelle (1964), 92: "journal' intime", followed by Moussy (1974), 19; cf. also the latter, p. 24: "la grande franchise de l'écrivain qui confesse sans détour ses défauts et ses erreurs"; Quacquarelli (1991), 142: "Non si tratta di una *fictio* poetica, ma di realtà vissute e sofferte"; Colombi (1996), 412: "assoluta sincerità" . . ., though with some modifications on p. 420.

[62] Cf. v. 302-8, discussed and quoted below, sect. III.3 with n. 70.

[63] See above, sect. I, after n. 8 (wealthy youth) and before n. 24 (Gothic settler); sect. II, before n. 45 (no pardon).

[64] Fo (1989), 375; Marcone (1995), 21, also 13: "molto del vecchio Paolino sembra

2. *The Deliberate Silence of a Less than Innocent Aristocrat?*

However, the same Marcone regards the passage on the "Gothic peace" as apologetic not only in the face of former, but possibly also of continuing accusations, even supposing the use of "reticenze volute". On the other hand, he still believes in the honesty and modesty of the "uomo che sa di non essere un campione di vita religiosa e che non si sforza neppure di presentarsi come tale".[65] In contrast, by drawing attention to further cases of either inconsistency or of deliberate silence, Neil McLynn has recently pleaded for a reassessment of the autobiography. Among other things, he hypothesizes highly unpopular actions undertaken by Attalus' *comes largitionum privatarum*. He likewise posits less innocent backgrounds to the nobleman's dispute with his *frater indocilis* and to his jeopardy in Bazas. Another criticism is about living on alms as a father of rich children. Thus judging the framework of a "Thanksgiving to God" to be a tactical means to disarm potential objections, McLynn claims that the *Eucharisticos* "can only be understood within the context of a jostling and competitive community"; Paulinus, being "both impoverished and compromised by his misuse of his wealth", tried to "set the record straight".[66]

Although not all of the above-mentioned arguments are equally forceful, the autobiographer's credibility is challenged, since further observations seem to support this critical view. Thus Paulinus covers his deeds committed under the earlier Gallic usurpers with a mantle of silence—in spite of declaring the opposite.[67] Similarly, one wonders how he incurred Athaulf's wrath even before inducing the Alans to betray the Goths. The effect of either the amnesty for 'collaborators' ordered by Honorius (A.D. 416) or of

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essere rimasto nel nuovo"; 15 on the mundane ideals of the *Oratio* (see above, n. 45). Cf. also Helm (1949), 2353, stating a lack of contrition; Vogt (1980), 532-3, arguing against religious heroism; Näf (1995), 131-2; Mattiaci (1996), 93-4: "lo spirito terreno che la 'conversione' non muta radicalmente, il sentimento religioso alieno da misticismo"; Colombi (1996), 409-13 (above, n. 38). Most scholars remark a similarity to the 'superficial' religiosity of Ausonius, but see above, n. 51 against this view.—Less convincing is Courcelle (1964), 96: "Une telle résignation suppose une force d'âme peu commune".

[65] Marcone (1995), 19; 22-4.

[66] McLynn (1995), 471 (*comes*); 470 (*frater indocilis*); 473-75 (Bazas); 481 (charity); 463 (fictional framework); 486 (quotations). But a deliberate deception would presumably have been less inconsistent and thus more efficient. For alternative readings see sects. I-II with notes.

[67] Cf. v. 258-70 *licet* . . . / . . . *malim sopita silere* / *invitant* . . . / . . . *solacia* . . . // *prodere* . . .; and see above, n. 17.

the final settlement of the Goths in Aquitaine (A.D. 418) is also cut out of his reflections.[68] Hence, was Paulinus being devious?

It would be unwise, however, to overestimate the weight of *argumenta e silentio*, especially if one takes seriously the characterisation of late Roman poetry proposed by Michael Roberts:[69] "Characteristically the 'unity' of an inorganic work achieves a collocation of autonomous parts with a governing conceptual framework. The result can be gathering of parts widely disparate in size and character and dissonant in tone. The inorganic narrative emphasizes the higher, symbolic value of selected aspects of reality; it does not attempt to convey a total and convincing impression of the real world, as the modern realistic novel would. . . . it is 'illustrative' rather than 'representational'". Accordingly, it is Paulinus' positive confessions that deserve closer inspection.

3. *True Confessions of the Former Statesman*

The revelation of sexual misbehaviour in his youth and of his adherence to *dogmata prava*, though equally regarded as 'mortal sins' in his days, may well be considered tactical admissions, because such trespasses were somehow sanctioned by Augustine—who did worse in both instances. But it is difficult to see why Paulinus should detract from his most important achievement: to what end does he reveal the unheroic background of conciliating the Alans to the citizens of Bazas? As the details were certainly unknown to the majority of his contemporaries, their confession is quite remarkable.

Also noteworthy are the comments on the Goths, for they come much closer to the ideal of speaking *sine ira et studio* than the remarks on his kinsmen and fellow citizens. To some of these Germans, he attributes *summa humanitas* (v. 289) for having protected their landlords against plunderers in A.D. 414, whereas the atrocities they committed in the course of their withdrawal from Bordeaux are censured severely, but soberly (v. 312-4; 423 *inter barbaricas hostili iure rapinas*).[69a] He frankly hints at their treacherous behaviour towards Attalus (v. 298), despite calling the latter a *tyrannus* (i.e. 'illegitimate emperor': v. 293, 302). Inducing the Alans to change sides surely enraged the Goths against him for the second time. Although Paulinus does

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[68] For the wrath and the amnesty, see above, sect. I with n. 17 and 15 respectively.

[69] Roberts (1988), 194-5, partly quoting R.M. Jordan, *Chaucer and the Shape of Creation. The Aesthetic Possibilities of Inorganic Structure* (1967), 238 and 99.

[69a] This is contrasted by his criticism against his compatriots in v. 424f.: *(inter . . .) Romanumque nefas contra omnia iura licenter / in mea grassatum diuerso tempore damna.*

not bother to account for the first instance, he is not concerned to conceal his previous trouble with them either (v. 362).

Moreover, the aforementioned apologia for his choosing the *pax Gothica* is of outstanding importance.[70] There has been general agreement that Paulinus must have written this passage in times of peace, despite the dispute on the date of the poem's composition. For this the years 455, 459, and 460 have been suggested, the last of which is in all likelihood correct.[71] But be this as it may, it is still doubtful that any policy of appeasement could have been uncontroversial after 455. Perhaps there had been a wave of sympathy after the Goths' participation in the defeat of Attila in 451. The installation of Avitus as Roman emperor in 455, however, will certainly have worried many Gauls, and some of the fears came true in the aftermath of Ricimer's rebellion against Avitus. In 459, it was only by force that Theoderic II withdrew from Arles to Aquitaine, and the subsequent years would show that only a strong central government could prevent the Goths from expanding.[72]

It needs to be remembered further that Paulinus adopts the political perspective of an Aquitanian, though living and writing in Marseille. It was cities such as Bordeaux and Bazas that had been enjoying permanent peace after the troubles of 407-18, owing their prosperity to the Goths, whereas Narbonne and Arles were repeatedly involved in military conflicts with the invaders. But the matter is even more intricate in that the harsh criticism

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[70] Cf. v. 302-8 *unde ego non partes infirmi omnino tyranni, / sed Gothicam fateor pacem me esse secutum, / quae tunc ipsorum consensu optata Gothorum / paulo post aliis cessit mercede redempta, / nec penitenda manet, cum iam in re publica nostra / cernamus plures Gothico florere favore, / tristia quaeque tamen perpessis antea multis* ("therefore I no way sided with the weak usurper, but followed, I admit, the Gothic peace; it was then wished unanimously even by the Goths, but slightly later others succeeded in establishing it, though at a high price; however, it remains unregretted, because we now see flourish many in our state thanks to the Goths, despite all the misfortunes that no few suffered beforehand"). On Paulinus' actions in A.D. 412/14, see above, sect. I.

[71] Courcelle (1964), 167 n. 3 dates the bulk of the verses to the reign of Avitus (A.D. 455-6), who was strongly supported by the Visigoths, while attributing other passages to a negligent revision in 459. This view, though accepted by most scholars, does justice neither to the transmitted text nor to the chronology of Paulinus' life, cf. Coşkun (2002a). On other grounds, McLynn (1995), 463-4 defends the pre-Courcelle date of 459; besides, he notes that Majorian had re-established peace already in the course of 459 (Priscus fr. 36 ed. Blockley).

[72] For the Gothic expansion, cf. Mathisen/Sivan (1999), 17-21; for further references, see above, n. 9.

of the *Romanum nefas* (v. 424) is least pleasing to Paulinus' former compatriots of Bordeaux.[73] Consequently, the *Eucharisticos* would have been very badly designed, if it were a political pamphlet, whatever the ongoing discussion was about.

4. *Further Tortuous Confessions of the Aristocratic Convert*

Many more 'self-betrayals' deserve attention. For instance, Paulinus denies any ambitions for distinguished posts and identifies his influential *patroni* as the driving force in obtaining them all the same. Although this seems to be apologetic in some sense, the explanation he then gives, is certainly not: by calling himself a *sectator deliciarum*, he appears even more contemptible for a devout fifth-century Christian, especially as the implied vices led him astray from the Church. Even if one assumes that the 'Epicurean' terminology is somehow designed to allude to Augustine's *Confessions*, this would not significantly detract from the judgement. But to complicate the issue once more: Paulinus is not even prepared to condemn his *patroni* or their efforts entirely, for he differentiates between advantageous and perilous effects of their support. And most surprisingly, he recognizes God's authority behind both (v. 264-70).

The statements on possessing and sharing wealth (v. 554-60) are likewise to be reviewed. If Paulinus had really wanted to hide that some of his children were still alive and even disposed of significant fortunes in A.D. 460, he simply could have avoided mention of them, or, at least, of their financial situation. Instead, he proudly characterizes them as 'rich' (v. 558), thus contrasting their status with his own life of a 'poor' (e.g. v. 520)—or what he considers such. Of course, the tortuous verses are somehow intended to defend his *pudor*, as is accepted by most commentators. These, however, tend to underestimate the extent of the wealth that his family was still enjoying towards the end of his life.[74] And along with this, they ignore the autobiographer's desire to have it known by all.

The proud reference to the "rich children" has an apologetic connotation nevertheless: Paulinus clarifies that he had not become impoverished by squandering his patrimony, but, despite all adversities, even managed to

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[73] For Paulinus' 'national identity' see above, n. 19.

[74] Cf. McLynn (1995), 467-9; 477-8; Coşkun (2002b), 160, with n. 152 against the assumption of impoverishment. A systematic enquiry into his belongings is missing though.

preserve most of it, in order to pass it on to his offspring. This may be regarded as a moral exigency among aristocrats of any society.[75] On the other hand, the convert attempts at reconciling this traditional value with the high esteem that poverty was held in by his fellow Christians. It follows from this that, to some extent, he also accepts their particular modes of representing social realities, as has been shown above (sect. II with n. 58).

Paulinus' sincerity in admitting his enormous fear of death is a final example of his remarkable freedom of speech in religious matters,[76] but likewise of his attempt of bridging the gap between his ambiguous feelings and less ambiguous Christian positions. These observations should suffice to contradict McLynn's view that the *Eucharisticos* was a self-confident pamphlet to challenge the superiority of monastic life, claiming religious championship for its own way.[77] On the contrary, the convert explicitly leaves precedence to the *sancti* of (Aquitaine? and) Marseille (v. 451-6), who, in all likelihood, did observe ascetic rules (v. 464 *consilium sanctorum*, 521 *plures sancti . . . mihi cari*).

5. *More on the Mentality of the Gallo-Roman Nobleman and Christian Convert*

After all, deliberate trickery cannot be the explanation for the inconsistencies in the *Eucharisticos*, most of which could easily have been avoided. Neither is the unevenness of thought sufficiently accounted for if the naivety of the author is stressed repeatedly. On the contrary, Paulinus' arguments firstly attest his capability in providing a distinguished analysis of various political, psychological, religious, and literary matters; and they secondly show an impressive degree of frankness. For sure, there remain shortcomings in the autobiography, and many of them may well reflect the limitations of Paulinus' own insights, but no doubt the aristocratic landowner will have shared them with most of his peers.

It is certainly unsatisfactory how he manages to lament his impoverishment and to condemn his unlawful opponents on the one hand, but to pride

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[75] The same moral is underlying v. 213-15: *nec tamen his ipsis attentior amplificandis, / quam conservandis studiosior et neque census / augendi cupidus nimis . . .* ("however, I was less keen on increasing these things than concerned with upholding them, nor was I all too fond of increasing my wealth . . ."), for which see above, n. 38 and 40.

[76] Cf., e.g., Quacquarelli (1991), 142: "la spontaneità e la libertà con cui si esprime".

[77] McLynn (1995), 482-3; 486, regarding the poem as a defence against the preaching of Salvian of Marseille. But cf. Marcone (1995), 23: "la necessità di spiegare a sé e agli altri il senso della propria conversione".

himself on his "rich children", while totally ignoring the real poor, and to describe his fatal blows as healing lessons taught by the mercy of God on the other. Above all, his importunate self-righteousness seems to conflict with the idea of his conversion being crucial to his life: it is always the others that bear the guilt for his misfortunes; there is no attempt at understanding the barbarians, the citizens of Bordeaux, the rioters of Bazas, his *indocilis frater*, and his other relatives; and the Gothic farmer who saved him from his misery is still blamed for not paying him enough; as to his *indocilis uxor*, she is criticized for her objections to moving eastwards, while Paulinus himself proves unable to do so after her death; even his mourning her decease sounds like a reproach, for he felt stripped of his *solamina vitae* (v. 497).[78]

In contrast to this, Paulinus judges that his own deeds are either justified or at least excused by mitigating circumstances. Accordingly, he believes to have been living free of sin after his penitence, while his tone is apologetic as to the former period: in his eyes, he only bore partial responsibility for his sexual lascivity, for which he admits *culpa* though, but not *crimen*; his cooperation with the Goths was for the sake of peace, not treason; the *error* of approaching the Alans was caused by the terror within Bazas (v. 343-5) and even turned out to be advantageous. Apart from this, Paulinus ignores that his own political failure meant the loss of his wife's patrimony and home as well, a debt which he seems to be completely unconscious of.[79] The conclusion is drawn in v. 85-7: his autobiography may lack erudition, "but as to the facts, I trust, there is nothing I have to feel ashamed of".

Fondness of material values, self-righteousness, and egotism thus clearly define Paulinus' character, though it would be unjust not to mention, at the same time, his positive qualities like his affection for (most of) his kin, and his responsibility as a *pater familias* and citizen of Bordeaux. But the autobiography allows to go beyond such a simple balance sheet in that it conveys keys for a deeper understanding of how its author and protagonist viewed his world.

In the first place, Paulinus' conception of faith is noteworthy: while God is credited with mildness and permanent care of every individual (see below, sect. IV), the individual member of the Christian community is above all required to follow divine rules prescribed by the ecclesiastical authorities.

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[78] It is therefore awkward that Moussy (1974), 24 discusses his "excès d'humilité". A lack of "carità" has also been observed by Vogt (1980), 533; Colombi (1996), 413.

[79] On his wife's estate, cf. Coşkun (2005).

Paulinus' terminology deserves to be recalled here: v. 109 *ad tua iura refugi*; 110 *peccata cavere*; 465 *morem servare vetustum*; 469 *proposita studui constrictus vivere lege*; 471 *rectam servare fidem*. Eventually, v. 604-5 reads as a conclusion: *qui iam dudum placitis tibi vivo dicatus / legibus et sponsam conor captare salutem*. This juridical interpretation of the Christian religion—unsatisfactory as it may seem to many modern and some contemporary believers—apparently accounts for the fact that righteousness rather than love of the poor and weak smoothes the way to salvation in the eyes of the nobleman.

The preface helps to resolve another alleged inconsistency. Paulinus explicitly attributes a positive, if only temporary, value also to earthly goods: the *indultae humano generi temporariae voluptates* of his young age and the *praesens beatitudo* are regarded as divine gifts. In this evaluation, he goes a little farther than Augustine, although the latter would also concede at least some value to material goods (*Conf.* 2.5.10). Paulinus even feels indebted for the fact that his lessons of finding comfort against misfortune and mortality had been "moderate" (*moderanter exercens*: § 3). Among other things, this implies that none of the lamented events took away too much from him.

IV. *The Motivation and the Strategy of the* Eucharisticos

It is now time to turn to the preface as a whole. At the outset, Paulinus denies any intention to rival the literary merits or glory of others' memoirs (§ 1). Instead, he intends to comfort his grief at growing old in exile by reminding himself of the fact that he owes his whole life to God—and, indeed, the poem attests that both the loss of his *patria* and the vicinity of death, concern him profoundly. The undertaking is said to be appropriate for a mature age and a religious purpose. But consolation is to be sought less by remembering and retelling his life than by reviewing it (*recensendo*) in the light of divine grace. The autobiographer's task is defined as "to demonstrate that the deeds of my whole life have been devoted to following the Lord" (*totius . . . uitae meae actus ipsius deuotos obsequiis exhiberem*). This reflection cannot result in a mere narrative, but rather in a "thanksgiving" (*eucharisticon . . . opusculum*) to the Lord (§ 2).[80] Paulinus acknowledges that God's mercy had been with him even in his youth when he enjoyed "temporary pleasures", and no less thereafter when the Lord gradually taught him not to rely on present happiness, but to trust in the might of the Saviour (§ 3).

[80] God does not need to be instructed on what he already knows, cf. v. 15-21; Aug., *Conf.* 1.4.4, 11.1.1.

Although Paulinus does not object to his *carmen incultum* being read by others interested in the events of his life, he underlines that he wishes to please God (§ 4 *ut obsequium meum . . . Deo acceptum sit*), not men, let alone any distinguished literary taste (§§ 4-5).[81] Altogether, the audience is defined as threefold: himself, God, and, if only additionally, readers curious about his experiences. But of course, as mediators of the divine mercy, the "saints" of Marseille would be closer to the second than to the third category. This being so, it is easy to understand why some of the chapters are devout prayers, whereas others have the shape of a secular narrative, of an outspoken apologia, or of a spiritual reflection. Among other things, the scarce use of names goes along with the declared intention: neither God nor Paulinus himself nor any of his intimates needed to be told the names, e.g., of the *consul* Ausonius (v. 49); the same is the case with the Alan king, Paulinus' son at court, and the latter's Gothic 'friend' Theoderic I. In contrast, literature designed to be released to the book market or to circulate more widely as a pamphlet would have required many more explanations.[82]

It would certainly be unwise to deny that Paulinus, while writing the meditation on his life, here and there tries to "set the record straight"; and Neil McLynn is likewise right in pointing out the author's concern about his reputation.[83] But it would be even less appropriate to ignore the urgency of his psychological needs. Hence, above all, the autobiographer seeks to reassure and to comfort *himself*, suffering the pains of his everlasting exile and increasingly being worried about the nearness of his death. In this situation, he finds consolation, at first in remembering the good days of his life, but then, more importantly, in trying to review all his 82 years as accompanied and accepted by the *misericordia divina*.[84]

These explicit intentions have substantial implications. Firstly, to appear just—if only in his own eyes, but possibly also to the "saints" of Marseille,

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[81] Paulinus is indeed aware of being no master of the art, cf. also v. 85-6. For the polemical rejection, cf. also Aug., *Conf.* 1.6.7, 10.3.3; Courcelle (1963), 207-8 n. 5; McLynn (1995), 483.

[82] For Paulinus' audience, cf. also Brun (1922), 32 and Vogt (1980), 528: publication in Marseille; Kirsch (1989), 281: addressing the ascetics of Marseille; Näf (1995), 132: "aristokratisch-christlich bestimmter Kreis von Freunden"; McLynn (1995), 486 (see above).

[83] Cf. McLynn (1995), 463, with reference to *praef.* 4-5; v. 85-8, 91-2, 168, 218, 555, 581.

[84] Cf. Moussy (1974), 21 who describes the intention as to "célébrer la miséricordieuse bonté de Dieu".

who appeared to be apt indicators of the heavenly yardstick (cf. v. 463-5)—nurtures his hope of being able to stand up to God's judgment; thus there seems to be no apologia the truth or relevance of which he is not convinced of himself, no silence which, in his opinion, misrepresents the issue at stake. And secondly, to remember—or to realize for the first time—that divine grace has stood behind every event of his life helps him to believe not only in God's power, but also in the latter's will to save him. Compare the outspoken acknowledgement in *praef.* § 3: "I am well aware of the fact that it was due to his mercy on me that . . ., and that I have enjoyed the care of his providence also in this part of my life, and that I shall not much be intimidated by misfortunes, in which I have experienced that his mercy could rescue me".[85] If this understanding of the *Eucharisticos* holds ground, the poem can no longer be labelled as a 'pamphlet' of whatever sort.

But neither is it adequate to speak of "une pâle imitation" of Augustine's *Confessions*, as Claude Moussy does.[86] McLynn has already pointed out that, by the "appropriation of Augustine", Paulinus "enhances the status of both his life and his art".[87] The present study, though incomplete and tentative particularly as far as matters of intertextuality are concerned, allows to draw some more precise conclusions. Firstly and most generally speaking, the more prominent work encouraged Paulinus to compose his own confessions as an edifying *meditatiuncula* (*praef.* 4). Secondly, the model helped him to structure his own autobiography and to determine relevant topics for the critical revision of his life. Thirdly, the manifold examples of Augustine's life taught him to recognize God's fingerprints in the "erroneous meanders of his paths" (v. 472).[88] Fourthly and perhaps most importantly, the fact of having failed in similar ways as the bishop of Hippo, who had risen to holiness after his conversion, inspired Paulinus' hopes to attain God's mercy. It may be added fifthly that several of his tresspasses were less serious than those of the African saint, which may once more justify the self-righteous confessor's expectation of pardon.

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[85] . . . *sciens profecto et benignae ipsius misericordiae circa me fuisse, quod . . ., et in hac quoque parte curam mihi providentiae ipsius fuisse . . . nec adversis magnopere terreri, in quibus subvenire mihi posse misericordias ipsius adprobassem.* Thus no need to wonder, why he views Christian faith as "stets verläßliche Versicherung" (Vogt 1980, 533).

[86] Moussy (1974), 21, with reference to Courcelle (1963), 210-1: "tout en prétendant peindre sa vie intérieure, Paulin est tout juste capable d'aligner des événements successifs", followed by Consolino (1993), 226.

[87] McLynn (1995), 483.

[88] For this point, cf. also Courcelle (1963), 210 with n. 5; McLynn (1995), 483.

Epilogue

Paulinus lived in a world that had been undergoing a never-ending series of transformations since his childhood, as he somehow summarizes in a passing qualification of his own and his family's condition: *condicio instabilis semper generaliter aevi* (v. 540). Barbarian invasions could mean sharp, but only brief disruptions, while the occupations of Germanic tribes entailed more important turning points; the impact of Christian rites and values had been growing slowly, but steadily in fifth-century Gaul; further important changes had been experienced owing to the seasons of his and of his kin's lives. Instead of censuring the *Eucharisticos* as marred with inconsistencies—many of which are rather due to modern misreadings—it would seem to be more appropriate to regard the poem of thanksgiving as a remarkable and mostly successful attempt at coming to grips with the disruptions and inconsistencies of the world that he lived in. If, in the end, Paulinus shall once more be compared with the bishops of Nola or of Hippo, it is the life of the Bordelaise autobiographer alone that can be conceived as a unity, shaken by storms of fate, but still unbroken.[89]

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[89] Cf. also Marcone (1995), 23 for the lack of tension between the two halves of his life, as compared to Augustine, and Colombi (1996), 416-8, as to Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Sulpicius Severus.

BOÈCE ET LE *PONDUS AMORIS* AUGUSTINIEN

PAR

D. DUPONT-FAUVILLE

Dono tuo accendimur et sursum ferimur (Conf. XIII, IX, 10)

ABSTRACT: Boethius' presentation of love in his *De Consolatione* II, M.8 cannot be entirely explained with traditional schemes of classical thought. Behind an apparently idyllic description of the universal harmony, understanding his exposition of love as both omnipotent and subject to human acceptance presupposes the Augustinian conception of love as *pondus*. Love, by Augustine, appears as a principle of cosmic order, but also as a gift offered to mankind and thus as a "weight" capable of taking us to God's rest; this idea seems to pervade throughout Boethius' philosophical treatise. Such a continuous meditation about Augustine would allow Boethius, beyond his perfect skill in using stylistic stereotypes, to conduct on the eve of his own death an original reflection, close to the very roots of biblical tradition.

Introduction

Cette note partira du concept d'*amor* développé par Boèce au livre II du *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, dans le texte versifié communément placé sous le numéro VIII.[1]

Dans ce passage, Boèce présente l'amour comme "ce qui tient toutes choses ensemble":[2] l'amour assure l'harmonie cosmique de l'univers dans son entier, mais régule aussi les relations qui en ordonnancent chacune des parties. Son rôle n'est pourtant pas comparable à un mouvement mécanique: en particulier, c'est lui qui permet la stabilité et la fécondité des relations humaines. De plus, son activité ne peut se comprendre simplement comme apportant ou imposant une harmonie "venue d'en haut", puisque les rapports (politiques, conjugaux ou d'amitié) entre les hommes requièrent

[1] Dans la suite de notre étude, nous le citerons suivant l'usage comme *De Consolatione* II, M.8; cf. en annexe le texte latin de ce passage. Nous suivrons ici l'édition établie par C. Moreschini (München, KG Saur, Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 2000).

[2] Cf. les quatre premiers vers du texte.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 316-331

précisément une acceptation mutuelle pour que l'ordre soit possible. Ainsi l'amour, principe de l'ordre universel, paraît aussi soumis à l'accord des humains. Boèce semble même franchir une troisième étape[3] en formulant, à la fin du texte, le vœu (nostalgique?) que l'amour puisse régner dans chaque âme humaine, en assurant à chacune la clef de son bonheur. Un nouveau pas serait alors effectué, l'amour se présentant non plus seulement comme le garant de l'harmonie globale mais comme le principe qui fonde chacune de ses parties, avec le paradoxe que ce principe, d'abord vu comme extérieur aux individus, se révèle aussi comme intérieur . . . tout en pouvant être refusé par ceux-là mêmes qu'il constitue!

Sous des apparences simples, la thématique de notre passage se révèle donc complexe. Le présent travail voudrait, non pas en développer toutes les harmoniques, mais fournir quelques repères pour mieux situer la réflexion de Boèce et souligner comment sa conception s'enracine profondément chez saint Augustin, en étudiant en quoi la vision augustinienne de l'amour comme "poids", développée au livre XIII des *Confessions*,[4] fournit une clef précieuse pour saisir la logique interne de notre auteur.

Après avoir brièvement noté comment les conceptions philosophiques classiques communément invoquées pour expliquer ce passage ne suffisent pas à en rendre compte, nous essaierons de donner les grandes lignes du *pondus* augustinien avant d'examiner la façon dont Boèce en tire profit dans le fil de sa réflexion.

Insuffisance des doctrines philosophiques classiques pour expliquer le passage de Boèce[5]

Plusieurs modèles cosmogoniques ont pu influencer le discours de Boèce, sans pour autant épuiser le schéma qu'il développe dans ses vers. Deux conceptions principales ont été identifiées par les commentateurs: celle du stoïcisme et celle du néo-platonisme.

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[3] La triple répétition du mot *fides* fournit peut-être un indice littéraire en ce sens: après *stabili fide* qui regarde l'ordre cosmique, *socia fide* concerne les relations humaines et *fidis iura* touche à l'amitié qui constitue le trésor le plus personnel.

[4] Cf. *Confessions* XIII, IX, 10. Il s'agit du passage le plus célèbre concernant ce thème et le premier chronologiquement dans le corpus augustinien. Dans le cours de notre travail, nous utiliserons cependant d'autres pages d'Augustin que nous avons pu trouver et qui traitent de la même idée. Les textes latins sont ici encore reportés en annexe.

[5] Nous partirons principalement, dans ce court développement, des indications fournies par L. Obertello dans son édition du texte de Boèce (Milano 1979), surtout p. 193 et pp. 115-116.

La représentation de l'univers qui est fournie par l'ensemble du chapitre porte l'empreinte du modèle stoïcien (hiérarchisation, ordre de présentation . . .).[6] De plus, la conception du principe suprême n'est pas sans analogie avec celle que Philon d'Alexandrie présente du Logos. Mais Boèce se distingue tant des Stoïciens que de Philon en ce qu'il nomme ce fondement Amour. «En donnant au principe universel le nom d'Amour, Boèce fut probablement inspiré par la foi chrétienne et par le climat spirituel dépendant de la réflexion chrétienne sur l'amour de Dieu. De fait, le terme *amor*, toujours déplacé dans un cadre stoïcien, n'est en rien étranger au monde conceptuel de saint Augustin».[7]

Reste alors l'étude du néo-platonisme, d'autant plus explorée qu'elle pourrait permettre, par l'intermédiaire d'Augustin, de remonter à des sources "purement" philosophiques.[8] Mais là encore, le rapprochement n'est pas totalement probant. Certes, Plotin se représente l'amour comme puissance active de l'Un, mais cet amour est chez lui exclusivement amour de soi: jamais n'apparaît l'idée, si fondamentale chez Boèce, d'un amour empreint de générosité, bienveillant envers ce qui se distingue de lui.

En prolongeant la piste néo-platonicienne, il semble que Proclus puisse renfermer les germes de la conception de l'amour que développera le Pseudo-Denys[9] et selon laquelle se distinguent quatre sortes d'amour: celui des réalités inférieures pour les supérieures, celui des réalités d'un genre pour celles du même genre, celui des réalités supérieures pour les inférieures et celui de chaque réalité pour elle-même. Si l'influence de Platon et Plotin apparaît nettement dans le premier et le quatrième types d'amour,[10] le troisième marque une évolution importante dans la mesure où l'amour peut y devenir principe provident et «sort de lui-même» dans la recherche du bien de l'ensemble des créatures. Il y a donc contact avec Boèce, renforcé par la considération du deuxième type d'amour, qui permet l'harmonie par la confiance réciproque telle que notre auteur la décrit (cf. «*amat invicem [. . .] socia fide*» de notre passage).

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[6] Cf. C. J. De Vogel, "Amor quo coelum regitur. I: Boethius, Consolatio Philosophiae II, metrum 8", *Vivarium* I, 1, 1963, 2-34.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 10. La traduction est nôtre.

[8] Obertello donne plusieurs références (Nitzsch, Chappuis, Theiler, en contraste avec Baur, Hildebrand et Hoffmann).

[9] *De divinis nominibus*, IV, 10.

[10] On peut ici songer notamment au *Banquet* de Platon, où l'amour permet que «de tout soit relié à soi-même» (202 E), ce qui fournit un contact, partiel mais net, avec Boèce.

Même si les contacts sont ici nombreux, ils ne nous donnent pourtant pas accès, croyons-nous, au cœur de la pensée de Boèce. Dans le *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, en effet, la présentation de l'*amor* est une: pour multiple que soit son activité, ses domaines d'action n'apparaissent jamais séparés et ses effets ne peuvent être décrits selon des tendances contrastées, encore moins opposées. L'harmonie qu'instaure l'amour, si elle s'exerce dans des ordres distincts, n'est pourtant jamais "segmentée". De plus, le Pseudo-Denys lui-même est soit contemporain de soit immédiatement antérieur à Boèce et la possibilité matérielle d'une telle filiation intellectuelle demeure conjecturale. Enfin, l'infléchissement que marque Denys par rapport à Proclus est trop considérable pour que la spécificité chrétienne de cette pensée puisse être occultée . . . ce qui repose paradoxalement le problème des sources.

Augustin et *le "poids de l'amour"*

Rapprochement du texte de Boèce et du passage d'Augustin

Même si Boèce est normalement influencé par les représentations philosophiques de son époque, aucune d'entre elles ne semble en mesure de fonder sa conception de l'*amor* comme principe à la fois d'harmonie générale entre les êtres et de cohérence interne au sein de chacun, comme supérieur au monde et présent dans le monde, comme muni d'une puissance proprement divine et pourtant pouvant être contrarié par la volonté des hommes, en bute à leur refus.

Présentée sous forme poétique au sein d'un discours philosophique, cette vision découle en fait d'une réflexion formellement théologique et plus spécifiquement chrétienne. Une clef de compréhension précieuse nous en est fournie, en effet, par saint Augustin au livre XIII de ses *Confessions*. À cet endroit de l'ouvrage, Augustin, méditant sur le premier chapitre de la Genèse, réfléchit sur la grâce à l'œuvre dans la création et notamment sur le statut de l'homme, créature appelée à rejoindre son Créateur pour jouir de Lui éternellement. Il le fait à travers la figure de l'Esprit-Saint porté au-dessus des eaux, dans laquelle il voit l'image de la volonté divine portée au-dessus de la vie qu'elle a créée.[11] La vie cependant ne s'identifie plus avec la vie heureuse, et Augustin reconnaît dans les eaux entourées de ténèbres le symbole des hommes (et des anges) déchus par le péché et ayant sombré dans l'abîme d'où l'Esprit divin les surplombe et où il veut les rejoindre.[12]

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[11] Cf. *Confessions* XIII, IV 5.

[12] Cf. *Confessions* XIII, II 3, IV 5 et VIII 9.

Si seul l'Esprit est mentionné au-dessus des eaux, alors que les trois personnes divines sont au-dessus de l'homme, c'est que seul l'Esprit peut proprement, en Dieu, être appelé «don»; si le texte précise qu'il était porté "au-dessus" des eaux et non "par" elles,[13] ce n'est pas pour indiquer que ce don se repose mais au contraire pour faire comprendre que c'est lui qui nous confère notre repos.[14] À proprement parler, l'Esprit nous est donné pour être notre lieu, puisque c'est en lui seul que nous trouvons notre repos.[15]

C'est à ce moment précis qu'Augustin insère son développement sur l'*amor* considéré comme le *pondus* de l'homme. Nous constatons donc que le cadre dans lequel il se situe n'est pas sans rapport avec celui dans lequel nous transportera Boèce. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'une contemplation cosmique, où le regard de l'auteur considère l'intégralité du monde créé. Dans les deux cas, l'harmonie où l'homme trouve son cadre dépasse infiniment ses prises et est décrite avec un émerveillement mêlé de stupeur. Dans les deux cas, l'homme placé au sein de cet ensemble y vit un sort douloureux, décrit chez Augustin comme la peine due au péché et chez Boèce comme l'incapacité à entrer dans la félicité qui procède de l'amour. Finalement, les deux écrivains font déboucher leur exposé sur la question de la destinée ultime du genre humain, qui semble la vraie question posée par l'existence de l'univers.

Cependant, il existe aussi un contraste entre les deux textes, apparemment non moins radical que leurs ressemblances. Là où Augustin médite sur les versets bibliques, Boèce versifie dans un style profane; là où le chaos dû au péché semble avoir tout englouti, les douces couleurs de la mythologie paraissent instaurer un climat des plus paisibles. Surtout, le mouvement des deux perspectives semble contradictoire: tandis qu'Augustin, au-dessus des eaux ténébreuses, discerne la grâce de l'Esprit et peut conclure sur la promesse de la félicité éternelle, Boèce, en-dessous d'un vernis de façade, dévoile les appétits de destruction tout justes réfrénés par les «liens de l'amour» et ne peut que s'interrompre sur la chance manquée du bonheur

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[13] *Confessions* XIII, IV 5: «*Spiritus enim tuus bonus superferebatur super aquas, non ferebatur ab eis*».

[14] Cf. *Confessions* XIII, IV 5 («*in quibus enim requiescere dicitur spiritus tuus, hos in se requiescere facit*») et IX 10 («*in dono tuo requiescimus: ibi te fruimur*»). Nous suivons l'édition latine de BA 14 (Paris 1962).

[15] Cf. *Confessions* XIII, IX 10: «*requies nostra locus noster. amor illuc attollit nos et spiritus tuus bonus exaltat humilitatem nostram de portis mortis.*»

humain, refermant son deuxième livre sur l'expression d'un regret qui sonne comme un cri angoissé.

Étude de la conception augustinienne

Pour comprendre comment Augustin nous fournit en fait une clef pour l'intelligence du système de Boèce, il nous faut donc étudier de plus près sa représentation afin d'en discerner les caractéristiques propres. Comment la conception du poids éclaire-t-elle notre idée de l'amour? En quoi s'applique-t-elle à chacun et à tous? Quelle place ménage-t-elle à la possibilité du refus et du chaos?

Empruntée à la physique grecque, la notion de poids, nous explique Augustin, désigne ce qui attire un corps vers son lieu naturel («*corpus pondere suo nititur ad locum suum*»). Il s'agit donc d'un «mouvement tendanciel qui oriente un être vers sa fin»,[16] cette fin n'étant pas nécessairement située plus bas que cet être. Si la pierre tombe, par exemple, le feu, lui, est orienté par son poids vers le haut. Augustin introduit même ici la considération du poids relatif: un corps comme l'huile, en apparence voué à la chute, se trouve pourtant emporté au-dessus de l'eau dont la densité est plus importante.[17] Le poids d'un être n'est donc ni une variable dépendant du contexte extérieur ni une donnée statique, mais de façon plus complexe une tension inscrite dans l'essence de chaque être et qui, le mouvant vers la fin qui lui est propre, ne s'apaisera que lorsque cette fin sera atteinte. Son rôle est d'établir l'ordre: le poids d'un corps conduit celui-ci au lieu où il s'arrêtera, où il trouvera sa stabilité. La conséquence semble évidente: deux corps ne pouvant se trouver en même temps en un lieu identique, le poids est à la fois ce qui permet à chacun de trouver son repos et à tous de se situer dans un ordre harmonieux.

Ce que le poids accomplit pour les êtres physiques, l'amour le permet pour les êtres spirituels. L'amour «ordonne l'âme, car la volonté ne trouve son repos que lorsqu'elle a atteint sa fin, autrement dit lorsqu'elle jouit de l'être vers lequel elle tendait».[18] Il est la forme que prend en l'homme la

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[16] A. Solignac, *Mesure, nombre et poids (note complémentaire 18)*, in BA 48 (Paris 1972) 636.

[17] Cf. aussi *Ep. LV*, X, 18 (voir texte en annexe); même si cela n'entre pas dans notre sujet, on voit le profit possible d'une telle considération pour ce qui concerne la sotériologie.

[18] I. Bochet, *Saint Augustin et le désir de Dieu* (Paris 1983) 104. Le même auteur signale que la délectation, en ce sens, peut aussi être dite «*pondus animae*» (cf. *De musica* VI, 11, 29). D. Dideberg, dans l'article "Amor", *Augustinus-Lexikon* (Basel 1986-1994), cc. 298-299, signale que selon D. O'Brien, "«Pondus meum amor meus». Saint Augustin et

tendance qui oriente toute créature vers sa fin; nous établissant dans notre ordre propre, il peut être dit littéralement notre poids, notre *pondus*. En nous mettant en relation les uns avec les autres, il nous donne donc à chacun un principe de cohérence interne en même temps qu'il nous oriente vers notre lieu ultime.

Ici se pose, à la réflexion, un double problème. Pour poursuivre la métaphore, nous pourrions le formuler en nous demandant d'une part si l'amour de l'homme le porte vers le bas ou vers le haut, d'autre part s'il existe réellement, au terme de ce parcours, un (ou des) lieu de "repos". Le premier point nous permet de toucher au statut intermédiaire de l'âme humaine. Celle-ci se trouve en effet, de par sa mutabilité temporelle, en position médiane: au-dessous de Dieu souverainement immuable, au-dessus des corps et du monde matériel muables dans l'espace et dans le temps. Aussi l'amour de l'homme peut-il l'entraîner vers le haut ou vers le bas: «*omnis amor aut ascendit, aut descendit. Desiderio enim bono levamur ad Deum, et desiderio malo ad ima praecipitamur*».[19] Et du même coup nous est fournie la réponse à notre deuxième question, dans la mesure où seul Dieu apparaît capable de combler l'amour de l'homme: «*Summum illud est ipsa beatitas: infimum, quod nec beatum esse potest, nec miserum: quod vero medium, vivit inclinatione ad infimum, misere; conversione ad summum, beate vivit*».[20]

Paradoxalement, la difficulté se trouve redoublée. Car comment comprendre qu'un dynamisme interne à l'homme puisse le mener vers Celui qui est infiniment transcendant et au-dessus de lui? C'est ici que l'évocation initiale de l'Esprit, qui aurait pu ne paraître, à une première lecture, qu'un simple prologue littéraire amenant à la réflexion d'Augustin, se révèle particulièrement précieuse en ce qu'elle se manifeste comme le cœur même du système. Si la tension de l'amour peut se maintenir universellement, en effet, c'est qu'elle achemine en vérité vers son but qui est Dieu; et si Dieu n'est pas hors de nos prises, malgré la disproportion entre nos forces et notre désir, c'est que l'amour lui-même est un don divin. Nous ne pouvons être

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Jamblique", *RHR* 198 (1981) 423-428, Augustin a peut-être reçu de Jamblique la métaphore de la pesanteur de l'âme; même en ce cas, cet emprunt ne serait pour Boèce qu'une source très indirecte.

[19] *En. Ps. 122*, 1 (texte latin in NBA 28 (Roma 1977) 34); autres références données par D. Dideberg, *loc. cit.*

[20] *Ep.* XVIII, 2 (texte latin in NBA 21 (Roma 1969) 88-90); autres références chez M.-F. Berrouard, *La position médiane de l'âme (note complémentaire 29)*, in BA 72 (Paris 1978) 765.

tendus vers Dieu que par la grâce de Dieu lui-même.[21] Dieu, en la personne de l'Esprit, apparaît comme Celui qui nous donne le moyen de Le rejoindre. Aussi la conclusion du passage décrit comment s'accomplit ce prodige: «*igne tuo, igne tuo bono inardescimus et imus [. . .] in domum domini*». Si nous nous laissons saisir par le feu divin, feu qui de par son "poids" «*sursum tendit*» et qui dans une symbolique chrétienne est aussi la figure de l'Esprit,[22] nous monterons vers Dieu. Tout en étant par essence infiniment transcendant à l'homme, le Créateur donne à celui-ci son dynamisme le plus interne, sa cohérence la plus personnelle, son espérance la plus assurée. En d'autres termes, Dieu Se révèle à la fois comme le principe et comme le but de l'amour. Il est à la source de la tension qui nous oriente vers Lui, Il est aussi le lieu où cette tension pourra trouver son repos. Ceci explique pourquoi, dès le début de son développement, Augustin pouvait annoncer: «*in dono tuo requiescimus: ibi te fruimur. requies nostra locus noster.*»

Si Dieu est l'origine et la fin de l'amour, comment l'homme peut-il lui résister? Nous rejoignons ici, en étudiant les problèmes provoqués par la vision d'Augustin, la question posée par Boèce. Pourquoi l'amour peut-il s'orienter non seulement vers le haut, mais aussi vers le bas, comme nous venons de le voir? Ne sommes-nous pas pris entre un système où Dieu nous mènerait infailliblement au Salut selon une force d'attraction quasi-mécanique, celle du poids de l'amour divin, et un schéma où la simple possibilité d'un amour tendu vers le «bas» contredirait l'hypothèse qui ferait de cet amour un don toujours divin?

Une étude précise des mots employés par Saint Augustin dans notre passage des *Confessions* est ici nécessaire.[23] Si l'analogie entre *pondus* et *amor* se comprend en un sens mécaniciste et déterministe, chaque homme ne serait plus qu'un dispositif «bien réglé, soumis à des attirances, à des pressions, à des pesanteurs, tout au plus au jeu de certaines forces internes, mais en définitive soustrait à toute variation qui serait l'effet d'une intervention spontanée, autarcique, libre, à toute manifestation d'une volonté propre».[24] Or, Plinval[25] fait remarquer qu'Augustin choisit soigneusement les verbes qu'il

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[21] À strictement parler, Dieu est amour. Pour le traitement de ce point chez Augustin, cf. A. Solignac, *La conception augustinienne de l'amour (note complémentaire 28)*, in BA 14, notamment p. 622.

[22] Il y a donc ici correspondance littéraire, la figure du feu faisant inclusion avec la mention initiale de l'Esprit.

[23] Le présent paragraphe s'inspire de l'article de G. de Plinval, "Mouvement spontané ou mouvement imposé? Le «feror» augustinien", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 5 (1959) 13-19.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[25] *Loc. cit.*

emploie. Ceux qui concernent les objets inanimés eux-mêmes ne sont pas purement passifs («*corpus nititur [. . .] ignis tendit [. . .] ponderibus suis aguntur, loca sua petunt*»), suggérant ainsi que leur être tout entier concourt à ce que s'accomplisse le mouvement provoqué par leur propre poids.[26] Mais cet aspect de "collaboration" est souligné davantage lorsqu'il s'agit de l'âme: «*pondus meum, amor meus; eo feror, quocumque feror*». La forme apparemment passive et non déponente du verbe n'induit pourtant pas que l'être spirituel soit moins actif que les objets inanimés, car elle correspond à l'usage d'une voix moyenne attesté tant en latin classique que chez les Pères.[27] Chez Augustin lui-même, dès le début des *Confessions* cette nuance particulière est clairement employée, lorsque l'auteur, parlant à Dieu, déclare: «*et cum effunderis super nos*»,[28] où aucune nuance de "passivité" ne saurait être attribuée à cette action divine. Aussi faudrait-il traduire notre *feror* non pas tant par «je suis porté» que par «je me porte».[29] Le paradoxe, pourrions-nous dire, est donc porté à son maximum: tandis que la forme passive (et non déponente!) du verbe souligne que la force d'entraînement de l'amour est plus importante encore que celle du poids pour les objets inanimés,[30] le sens moyen montre que j'en suis à chaque instant le collaborateur actif.

L'homme, nous l'avons vu, peut orienter son amour vers le haut ou vers le bas; si la tension de l'amour est un don, l'orientation ("l'ordination") m'en est remise et la force de cet amour donne à chacun de mes choix une importance plus grande qu'un simple infléchissement de trajectoire pour un

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[26] Le fait que le premier verbe (*nititur*) soit déponent—sens actif exprimé dans un mode passif—n'est sans doute pas fortuit; même si le poids commande et si le mouvement des objets inanimés est essentiellement passif (*aguntur*), force est de reconnaître qu'Augustin parvient à rendre compte de ce phénomène en employant deux verbes sur quatre (*tendit, petunt*) à l'actif!

[27] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 17-18. L'article donne des références chez Cicéron, Virgile, Prosper d'Aquitaine, Augustin . . . et regrette que le dictionnaire de Blaise reste muet sur cet emploi du verbe!

[28] «Lorsque *tu te répands* sur nous»: *Confessions*, I, III, 3. Pour des emplois analogues de *feror*, cf. notamment *Ep.* II, 3-4, *De Civ.D.*, XXX, XII, ou *De Trin.*, IX, VI, 11.

[29] Plinval, p. 14, va jusqu'à traduire le *eo feror, quocumque feror* par "en quelque endroit que je sois porté, c'est là que je me porte". Si nous suivons cette traduction, *eo* ne serait plus l'ablatif de *is* (pour *amor*), mais l'adverbe de lieu (pour *in eum*), «afin d'éviter une tautologie». Il nous semble cependant que, même si *eo* continue d'être traduit comme un complément d'agent ("c'est par lui"), le sens moyen de *feror* ("je me porte") permet de formuler très exactement le paradoxe de la pensée augustinienne.

[30] Autrement dit: l'amour m'emmène vers ma fin plus infailliblement encore que le poids vers le lieu; ceci provient du caractère divin de ce don, mais est d'autant plus important que le but peut sembler a priori hors de portée!

objet physique.[31] De nombreux passages de saint Augustin confirment cette vision selon laquelle l'accueil du don de Dieu fonde notre véritable liberté.[32] Le poids de l'amour fait la responsabilité de l'homme car c'est par lui que la volonté peut en vérité tendre librement vers Dieu.[33]

Influence du modèle augustinien dans la réflexion de Boèce

Ainsi l'étude du modèle augustinien nous fournit-elle l'explicitation des présupposés qui, tout en étayant la conception de Boèce, n'étaient que suggérés dans les vers de ce dernier, au point que l'articulation générale de sa pensée, irréductible aux modèles "profanes" classiques, nous était apparue dans un premier temps surtout comme une énigme. Il ne s'agit pas ici de nier ou d'atténuer les différences que nous avons déjà mentionnées entre les deux textes qui font l'objet de notre étude, mais de constater que la pensée d'Augustin confère toute sa cohérence à ce qui chez Boèce pourrait ne passer que pour un paradoxe poétique. L'*amor* réfléchi à partir du *pondus* se présente en effet comme le principe de l'harmonie universelle, mais aussi comme le centre de chacune des destinées humaines, chaque être humain étant mû par une puissance analogue à celle dont l'action maintient dans la stabilité les éléments du monde. Ce foyer du mystère de la personne est en même temps force qui la porte au-delà d'elle-même, en une tension tout orientée vers son assouvissement, vers le lieu de son repos; et ce lieu d'où provient notre félicité est Dieu lui-même, donateur de l'amour. Mais le don divin est proposé dans un monde marqué vers le péché: en nous offrant notre salut, il s'expose à notre refus et fonde donc la grandeur de notre liberté qui peut consentir à cette désappropriation ou se précipiter vers sa ruine.

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[31] Cette analyse, nous semble-t-il, permet d'éclairer le passage des *Confessions* XIII, VII, 8 où se formule déjà: «*affectus sunt, amores sunt, inmunditia spiritus nostri defluens inferius amore curarum et sanctitas tui attollens nos superius amore securitatis, ut sursum cor habeamus ad te, ubi spiritus tuus superfertur super aquas, et ueniamus ad supereminentem requiem*». Cf. BA 14, p. 436.

[32] On en aura la confirmation avec les textes cités en annexe, où Augustin reprend l'analogie entre poids et amour. L'extrait de l'*Ep. LV*, en particulier, montre comment l'âme, si elle "s'oppose" au poids de l'amour, peut provoquer sa chute irrémédiable, mais comment, accueillant l'orientation que lui donne cet amour, elle devient capable de jouir de Dieu.

[33] Le "modèle" pourrait être enrichi par la considération de la médiation du Christ chez Augustin, mais ceci dépasserait le rapprochement que nous tentons avec Boèce. Sur ce point, cf. l'intéressante étude de G. Reale, *Amore assoluto e terza navigazione* (Milano 1994) 7-62.

Examiner à partir du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* II, M.8 comment, en décrivant l'univers sous des apparences mythologiques et en développant la fonction sociale de l'amour (entre nations, entre époux, entre amis), Boèce insère la méditation d'Augustin dans un cadre qui récupère l'ensemble des représentations antiques excéderait de beaucoup notre sujet. Nous nous contenterons donc, pour confirmer l'influence de la référence augustinienne sur la réflexion de Boèce, de relever les traces qui nous semblent en affleurer au long du *De Consolatione.*

En *De Consolatione* III, M.6, Boèce reprend l'image de Phébus, de la lune et de l'harmonie universelle menacée par l'homme en ajoutant deux précisions: d'une part, au lieu d'évoquer l'amour qui est le lien de toutes choses, il contemple le Père qui est à l'origine de tout être et gouverne le monde;[34] d'autre part, en reparlant de la possibilité qu'a l'homme de contrevenir à l'ordre universel, il affirme que cela revient à renier ce par quoi nous sommes dans le monde.[35] Pour qui a en mémoire *De Consolatione* II, M.8, le Père apparaît dès lors comme le donateur de l'amour et l'incapacité où nous nous trouvons d'être gouvernés par cet amour résulte d'un choix volontaire et paradoxal: la réflexion se prolonge dans le sens qu'indiquait Augustin.

Mais l'empreinte augustinienne devient explicite en *De Consolatione*, III, Pr.11, où la réflexion des *Confessions* sur le *pondus* est citée, avec la reprise des images de la flamme et de la pierre[36] et l'application de cette notion à l'amour, tandis que le problème du choix volontaire est resitué par rapport au cadre de cette analogie: «*Cur enim flammas quidem sursum levitas vehit, terras vero deorsum pondus deprimit, nisi quod haec singulis loca motionesque conveniunt? [. . .] Iam vero quae dura sunt ut lapides, ne facile dissolvantur, resistunt. [. . .] Neque nunc nos de voluntariis animae cognoscentis motibus, sed de naturali intentione tractamus [. . .] Nam ne in animalibus quidem manendi amor ex animae voluntatibus, verum ex naturae principiis venit. Nam saepe mortem cogentibus causis, quam natura reformidat, voluntas amplectitur [. . .] Adeo haec sui caritas non ex animali motione, sed ex naturali intentione procedit; dedit enim providentia creatis a se rebus hanc vel maximam manendi causam*». Boèce intègre donc à l'image augustinienne les réflexions qu'Augustin, nous l'avons vu, développera en d'autres passages, à savoir la possibilité pour la liberté humaine de se trouver en contradiction avec son propre "poids"! Et comme Augustin, il souligne le fait que la félicité nous

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[34] «*Unus enim rerum pater est, unus cuncta ministrat.*»

[35] «*[. . .] nullus degener exstat, ni vitiis peiora fovens proprium deserat ortum.*»

[36] La mention des pierres s'insère curieusement dans un développement d'apparence classique sur les quatre éléments . . .

est obtenue par l'acquiescement de notre volonté au *pondus* divin qui nous entraîne vers la vie éternelle: «*nihil est quod ullo modo queas dubitare cuncta quae sunt appetere naturaliter constantiam permanendi [. . .;] si quid est ad quod universa festinent, id erit omnium summum bonorum*». C'est bien cette image qui constitue pour Boèce le centre et la clef de sa réflexion, puisque la philosophie s'écrie, à l'audition de ce discours: «*Nimium, inquit, o alumne, laetor; ipsam enim mediae veritatis notam mente fixisti*».

Dans la suite de la *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, les éléments de la comparaison augustinienne seront encore plusieurs fois évoqués et précisés. Ainsi en *De Consolatione* IV, Pr.6, la formulation de la façon dont l'ordre est établi entre les êtres sonne comme une définition du *pondus*: «*suus modus ad bonum dirigens cuncta disponat*». Surtout, *De Consolatione* IV, M.6 reprend les images liées à la course du char d'Apollon pour conclure: «*Hic est cunctis communis amor / repetuntque boni fine teneri, / quia non aliter durare queant, / nisi converso rursus amore / refluant causae quae dedit esse*».[37] Si l'image peut passer pour néoplatonicienne, le parcours que nous venons d'effectuer nous fait clairement identifier cette "remontée" avec l'accession à la Jérusalem céleste sur laquelle débouchait la méditation d'Augustin. Il n'est pas surprenant, dès lors, que la figure de Phébus[38] se trouve définitivement relativisée en *De Consolatione* V, M.2,[39] puisque la course prestigieuse du dieu du soleil apparaît bien incapable de parvenir à cette Jérusalem, un tel privilège étant l'apanage du créateur de l'être lui-même.

La mythologie ne reparaîtra plus et la seule personne avec qui la fin du *De Consolatione Philosophiae* nous mette en présence est celui qui jugera chacun et tous. De même qu'Augustin concluait en disant: «*sursum imus ad pacem Hierusalem, [. . .] in domum domini ibimus. ibi nos conlocabit voluntas bona, ut nihil uelimus aliud quam permanere illic in aeternum*»,[40] de même Boèce achèvera son ouvrage en répétant: «*humiles preces in excelsa porrigite. Magna vobis est, si dissimulare non vultis, necessitas indicta probitatis, cum ante oculos agitis iudicis cuncta cernentis*».[41]

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[37] Une phrase analogue de *De Consolatione* III, M.9: «*animas [. . .] in caelum terramque seris, quas lege benigna ad te conversas reduci facis igne reverti*» faisait déjà écho littérairement au «*igne tuo bono inardescimus et imus*» de *Confessions* XIII, IX, 10.

[38] Apparue dès *De Consolatione* I, M.3.

[39] «*puro clarum lumine Phoebum/melliflui canit oris Homerus; /qui tamen intima viscera terrae/non valet aut pelagi radiorum infirma perrumpere luce./Haud sic magni conditor orbis/[. . .] quem quia respicit omnia solus, verum possis dicere solem*».

[40] *Confessions* XIII, IX, 10.

[41] *De Consolatione* V, Pr.6.

Conclusion

Par notre étude de la notion d'*amor* comme *pondus* contenue dans le livre XIII des *Confessions* de saint Augustin, nous avons cherché à expliciter les présupposés de la conception de l'*amor* que développe Boèce en conclusion du deuxième livre de son *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Ce faisant, nous croyons avoir montré que le modèle augustinien fournit une clef pour la compréhension de l'ouvrage de Boèce tout entier.

Il n'est pas indifférent que l'allusion explicite que fait Boèce au *pondus* augustinien se situe au centre presque exact de son livre (*De Consolatione* III, Pr.11), juste après que l'auteur a dévoilé (en *De Consolatione* III, Pr.10) ce qui donne son sens à toute vie: «Omnis igitur beatus deus. Sed natura quidem unus; participatione vero nihil prohibet esse quam plurimos.» Parce que le poids de l'amour, en nous reliant les uns aux autres, nous unit à Dieu, il inscrit en notre être une promesse de divinisation. Pour que cette promesse s'accomplisse, il nous faut nous conformer à la force d'entraînement de cet amour qui nous donne l'existence. Ainsi peut se lire la conclusion du *De Consolatione* et ainsi, grâce aux ressorts du système explicité par Augustin, se trouve brisé l'oubli dont s'affligeait la philosophie au début du dialogue[42] et l'auteur, ramené à lui-même, découvre que rien ne peut occulter sa vocation à l'amour. «Cum ipsum bonum beatitudo sit, bonos omnes eo ipso quod boni sint fieri beatos liquet. Sed qui beati sint deos esse convenit. Est igitur praemium bonorum, quod nullus deterat dies, nullius minuat potestas, nullius fuscet improbitas, deos fieri».[43]

Le contraste formel entre nos deux auteurs fait paradoxalement ressortir l'unité profonde de leur pensée. Augustin, partant d'une contemplation aux accents sombres, s'élevait progressivement jusqu'aux joies de la Jérusalem éternelle; Boèce, sous les frais dehors d'une mythologie avenante, laissait poindre l'angoisse commune à la race humaine. En réalité, tous les deux parlent, au sens propre, du drame de la vie chrétienne ayant pour tâche de manifester l'amour qui est sa source et ainsi de témoigner en toutes circonstances de son indéfectible espérance. Dès lors les perspectives symétriques se découvrent complémentaires: là où Augustin cherchait à manifester d'abord la force du récit inspiré pour notre monde, Boèce s'efforce de souligner comment les représentations traditionnelles nous permettent d'approcher le mystère que la foi chrétienne éclairera.

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[42] *De Consolatione* I, Pr.6: «*Iam scio, inquit, morbi tui maximam causam; quid ipse sis, nosse desisti.*»

[43] *De Consolatione* IV, Pr.3.

Au-delà des analogies physiques et des allusions philosophiques, avant Boèce et Augustin, le vocabulaire biblique lui-même nous donne encore un autre éclairage quant à la correspondance entre *amor* et *pondus*. Car le lecteur de l'Écriture sait que la "gloire", le rayonnement de la présence divine, est un autre nom de l'amour.[44] Or la gloire, en hébreu, . . . est littéralement le "poids".[45] Le rapprochement opéré par Augustin rejoint ainsi l'intuition d'Israël sur le point même où Boèce pourra renouveler la présentation classique de l'amour et partant de la destinée humaine.[46]

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Annexes

BOÈCE

De Consolatione Philosophiae, II, M.8

Quod mundus stabili fide
concordet varias vices,
quod pugnantia semina
foedus perpetuum tenent,
quod Phoebus roseum diem
curru provehit aureo,
ut quas duxerit Hesperos
Phoebe noctibus imperet,
ut fluctus avidum mare
certo fine coerceat,
ne terris liceat vagis
latos tendere terminos,
hanc rerum seriem ligat
terras ac pelagus regens
et caelo imperitans amor.

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[44] Cf. par exemple Jn 5 41-44.

[45] Racine כבד: nous parlons ainsi en français du "poids" d'une intervention, par exemple; cf. E. Jenni, C. Westermann, *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* 1 (Zürich 1971) 794-812.

[46] Nous tenons à remercier ici le professeur Robert Crouse pour son soutien éclairé et bienveillant.

Hic si frena remiserit,
quicquid nunc amat invicem
bellum continuo geret
et quam nunc socia fide
pulchris motibus incitant
certent solvere machinam.
Hic sancto populos quoque
iunctos foedere continet,
hic et coniugii sacrum
castis nectit amoribus,
hic fidis etiam sua
dictat iura sodalibus.
O felix hominum genus,
si vestros animos amor
quo caelum regitur regat!

AUGUSTIN[47]

Confessiones XIII, IX, 10[48]

in dono tuo requiescimus: ibi te fruimur. requies nostra locus noster. amor illuc attollit nos et spiritus tuus bonus exaltat humilitatem nostram de portis mortis. in bona uoluntate pax nobis est. corpus pondere suo nititur ad locum suum. pondus non ad ima tantum est, sed ad locum suum. ignis sursum tendit, deorsum lapis. ponderibus suis aguntur, loca sua petunt. oleum infra aquam fusum supra aquam attollitur, aqua supra oleum fusa infra oleum demergitur: ponderibus suis aguntur, loca sua petunt. minus ordinata inquieta sunt: ordinantur et quiescunt. pondus meum amor meus; eo feror, quocumque feror. dono tuo accendimur et sursum ferimur; inardescimus et imus. ascendimus ascensiones in corde et cantamus canticum graduum. igne tuo, igne tuo bono inardescimus et imus, quoniam sursum imus ad pacem Hierusalem, quoniam iucundatus sum in his, qui dixerunt mihi: in domum domini ibimus. ibi nos conlocabit uoluntas bona, ut nihil uelimus aliud quam permanere illic in aeternum.

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[47] Nous avons regroupé ici les textes indiqués par les commentateurs comme étant ceux où saint Augustin rapproche explicitement *amor* et *pondus*.

[48] L'extrait cité correspond précisément aux nn. 334 l.28-335 l.18 de l'édition de la Bibliothèque Augustinienne 14 (Paris 1962) 438-440. Les mots en caractères espacés correspondent aux citations scripturaires: non qu'il soit utile à notre propos de relever les références précises, mais cette disposition permet de visualiser comment Augustin, tout en formulant lui-même le principe de son raisonnement, en manifeste l'accord avec la Révélation grâce aux citations bibliques, faisant inclusion entre l'Esprit qui nous donne l'amour et le ciel où l'amour nous mène.

De Civitate Dei XI, XXVIII[49]

Nam velut amores corporum momenta sunt ponderum, sive deorsum gravitate sive sursum levitate nitantur. Ita enim corpus pondere, sicut animus amore fertur, quocumque fertur.

Quoniam igitur homines sumus ad nostri creatoris imaginem creati, cuius est vera aeternitas, aeterna veritas, aeterna et vera caritas [. . .;] in nobis autem ipsis eius imaginem contuentes [. . .] ad nosmet ipsos reversi surgamus et ad illum redeamus, a quo peccando recesseramus. Ibi esse nostrum non habebit mortem, ibi nosse nostrum non habebit errorem, ibi amare nostrum non habebit offensionem.

Epistola LV, X, 18[50]

nec aliquid appetunt etiam ipsa corpora ponderibus suis, nisi quod animae amoribus suis. nam sicut corpus tamdiu nititur pondere siue deorsum uersus sive sursum uersus, donec ad locum, quo nititur, ueniens conquiescat—pondus quippe olei si dimittatur in aere, deorsum, si autem sub aquis, sursum nititur—, sic animae ad ea, quae amant, propterea nituntur, ut perueniendo requiescant. et multa quidem per corpus delectant, sed non est in eis aeterna requies nec saltem diuturna; et propterea magis sordidant animam et grauant potius, ut sincerum eius pondus, quo in superna fertur, impediant. cum uero anima se ipsa delectatur, nondum re incommutabili delectatur et ideo adhuc superba est, quia se pro summo habet, cum superior sit deus. nec in tali peccato inpunita relinquitur, quia deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. cum autem deo delectatur, ibi ueram, certam, aeternam inuenit requiem, quam in aliis quaerebat nec inveniebat. proinde admonetur in psalmo: Delectare in domino et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui.

Epistola CLVII, II, 9[51]

animus quippe uelut pondere amore fertur, quocumque fertur. iubemur itaque detrahere de pondere cupiditatis, quod accedat ponderi caritatis, donec illud consumatur, hoc perficiatur; plenitudo enim legis caritas.

Sermo 65/A [Étaix 1][52]

Est unicuique ut feratur quo debet pondus proprium amor suus. [. . .] Ama Christum et hoc pondere raperis ad locum Christi.

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[49] Texte tiré de BA 35 (Paris 1959) 122-124.

[50] Texte cité selon A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34 (Vienne 1895) 189-190.

[51] Texte cité selon A. Goldbacher, CSEL 44 (Vienne 1904) 454-455.

[52] Texte tiré de *Opere di Sant'Agostino, Discorsi II/1* (Rome 1982) 322.

UN NOUVEAU FRAGMENT DES *CONSTITUTIONS APOSTOLIQUES* AU MATENADARAN D'EREVAN

PAR

ROSE VARTENI CHÉTANIAN

ABSTRACT: The Greek collection of Matenadaran contains a particular series of old flyleaves that were removed from the bindings and kept in envelopes.

In this series missing two fragments, in 1957, Kurt Treu found one page excerpt from Book VI of *Constitutiones Apostolorum.*

In 2004, examination of one of the two fragments, now both rediscovered, reveals a second excerpt from Book IV of *Constitutiones Apostolorum.* This excerpt is written in the same hand and comes from the same manuscript, and is apparently not directly linked to any previously known witness.

Des Républiques d'U.R.S.S., où il se rend en 1957, sous la direction de Kurt Aland, pour explorer le fonds grec des bibliothèques à la recherche de manuscrits du Nouveau Testament, Kurt Treu rapporte d'Arménie des microfilms de fragments dont un feuillet qui se révèle, à l'examen, être un extrait des *Constitutions apostoliques.*

Ce feuillet, coté N°12, appartenait à une collection, constituée de dix-sept enveloppes, au moment de la visite de K. Treu, mais amputée alors de deux fragments, cotés 2 et 15, qui avaient été déplacés par erreur. En 2001, au cours d'une première visite, retrouvant dans cette série le fragment 15 et constatant qu'il est en grec, je découvre également que le fragment 2, égaré dans une autre série, est bien écrit en grec et, après l'avoir fait restituer dans la bonne série, je constate, à l'étude, qu'il contient une nouvelle page des *Constitutions apostoliques*, écrite de la même main que le fragment 12 et extraite du même manuscrit.

Après un rappel bref des circonstances de la première découverte et quelques observations complémentaires sur le fragment étudié par K. Treu, on trouvera, dans ces pages, la description de ce deuxième extrait des *Constitutions apostoliques* conservé au Matenadaran, qui n'avait pas encore été décrit ; cette description sera suivie de la comparaison du fragment 2 avec l'édition que donne du passage Marcel Metzger et avec le premier fragment trouvé.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 332-341

I. *Le fragment N°12*

Le feuillet, répertorié au Matenadaran sous le N°12, est placé dans une série à part rassemblant des fragments détachés de la reliure des manuscrits et numérotés de 1 à 17. Parmi ces dix-sept pièces, deux, dit K. Treu, dans un article [KT1], sont en langue latine ou italienne. Dans un ouvrage de 1966 [KT2, p. 355-358], il en précise les cotes : il s'agit des fragments classés sous les N°2 et 15 que K. Treu n'a, sans aucun doute, pas vus car, répertoriés comme « latin » ou « italien », ils avaient dû être conservés comme tels parmi les fragments à caractères latins.

Le fragment N°12 décrit dans *Vigiliae Christianae* est extrait du Livre VI des *Constitutions apostoliques*, chapitre 6, verset 7 (*inc.* φυλάσσοντες εἰσὶν *sic* ἐπαινετοί. *sic*) et va jusqu'au chapitre 10, verset 2 (*des.* οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἀνάρχους . . .[1]). Dans l'édition de F. X. Funk [FKF], auquel K. Treu compare le fragment, le texte se situe tome I, p. 315-323. Dans l'édition de M. Metzger [MM2], tome II, p. 310-322.

Au cours de sa comparaison avec l'édition de F. X. Funk, K. Treu relève 39 cas[2] où le fragment 12 délivre une leçon rejetée par l'éditeur. Sur 11 de ces cas, la leçon proposée par le fragment serait isolée. Trois de ces variantes se trouvent, en fait, dans un témoin désigné par la lettre s dans l'édition de M. Metzger : l'*Atheniensis B. N. 1435*, datant du XIIe siècle. F. X. Funk [FXF, p. XXXIV], qui a disposé de ce même témoin pour l'établissement de son texte, l'a cependant mis à l'écart: aucun renvoi à ce manuscrit ne figure dans l'apparat critique de cette page ; or sur les 28 cas restants, 10 leçons attribuées aux témoins retenus par F. X. Funk, auraient dû l'être également à ce même *Atheniensis 1435* qu'il a négligé.[3]

Les 8 leçons où le fragment 12 diverge de celle des manuscrits collationnés par les deux éditions de référence sont les suivantes (les deux points verticaux [:] séparent la leçon éditée, donnée en tête, de la leçon contenue dans le fragment) :

CA VI, 6, 7. Ἐσσαῖοι : ἐπαινετοί
CA VI, 7, 1. Γιτθῶν : γοτθάν

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[1] Derniers mots lisibles sur le fragment: le texte continue sur deux lignes, mais les avaries le rendent illisible.

[2] Ma propre lecture rejoint celle de K. Treu, sauf pour un de ces cas : en *CA* VI, 9, 2, le fragment porte bien δήμοις et non δημίοις comme le signale le chercheur [KT1, p. 210].

[3] Voir l'introduction de M. Metzger [MM1, p. 76].

CA VI, 7, 4. ἀπὸ: ἐπὶ
CA VI, 8, 1. παρευδοκιμήσαντες : παρευδοκιμήσαντα
CA VI, 9, 1. προφήτου : (+ τῶν seul) προφητῶν
CA VI, 9, 3. Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυριοῦ : τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ
CA VI, 9, 4. τὸ ἰσχίον : τῶν ἰσχίων
CA VI, 9, 5. παρέμειναν : παρεπέμειναν.

Aux variantes relevées par K. Treu, deux autres peuvent être ajoutées que ne mentionne pas l'auteur.

La première a dû être négligée car elle peut légitimement être mise au compte d'une permutation de voyelles (très fréquentes dans ce fragment) : en *CA* VI, 7, 3, le fragment donne λαμβάνει rejeté par M. Metzger et qui, entre autres manuscrits, est attribué à l'*Atheniensis*, au lieu de λαμβάνῃ qui a été retenu.

La seconde est celle donnée par la quasi-totalité des manuscrits dont l'*Atheniensis* et a été retenue par F. X. Funk : en *CA* VI, 9, 2. τά τε, leçon de M (= pv) retenue par M. Metzger : τὰ δὲ . . . fg 12 (retenu par FXF).

Une parenté assez grande semble lier le fragment 12 avec l'*Atheniensis*, puisqu'on note trois leçons exclusivement propres aux deux manuscrits ; mais il paraît également étroitement apparenté avec le témoin désigné par la lettre e,[4] avec lequel, tout aussi exclusivement, il partage quatre leçons communes. Malgré ces rapports apparents de dépendance avec l'un ou l'autre de ces deux témoins, il reste néanmoins huit leçons spécifiques du fragment 12 qui invitent à se rallier à la conclusion de K. Treu : ce fragment n'appartient à aucun manuscrit connu à ce jour.

II. *Le fragment N°2*

En juin 2001, trois nouveaux fragments (numérotés 18, 19 et 20) avaient rejoint le lot des fragments grecs détachés de la reliure des manuscrits et conservés sous enveloppe. Le fragment N°15, que K. Treu n'avait pu voir en 1957, avait retrouvé sa juste place parmi ces fragments grecs.[5] En revanche, au début de mon premier séjour d'exploration du fonds grec du Matenadaran, la place du fragment 2, toujours signalé comme « italien »,

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[4] Le *Vaticanus graecus 2089*, XI[e] s. qui ne contient que *CA* VI, 1, 3 à VIII, 47, 9.

[5] Il s'agit d'un extrait de Lectionnaire sur parchemin, en onciale liturgique, 2 col., du IX[e] ou X[e] s. Son contenu : Recto col.[a] *inc.* Jn 17, 24 [κἀκεῖ]νοι ὦσιν *des.* col.[b] (fin) Jn 18, 3 τῶν ἀρχιερέων. Verso col.[a] *inc.* Jn 18, 3 καὶ φαρισαίων *des.* col.[b] (fin) Jn 18, 11 βάλε τὴν μάχαι[ραν]. Il n'est pas inventorié dans la *Kurzgefasste Liste* de K. Aland [KgL].

restait vide : ce n'est que grâce à une certaine obstination et un peu de patience que j'ai obtenu de le voir et, constatant que c'était bien un fragment écrit en grec, l'ai fait déplacer de la collection des manuscrits à caractères latins pour celle des manuscrits grecs.

C'est à sa bonne place que je l'ai retrouvé, en octobre 2004, pour en commander un microfilm. L'étude de ce fragment 2 a révélé une nouvelle page des *Constitutions apostoliques* extraite du Livre IV.

Le fragment date du XIe siècle (plutôt).[6]

Il contient un passage des *Constitutions apostoliques*, situé dans le livre IV, chapitre 4, verset 3 et se continue jusqu'au chapitre 9, verset 2 (début).

Au recto : IV, 4, 3 *inc.* μεμψ[ίμοιρος] *des.* ἀναιρε[θείς.] IV, 6, 6.

Au verso : 6, 6 *inc.* [πο]λὺς καὶ . . . *des.* Ἐκ . . . τῶν πιστῶν . . . IV 9, 2 (derniers mots lisibles).

Le texte est sur un folio en parchemin qui a souffert de multiples avaries ; des taches brunes recouvrent les deux faces. Sur le verso du texte, côté peau du parchemin, une matière étrangère brune, coagulée, reste attachée qui a provoqué une assez forte rétraction du folio. Trois marges (supérieure, inférieure et celle de gauche au recto) ont disparu par contraction, celle de droite a été découpée. Une trace verticale discontinue apparaît seule sur le recto, côté chair ; ce pourrait être une marque de réglure de justification de la marge de droite, mais les bosselures ont tellement déformé le folio qu'il n'est guère possible de déterminer si le tracé apparaît en creux ou en relief.

Les dimensions du folio en l'état sont : 270 mm. × 186. Le texte, écrit à pleine page, en minuscule, comporte 45 lignes. La longueur d'une ligne écrite varie entre 55 et 60 mm. L'espacement entre les lignes est de 5 mm. La hauteur d'une lettre varie de 1 à 2 mm.

L'encre est brune, très claire. Quelques majuscules initiales écrites à l'encre rouge signalent clairement, côté recto, le changement de chapitre, Παραινοῦμεν (5, 1), Χρὴ . . . (6, 1), l'une même (le Π de Παραινοῦμεν) a une jambe coloriée en rouge, l'autre, en bleu ; de même, sur cette face, des points à l'encre rouge annoncent généralement un nouveau verset. Dans ce qui reste de la marge de gauche, au recto, des numérotations, notées avec le système des lettres, apparaissent à l'encre rouge : au niveau des l. 6-7, un nombre à trois chiffres dont seules les deux dernières capitales lisibles pourraient indiquer 45 ; plus bas, l. 21, face au début du chap. 6, à l'encre brune, on pourrait conjecturer un 6 ou 60 et l. 23, à l'encre rouge, peut-être 306.

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[6] XIe plutôt que Xe s. : cette même date peut être retenue de préférence pour le fragment N°12 que K. Treu date du Xe ou du XIe s.

Sur le verso, les détériorations ne laissent visible qu'une seule majuscule à l'initiale écrite en rouge : placée sur le Ο de Οὐ μὴν . . ., elle signalerait que le copiste place là, non pas le début du verset 9 du chapitre 6, mais le début du chapitre 7. À part quelques points à l'encre rouge signalant le passage à un nouveau verset, aucune autre majuscule écrite dans une encre différente n'est lisible sur ce côté. On reconnaît le passage au chapitre 9 grâce à la majuscule de Λέγε δὲ . . . (9, 1) et le changement de verset, grâce à celle de Ἐκ . . . (τῶν πιστῶν . . . 9, 2) mais ces deux lettres initiales sont aussi sombres que les dernières lignes ensevelies sous les salissures.

1. *Comparaison avec l'édition de M. Metzger*

Pour cerner au plus près les liens qui pourraient rattacher plus strictement ce fragment à l'un ou à l'autre des témoins des lignées connues, la convention suivante a été adoptée :

– si la leçon du fragment 2 est partagée par un seul témoin, celui-ci est nommé explicitement.
– si la leçon du fragment 2 est commune à plusieurs témoins, ceux-ci ne sont pas désignés.

Les deux points verticaux [:] séparent la leçon éditée, donnée en tête, de la leçon contenue dans le fragment (rejetée par l'éditeur ou présente seulement dans ce fragment). Les lignes sont celles du fragment.

Recto (côté chair)

CA IV, 5, 1

– διδόντι : διδόνντι (*sic*) l. 6.

CA IV, 5, 2

– χεῖρα : χῆρα (*sic*) l. 8.
– κτήνεσιν : κτίνεσι (*sic*) l. 10.
– τὴν πρόσφορον τροφήν : τὸν (?) πρόσφορον τροφήν l. 12.

CA IV, 5, 3

– οὐ . . . οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ . . .: οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . [οὔ (*sic*)] . . . οὐ δὴ συνάγουσιν l. 13. Seul.
– *om.* οὖν *post* Μὴ . . . l. 15. Seul.
– *post* πίομεν *add.* ἢ τί περιβαλόμεθα. l. 16. Addition attribuée au manuscrit désigné par la lettre d (*Vaticanus graecus 1506.* Début XIe s.).

CA IV, 5, 4

- *om.* τῆς παρ'αὐτοῦ *post* οὖν. l. 17. Omission attribuée à s.
- ἀπολαύοντες. Καὶ . . . : ἀπολαύοντες καὶ . . . l. 17.
- *post* παρ'αὐτοῦ[2] *om.* μεταλαμβάνοντες. l. 18. Seul.
- δι'οὗ : μεθ'οὗ l. 20.
- *post* μεθ'οὗ *add.* αὐτω (*sic*). l. 20. Addition rejetée par l'éditeur.
- ἡ δόξα τῷ θεῷ ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ : ἡ δόξα σὺν τῶ ἁγίω (ω *sic*) πνεύματι l. 20.
- *post* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας *add.* τῶν αἰώνων. l. 21. Addition attribuée à s.

CA IV, 6, 1

- *post* δέχεσθαι *add.* δῶρα καὶ τίνων. l. 22. Addition attribuée à s.

CA IV, 6, 2

- φυλακτέοι MM & FXF : φυλακταίον l. 23, pour φυλακτέον (?) attribué par MM aux témoins b o et s, ou φυλακτέων (?). F. X. Funk attribue la variante φυλακταίον à b (*Vaticanus graecus 2088.* XIe s.) et φυλακτέων à o (*Bodleianus Miscellaneus 204.* Xe s.).

CA IV, 6, 3

- φευκτέοι δ' αὐτῷ : l. 26. φευκταίοι δὲ αὐτῶ (*sic*) l. 26.
- αἰ (*sic*) τούτων l. 28.

CA IV, 6, 4

- τοῖς ἑαυτῶν οἰκέταις : τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκέταις l. 30. Seul.
- πληγαῖς φημὶ (*sic*) . . . l. 30-31.
- λυμαινόμενοι : λοιμαινόμενοι (*sic*) l. 31.
- φευκτέοι : φευκταίοι (*sic*) l. 32.

CA IV, 6, 5

- παραιτήση MM & FXF : παρέτησαι l. 33, pour παραιτήση (?) retenu dans les éditions de référence ou pour παραίτησαι (?) attribué à un groupe de manuscrits dont s.
- τελώνας : τελῶνας (*sic*) l. 34.
- τοῖς ὀψωνίοις : τοῖς + ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις l. 36.
- ἀνατροπέα : ἀνατροπαία (*sic*) l. 38.
- μιαρῶν : μιαρὸν . . . l. 38.

CA IV, 6, 6

- τοιούτων : τούτων l. 41. La variante rejetée est attribuée à s.
- ἀδωνίας : ἀδονίας l. 43 (*sic*).
- Κύριος : ὁ + κύριος l. 45.

Le dernier mot du recto est ἀναι[ρεθείς] (fin de 6,6).

Verso (côté fleur)

Les premiers mots lisibles de IV, 6, 7 apparaissent à la ligne 2: [πο]λὺς καὶ . . . Et l'on reconnaît clairement des bribes de 6, 8. Le début du verset 9 apparaît grâce à la majuscule écrite à l'encre rouge de Οὐ, à moins que le copiste ne signale ainsi le début du chapitre 7 (?).

CA IV, 6, 9

- μὴ μεταγνόντες : μὴ μη (*sic*) ἀγνόντες l. 10.
- ὑπομιμνήσκοντες : ὑπὸ (*sic*) μημνήσκοντες (*sic*) l. 11.

CA IV, 7, 1

- ἄλλαγμα : ὡς ὕλαγμα l. 13. La variante rejetée est attribuée au manuscrit désigné par la lettre a (*Vaticanus graecus 839*. Xe s.).

CA IV, 7, 2

- δέξατο: προσεδέξατο l. 15. La variante rejetée est attribuée à s.

La majuscule de Λέγε δὲ . . ., l. 37, permet de deviner le début de IV, 9, 1 ; celle de Ἐκ . . ., qu'on peut supposer située vers la l. 40, le début du verset 2, dont on parvient à lire encore τῶν πιστῶν . . . : les quatre ou cinq dernières lignes sont totalement masquées par les souillures de toutes sortes.

2. *Bilan de cette comparaison*

Si on néglige les variantes orthographiques propres à ce fragment et qui caractérisent également les habitudes du fragment 12 (redoublement de consonnes, même graphie pour deux sons voyelles dont la prononciation est identique, iotacismes, . . .), et ne retient que les variantes significatives, on relève :

- 5 cas où le fragment 2 propose une leçon qu'il ne partage qu'avec le témoin s.

- 1 cas où sa leçon n'est partagée qu'avec d.
- 1 cas où elle n'est partagée qu'avec a.
- 4 cas où le fragment 2 présente une leçon isolée.

(Le témoin e, avec lequel le fragment 12 présentait des liens de parenté, ne contient pas ce texte.)

Les manuscrits s, e et d remontant à un même modèle, on peut penser que les deux fragments des *CA*, souvent très proches de s et e, remontent à une source parente de ces manuscrits. M. Metzger (*SC* 320, T. I, p. 72), s'appuyant sur les données de K. Treu et relevant que les chapitres du fragment N°12 y sont numérotés, souligne qu'il « s'apparente surtout au *Vaticanus graecus 1506* (d) puis au *Vindobonensis Palatinus 73* (v) » du Xe siècle.

Mais 12 variantes, dans les deux fragments, ne peuvent être attribuées à aucun manuscrit existant. Bien qu'une des familles constituées semble plus proche, les liens pouvant exister entre le manuscrit dont sont extraits ces deux fragments et les autres témoins restent, de nos jours encore, inconnus.

Car les fragments N°12 et N°2 issus, sans aucun doute possible, du même manuscrit sont très probablement l'œuvre d'un même copiste : les particularités orthographiques qui caractérisent les deux fragments ne sont pas les seuls indices marquants.

- La taille du folio du N°12, beaucoup mieux conservé, mais qui a également été découpé, mesure en l'état : 291 × 220 mm.
- Les lignes verticales de justification des marges, visibles sur le N°12, côté chair, au recto du texte, apparaissent en creux ; il y en a deux, elles sont simples ; la marge de droite ainsi constituée, sur le recto, mesure à droite, 20 mm., à gauche, 21 mm. Côté fleur, sur le verso, les lignes apparaissent en relief.

Les lignes rectrices horizontales sont partiellement visibles dans la marge de gauche du recto. Leur espacement est de 5 mm., mesure identique à celle des lignes écrites du N°2.

- La ligne écrite varie entre 158 et 160 mm.
- La taille des lettres est exactement la même.
- L'encre a la même teinte brune, très claire.
- L'écriture, en tout point identique, comporte les mêmes abréviations pour les *nomina sacra.*
- Les mêmes points à l'encre rouge parsèment le texte du N°12, généralement pour signaler le passage à un nouveau verset.

- Dans les marges latérales du N°12 se lisent aisément des numérotations ; le système de numération est identique.

Et trois majuscules à l'encre rouge apparaissent :

- la première à Ἡνίκα qui, dans l'édition de M. Metzger, est le premier mot de 7, 2, ce qui inciterait à penser que le N°12, qui ne signale d'aucune façon le passage à 7, 1, place Ἡνίκα au début du chapitre 7.
- la deuxième à un nouveau Ἡνίκα qui marque bien le début du chapitre 8.
- la troisième à Γενόμενος qui marque le début de 9, 2, dans l'édition de M. Metzger et non pas le début du chapitre 9.

Les deux fragments semblent bien tous deux remonter à un modèle dont les subdivisions sont différentes de celles des manuscrits retenus pour l'édition et pourraient s'apparenter aux deux témoins portant une numérotation marginale, que désigne M. Metzger.

Placés dans deux enveloppes différentes, les deux fragments ont dû, à un moment ou l'autre de leur histoire, être conservés ensemble : ils semblent avoir subi les mêmes avaries (le fragment N°12 présente également sur son verso des salissures—du sable collé (?)—et quelques moisissures de couleur verte qui masquent le texte). Une mention manuscrite en arménien signale sur l'enveloppe du N°12 qu'il vient du manuscrit 1307—où il était sans doute utilisé comme page de garde—et que, dans la même enveloppe, où ne reste désormais qu'un seul folio, se trouvait un autre folio qui a été déplacé dans l'enveloppe N°17.[7] Aucune indication d'aucune sorte ne figure sur celle du N°2.

Extraits d'un même manuscrit, écrits par une même main, les fragments N°12 et N°2 ont connu, au cours de leur conservation, des fortunes diverses. Passant de la reliure d'un manuscrit, qu'ils étaient destinés à protéger, à un autre auquel ils étaient peut-être mieux adaptés par leurs mesures, puis d'un manuscrit à une enveloppe où on devait les rassembler, en attendant de leur attribuer une nouvelle fonction ou bien une autre place dans une nouvelle enveloppe, ces deux fragments ont été entraînés dans une valse qui a suivi le rythme et des réparations de reliure et celui des variations successives des systèmes de classement.

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[7] Après vérification, que K. Treu avait également dû faire en son temps, l'enveloppe N°17 ne contient aucun autre fragment des *CA*.

Que la logique, qui a présidé à tous ces mouvements, apparaisse parfois déroutante n'est pas le plus important : l'essentiel ici est que ces deux fragments des *Constitutions apostoliques*, même dans le désordre des pages, même avec 50 ans d'écart, ont été, l'un puis l'autre, retrouvés. C'est dire qu'ils ont été bien conservés.

III. *Bibliographie*

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[MM1]—M. Metzger, *Les Contitutions apostoliques*, tome 1, *SC* 320 (Paris 1985).

[MM2]—M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions apostoliques*, tome 2, *SC* 329 (Paris 1986).

[KT1]—K. Treu, "Ein Fragment der Apostolischen Konstitutionen in Erewan", *Vigiliae Christianae* 11 (1957), 208-211.

[KT2]—K. Treu, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR. Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilissi und Erevan.* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 91 (Berlin 1966).

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ET NUMQUAM LAETI SITIS

ZUR INTERPRETATION VON EV. HEBR. (HIERONYMUS, *IN EPH.* 5,4)

VON

JOHANNES B. BAUER

Hieronymus bezeugt in seinem Epheserkommentar zu 5,4 (PL 26,520AB[552CD]): *In Hebraico quoque evangelio legimus dominum ad discipulos loquentem: 'Et numquam, inquit, laeti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in charitate'*. Das gewöhnlich dem Hebräerevangelium zugeordnete, eher aus dem Nazaräerevangelium stammende Herrenwort bereitet der Forschung seit jeher Interpretationsprobleme. Am klarsten und unangefochtesten erscheint das Lexem *laeti*, zu Unrecht, wie sich noch zeigen wird. Deutsche Übersetzungen lauten heute meist: „Und niemals sollt ihr fröhlich sein, wenn ihr nicht auf euren Bruder in Liebe blickt".[1]

Der Hieronymianische Kontext bahnt dieses Verständnis geradezu an. Ist zwar Eph 5,2 von der Liebe Christi, in der er für uns in den Tod ging, die Rede, so fährt der folgende Vers 3 in der gewohnten Paränese fort: „Sexuelle Freizügigkeit aller Art oder Raffgier soll bei euch nicht einmal genannt werden", *sicut decet sanctos, aut turpitudo, aut stultiloquium, aut scurrilitas*. Letztere drei Untugenden definiert der Kirchenvater genau: Dem *stultiloquium* huldigen nicht nur diejenigen, die *turpia narrant, ut risum moveant,*

[1] Ph. Vielhauer/G. Strecker, in E. Hennecke/W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Tübingen I ^{6}1990), 147; O. Hofius ebd. 79; M. Mees, Herrenworte und Erzählstoff, *Augustinianum* 23 (1983), 205f; D. Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien* (Marburg 2000), 51; W. Michaelis, Die Apokryphen zum Neuen Testament) Bremen 1956 u. ö.), 124; J. Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (Gütersloh ^{4}1965), 88f; J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal NT* (Oxford 1993), 9: „Never be glad"; ebenso M. Meyers, *The unknown sayings of Jesus* (San Francisco 1998), 22; A. de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos* (Madrid, 1996), 37; „Nunca estéis contentos sino cuando miréis a vuestro hermano con amor"; alle Italiener geben: e non siate mai lieti (Bonaccorsi, Moraldi, Erbetta); Th. Klauser s. v. *Fest* in RAC 7,754 im Anschluss an Ed. Schwartz, *Osterbetrachtungen* ZNW 7(1906), 1 Anm. 1: „Ihr sollt euch nie der Festfreude hingeben, es sei denn, ihr hättet euren Bruder beim Liebesmahl gesehen".

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 342-345

sondern auch die sogenannten *sapientes saeculi* (vgl. Röm 1,22; 1 Kor 1,20; 1 Tim 6,17), die alles zu wissen vorgeben über den Sand am Meer, die Tropfen des Ozeans und den Nabel der Welt (vgl. Plin. *nat.* 2,68, 174). *Est et in ecclesia stultiloquium*, so wenn einer Jes 40,22 missverstehend wirklich glaubt, der Himmel sei *fornicis more curvatum* (die Vetus Latina hat das griechische Lehnwort *camera*, Hieronymus selbst *nihilum*) und Gott säße auf einem Thron im Himmel, den *in ritum imperatoris et iudicis* Dienstengel seiner Befehle harrend umstehen (Jes 6,1-10). Der Unterschied zwischen *stultiloquium* aber und *scurrilitas* besteht darin, dass das *stultiloquium* nichts Gescheites und eines Menschenherzen Würdiges an sich hat. Die *scurrilitas* aber kommt aus einem klugen Geist, strebt nach feinsinnigen oder ungeschliffenen, unschönen oder witzigen Worten—wir sagen auch *iocularitas*—, um bei den Zuhörern Gelächter hervorzurufen. Aber auch diese *scurrilitas* ist von heiligen Männern gänzlich zu verabscheuen. Ihnen kommt es eher zu, zu weinen und zu trauern, wie wir im Hebräerevangelium lesen, dass der Herr zu seinen Jüngern gesagt habe: und niemals sollt ihr fröhlich sein usw. (PL 26,520A[551D-552D]). Unversehens hat Hieronymus das Herrenwort dem bekannten Topos zugeordnet: *stultiloquum enim et scurram non decet esse Christianum* (PL 26,520C[553A]). Bekanntlich hat Christus zwar dreimal geweint (Lk 19,41; Joh 11,35; Hebr 5,7), aber nie gelacht (Chrysostomus *Mt.Hom.* 6,6). Einen Exkurs über dieses Thema kann ein Hinweis auf die Regel Benedikts ersetzen. Unter die Instrumenta der guten Werke zählt: *Verba vana aut risui apta non loqui. Risum multum aut excussum non amare* (4,53f). *Scurrilitates vero vel verba otiosa et risum moventia . . . damnamus* (6,8 vgl. 7,59; 43,2; 49,7). Der ideale Asket lebt, wie Bernhard von Clairvaux in seiner *Vita sancti Malachiae episcopi* (19,43) diesen charakterisiert: *vultus hilaritatem nec fuscavit maeror, nec levigavit risus.*

Damit sind die Schwierigkeiten mit der Erklärung des Logions offengelegt. Denn Hieronymus hat das Fragment eines judenchristlichen Evangeliums für seine Zwecke aus einem anderen Zusammenhang genommen. Die *laetitia*, von der die Rede ist, könnte auf ein Freudenmahl hindeuten, von dem niemand ausgeschlossen werden sollte. Der Einfachheit halber ein paar Vulgatastellen: Num 10,10: *Si quando habebitis epulum et dies festos et calendas, canetis tubis cet.* Die Vetus Latina hat dafür *et in diebus laetitiae vestrae cet.*

Dtn *12,7: et comedetis ibi in conspectu Domini Dei vestri ac laetabimini in cunctis ad quae miseritis manum vos et domus vestrae in quibus benedixerit vobis Dominus Deus vester.*

Dtn 14,26f: *et comedes coram Domino Deo tuo et epulaberis tu et domus tua et Levita qui intra portas tuas est cave ne derelinquas eum quia non habet aliam partem in possessione tua.*

Die über Samson siegreichen Philister feiern ein Opferfest (Ri 19,22.25): *convenerunt, ut immolarent hostias magnificas Dagon deo suo et epularentur . . . laetantesque per convivia, sumptis iam epulis praeceperunt ut vocaretur Samson.*

2 Esra 8,12: *abiit itaque omnis populus ut comederet et biberet et mitteret partes et faceret laetitiam magnam.*

3 Esra 9,54f: *Dies hic sanctus est, nolite maesti esse. Et abierunt omnes manducare et bibere et epulari et dare munera his qui non habent ut epulentur* (vgl. Neh 8,12).

Zach 8,19: *erit domui Iuda in gaudium et in laetitiam et in sollemnitates praeclaras.*

In Bezug auf das Purimfest steht Esther 9,17: *ut . . . deinceps vacarent epulis gaudio et conviviis.* Im Jubiläenbuch treffen wir wiederholt auf jene Festmähler: 16,19: *fecit diem festum laetitiae*; 18,16f: *dies in laetitia faciebat . . . in laetitia gaudentes*; 22,2 *et fecit convivium laetitiae* (vgl. 32,8; 48,22f).

Ein *convivium laetitiae* feiert auch der Vater des verlorenen Sohns: *Adducite vitulum saginatum et occidite et epulemur*, die Afra (cod. e) liest *manducantes iucundemur*, der altlateinische Usserianus *manducantes laetemur.* Der von der Feldarbeit heimkommende *filius senior* hört, was es heißt *et coeperunt epulari, audivit symphoniam et chorum* (Lk 15,23-25 und 32). Dass „*epulari* bei den afrikanischen Christen früherer Zeiten die Bedeutung von *laetari*" hatte, ist von Hermann Rönsch[2] längst festgestellt und reichlich belegt worden. Lk. 12,19 und 16,19 sind für den Synonymenwert von *epulari* und *iucundari* ebenso Zeugen.

Interessant ist noch Jud 12, wo von den christlichen Liebesmahlen die Rede ist: *in caritatibus vestris* und die Varianten *in dilectionibus* und *in epulis* lauten.

Die soziale Komponente, die wir schon in den alttestamentlichen Stellen kennengelernt haben, betont nun Jesus ausdrücklich: *cum facis convivium* (cod.d *aepulationem*) *voca* (cod.d *invita*) *pauperes, debiles, claudos, caecos* (Lk 14,13).

Zu *videritis* und *in caritate* können wir uns kurz fassen: Dass das Wort noch an seine aramäische Fassung erinnert, „nämlich in dem ‚*videretis in caritate*', wo sich das ‚*in caritate*' nicht auf das Objekt, sondern auf das Subjekt bezieht

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[2] *Itala und Vulgata*, ND München, 1965 (Marburg 1875), 262; ders. *Semasiologische Beiträge zum lateinischen Wörterbuch* 3(1889), 34f; vgl. R. Petraglio, Epulae Epulatio nella Vulgata (Brescia 1975). Auch bei Tertullian, *apologeticum* 35,4 ist *die laeto* ebenfalls ein Begriff, der im Kontext von 35,1/5 mit Freudenmählern an Kaiserfesten in Verbindung steht. Den Hinweis verdanke ich dem Herausgeber.

und das ‚*videre*' ganz semitisch ist", hat Harnack[3] zutreffend bemerkt. Das hebräische ra'ah (aram. chazah) steht immer wieder im Sinn von „sich kümmern um" (vgl. Gen 29,32; Ex 4,31; 1 Sam 1,11; 9,16; 2 Kön 14,26; Ps 9,14; 31,8).

In caritate ist hebräisch (aramäisch) beahabah (vgl. Gen 29,20; 1 Sam 18,3; 20,17; 1 Kön 9,8; 10,9; 2 Chr 2,10; Zef 3,17).

Übersetzungsvorschlag: „Nimmer sollt ihr Freudenmahle halten, wenn ihr euch nicht um euren Bruder dabei kümmert".

Endlich ist noch einmal nach dem Standort in einem Evangelium zu fragen. Möglich ist ein vorangehendes Mahlgleichnis wie Lk 14,15-24 (vgl. Mt 22,1-10). Unser Herrenwort ist dem von Lk 14,12 durchaus verwandt, ja dieses könnte so etwas wie eine Explikation des ersteren sein, in Anknüpfung an antike Parallelen, wie Xenophon, *Gastmahl* 1,15: „wegen der Gegeneinladung" oder Philo von Alexandrien, *spec. leg.* 1,12 (242): „Der Rang der Gäste ehrt den Gastgeber". Rabbi Jochanan im Traktat Abot (1,5): „Lass dein Haus immer offen stehen und Arme seien deine Hausgenossen."

A-8010 *Graz*, Alberstr. 8

[3] A. Harnack, *Über einige Worte Jesu, die nicht in den Evangelien stehen*, Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. phil. hist. Kl. 1904, 175.

REVIEWS

C. Breytenbach & L.L. Welborn (eds.), *Encounters with Hellenism: Studies on the First Letter of Clement* (AGAJU 53), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2004, ISBN 90 0412526 4, xiii + 231 S., € 90 / US$ 129 (case bound).

Der hier vorgelegte Band stellt fünf zwischen 1929 und 2003 erstmals publizierte und doch innerlich eng zusammenhängende Studien zum 1. Clemensbrief zusammen – der Beitrag von W.C. van Unnik wurde bisher nur in niederländischer Sprache veröffentlicht und liegt nun erstmals auf englisch vor. Zentrum und Ausgangspunkt der weiteren Arbeiten bildet die 1929 erstmals erschienene, auf A. v. Harnack zurückgehende, mehr als 100-seitige Studie 'Das Schreiben der römischen Kirche an die korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (I. Clemensbrief)', laut W.C. van Unnik das „intellektuelle Testament" (S. 116) des großen Patristikers. Harnack versteht den 1. Clemensbrief – an der Schnittstelle zwischen Neuem Testament und endendem 1. bzw. beginnendem 2. Jahrhundert entstanden – geradezu als einen Schlüssel zum Verständnis früher Kirchengeschichte. Es handele sich nach dem Neuen Testament um die „wichtigste Urkunde, die wir aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte empfangen haben" (S. 1), auch weil er verhindere, „partikulare (primitive, gnostische usw.) Erscheinungen innerhalb der Entwicklung der frühesten Kirchengeschichte zu überschätzen und sich durch sie den Blick für die Hauptelemente trüben zu lassen" (S. 2). Auch wenn man dieser Einschätzung vielleicht nicht ganz folgen mag: die (erneute?) Lektüre von Harnacks Beitrag erweist sich als äußerst lohnend. Einer Übersetzung des Texts – Harnacks Klagen über die mangelnden Sprachkenntnisse von Studierenden (S. 3) klingen heute erstaunlich aktuell – folgen Gedanken über die Umstände der Entstehung des Textes. Harnack fasst Clemens nicht als monarchischen Bischof Roms, aber doch als herausragende Persönlichkeit der römischen Kirche auf, der Text sei in der „allerletzte[n] Zeit der Regierung Domitians" (S. 41) entstanden. Auch wenn er die schriftstellerische Qualität des Schreibens im Vergleich zu manchem Beispiel profaner Literatur der Zeit eher niedrig einstuft, kommt Harnack doch immer wieder zu äußerst positiven Urteilen über den 1. Clemensbrief, ein Schreiben, das „aus der Erkenntnis heraus, daß man die Wurzeln, den Glauben und

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die sittliche Lebenskraft, stärken müsse, wenn sich in Blatt und Blüte eine Schwäche zeigt" (S. 42), entstanden sei, und das erkennen lasse, „daß die neue Religion in erster Linie . . . eine sittliche Bewegung auf dem Grunde des mit höchstem Ernst und höchster Lebendigkeit empfundenen Monotheismus" (S. 46-47) gewesen ist. Besonders bedeutsame Impulse für die weitere Forschung aber ergaben sich v.a. aus Harnacks Einschätzung der Quellen der sich im 1Clem zeigenden Form des Christentums. Harnack erkennt hier drei Dimensionen: a) das Alte Testament als Heilige Schrift, b) die christliche Überlieferung, dazu aber auch c) der „rational-moralische Idealismus des Zeitalters und seine literarischen und ästhetischen Formen" (S. 65) oder – mit anderen Worten – der „hellenisch-römische Charakter des Schreibens" (S. 67). Damit aber seien im 1. Clemensbrief auch bereits die drei grundlegenden Elemente des Katholizismus, das Wesentliche dessen, was Römische Kirche ausmache, enthalten. – Die folgenden Artikel zeigen nun beispielhaft, wie die von Harnack gelegten Linien auch in der späteren Literatur aufgenommen, weitergeführt, aber auch in Teilen korrigiert wurden: W. Jaegers Aufsatz aus dem Jahr 1961 spricht von Clemens als einem zweiten Demosthenes (vgl. S. 104) und stellt seine Argumentation in den Kontext der politischen Philosophie griechischer Stadtstaaten; bereits er verweist auf die Bedeutung des Begriffs der „Eintracht" für das Verständnis des Textes. Clemens habe so die auf Paulus zurückgehende mystische Idee der Kirche als Leib Christi mit Ideen griechischer politischer Erfahrung und Spekulation gefüllt. Das vielleicht gewichtigste Gegenstück zu Harnacks Beitrag bildet ein ausführlicher Artikel von W.C. Van Unnik (1970), der seine Argumentation mehrfach deutlich auf Harnack zurückbindet. Van Unnik verbindet die drei Hauptfragen nach der Form des Textes, der Situation, auf die Bezug genommen wird, und der sich darin äußernden Position der Kirche Roms, miteinander. Zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Argumentation macht er die Untersuchung des literarischen Genres des Texts – hier erkennt er in der Verwendung der Kombination der Begriffe „Eintracht" und „Frieden", die vor dem Hintergrund antiker Konzepte der staatlichen Wohlergehens zu verstehen seien, einen Schlüssel. 1Clem sei als *sumboulé* zu verstehen, lasse sich also einer bekannten Gattung antiker Rhetorik einordnen. Die Funktion von Texten, die dem *sumbouleutikon genos* zuzuordnen seien, bestehe darin, jemandem, der mit einem Problem konfrontiert sei, Rat zu geben, bzw. mit Hilfe eines Rats einen Konflikt beizulegen. Aus dieser Erkenntnis erklärten sich nicht nur bestimmte Eigenheiten des Textes, z.B. das Fehlen eines Proömiums mit *captatio benevolentiae*, von hier aus sei auch die Rolle der römischen Gemeinde im Dialog zu

bestimmen. Der Text sei somit nicht als ein Zeichen beginnender römischer Prinzipatsansprüche, sondern als ein Akt christlicher Solidarität zu interpretieren. Die beiden den Band abschließenden Beiträge von C. Breytenbach und L. Welborn gehen nun noch einen Schritt weiter: Breytenbach untersucht, anknüpfend an die Forderung Van Unniks, den für das Verständnis des Textes so bedeutenden Begriff (kosmischer) „Eintracht" vor dem Hintergrund seiner Verwendung in hellenistischem Denken und in der Rhetorik der Kaiserzeit, Welborn zieht aus der Gattung des Textes weitere (und m.E. überzeugende) Konsequenzen für dessen zeitliche Einordnung. Die klassische, seit Harnack meist ungefragt vorausgesetzte zeitliche Datierung des Textes in die domitianische Verfolgung der Jahre 94-96 n.Chr. lasse sich nicht halten. Einziger Anhaltspunkt dieser Datierung sei 1Clem 1:1. Dessen Sprache wiederum sei zu vage, um konkrete Folgerungen auf den Hintergrund zuzulassen. Zudem sei die Historizität einer Christenverfolgung unter Domitian anzuzweifeln. Entscheidend für die Argumentation Welborns aber wird die sprachliche Untersuchung von 1Clem 1:1 vor dem Hintergrund der Einordnung des Textes in das *sumbouleutikon genos*. Der Vergleich mit Texten ähnlicher Funktion ergibt: "[O]ur research has shown that the first sentence of the epistle is no more than an apologetic formula like that which introduces numerous letters and speeches on concord. The 'misfortunes and hindrances' of which the epistle makes mention seem to have been internal discussions like those which troubled the community in Corinth. But it is not necessary to believe that these quarrels had any real existence at all, only that the author found allusion to them, by means of conventional expressions, a convenient way of establishing a sympathetic relationship between himself and his readers. He wished to say: we are faced with the same problems and have need of the same admonition" (S. 216).

Obwohl also keine der hier zusammengetragenen Studien völlig „neu" ist, ergibt sich in der Zusammenschau noch einmal manche Einsicht in das Werden forschungsgeschichtlicher Entwicklungen an einem zentralen frühchristlichen Text. Da auch das Gewicht der Einzelbeiträge unbestritten ist, kann der Band nur wärmstens zur Lektüre empfohlen werden.

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Antti Marjanen and Petri Luomanen (eds.), *A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics'* (VigChr.S 76), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, xiii + 385 pp., ISBN 90-04-14464-1, € 118 / US$ 169 (case bound).

Laut Vorwort entstand die Idee für den vorliegenden Band in einer Kaffeepause am *Department for Biblical Studies* an der Universität Helsinki, Finnland, bei der die Mitglieder zweier Forschergruppen miteinander ins Gespräch kamen. Um es vorweg zu nehmen: Selten dürfte eine Kaffeepause so produktiv genutzt worden sein wie in diesem Falle! Die beiden Herausgeber haben zusammen mit Autoren der Universität Helsinki sowie einigen weiteren Fachleuten von höchstem internationalen Format einen Band vorgelegt, der ein Bild von der anderen Seite (oder besser: den vielen anderen Seiten) des frühen Christentums erarbeitet, an dem für lange Zeit nicht vorbeigegangen werden sollte.

In insgesamt zwölf Beiträgen, die allein aus Gründen des Umfangs der Rezension nicht alle vorgestellt werden können, werden verschiedene von der werdenden Großkirche auf unterschiedlichen Wegen und mit verschiedensten Hintergründen als „häretisch" eingestufte Persönlichkeiten bzw. Bewegungen diskutiert. Nach einem Beitrag über den Gnostiker Basilides von Birger Pearson und einer Arbeit von Michael A. Williams über „Sethianismus" stellt Ismo Dunderberg die Schule des Valentinus vor. Dunderberg macht deutlich, wie problematisch es ist, das Denken des Valentinus und seiner Schüler allein oder in erster Linie aufgrund des Zeugnisses bei Irenäus von Lyon zu beurteilen – das Studium der direkten Quellen komme in vielen Bereichen zu völlig anderen Resultaten: Dabei erweise sich etwa die Vorstellung einer angeblichen ethischen Indifferenz der Valentinianer als kaum zutreffend; die erhaltenen Aussagen des Valentinus über den Körper Christi zeigten sich als weniger nah am Doketismus als vergleichbare Gedanken bei Clemens von Alexandrien. Ausführlich referiert Dunderberg über das, was wir über andere Mitglieder der valentinianischen Schule – Ptolemäus, Heracleon und Marcus – sagen können und beschäftigt sich mit den valentinianischen Texten der Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi. So erfreulich es sei, dass wir mit diesen Werken nun einen deutlich breiteren Zugang auf valentinianische Quellen haben, so sehr müsse aber auch mit bedacht werden, dass es sich hier um koptische Übersetzungen ursprünglich griechischer Texte handele, deren Autoren unbekannt und deren Datierung äußerst problematisch sei. Der Beitrag endet mit einem Abriss dessen, was wir über die Geschichte der Valentinianer sagen

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können – dabei betont Dunderberg, dass diese trotz der Einwände des Justin, vor allem aber des Irenäus lange Zeit weitgehend unbehelligt blieben; weder im Fall des Valentinus noch eines seiner Schüler sei bekannt, dass er im Rom des 2. Jahrhunderts exkommuniziert worden sei.

Heikki Räisänen bettet seine Darstellung des Marcion in aktuelle Diskussionen, ob und inwiefern das Alte Testament heute noch als moralische Autorität zu verwenden sei, ein. Nach einem Abriss dessen, was aus Marcions Leben bekannt ist, erarbeitet Räisänen Marcions Verständnis der Bibel im Literalsinn als Grundlage für dessen Denkwelt. Marcion habe den *Text* des Alten Testaments als grundsätzlich verlässlich verstanden, gleichzeitig aber dessen *Inhalt* aufs Schärfste kritisiert – Räisänen bietet eine Liste von Kontrasten, die Marcion zwischen den Gottesbildern des Alten und des Neuen Testaments liefert. Aus diesen Gegensätzen habe Marcion gefolgert, dass hier von zwei unterschiedlichen Göttern die Rede sein müsse und die Schriften des Christentums – zu seiner Zeit kann von einem „Neuen Testament" noch nicht gesprochen werden – von allen Einflüssen dessen, was den alttestamentlichen, sich zudem immer wieder selbst widersprechenden Schöpfergott spiegele, zu reinigen sei. Marcion habe deswegen als heilige Schrift allein 10 Paulusbriefe und das Lukasevangelium in überarbeiteter Form anerkannt, Marcions Eingriffe in deren Text würden heute aber als gering beurteilt – vor allem seien keine marcionitischen Zusätze zum Text bekannt. Räisänen legt zudem Wert auf die Feststellung, dass Marcion nicht als Antisemit zu beurteilen sei – in seinen Aussagen erweise er sich als bei Weitem weniger antijüdisch als mancher Zeitgenosse der werdenden kirchlichen „Orthodoxie". Gleichzeitig aber sei er (sicherlich ungewollt) zum „Katalysator" manch antijüdischer Argumentation altkirchlicher Autoren geworden: Wo man Marcions Folgerung, dass das Alte und das Neue Testament von zwei verschiedenen Göttern sprechen, nicht anerkennen wollte, gleichzeitig aber zugeben musste, dass Gott unveränderbar ist, musste man den Juden vorwerfen, sie hätten ihre Heilige Schrift falsch interpretiert – erst deren allegorische Interpretation auf das Neue Testament hin sei ihr angemessen.

Überaus souverän ist auch William L. Petersens Beitrag über Tatian – vorgestellt wird, was vom Werk Tatians erhalten ist, vor allem die *Oratio ad Graecos* – zudem spricht der Verfasser einige der Probleme an, die sich mit dem Diatessaron verbinden. Über die Biographie Tatians lasse sich nur wenig sagen – mehr aber über seine Persönlichkeit: In der *Oratio* trete dem Leser eine sich überaus selbstgewisse, intolerant wirkende Gestalt gegenüber, die in einem deutlichen Schwarz-Weiß-Denken verhaftet sei

und gleichzeitig aber auch eine gewisse Prüderie zeige. Soweit man dies aus den erhaltenen Quellen erheben könne, seien die vier Vorwürfe des Irenäus gegen Tatian – neben der Kritik an seiner Persönlichkeit sein Enkratismus, sein Gnostizismus und die Leugnung der Rettung Adams – wohl begründet. Trotzdem stelle sich die Frage, ob Tatian als „Häretiker" zu bezeichnen sei: Im Westen, wo man ihn immer als „Assyrer" verstanden habe, sei dies seit Irenäus der Fall gewesen, im Osten, wo man in als „Griechen" angesehen habe, sei Tatian erst spät – ab dem 10. Jahrhundert – als „häretisch" bezeichnet worden. Dies liege sicherlich an der Bedeutung des Diatessarons nicht nur für die gesamte Textgeschichte des syrischen Neuen Testaments, sondern auch für dessen Übersetzungen etwa ins Armenische. Zudem sei bei den weit verbreiteten asketischen Tendenzen im Osten der Enkratismus Tatians nicht als problematisch empfunden worden, auch seine Christologie habe man als akzeptabel angesehen. Petersens Analyse mündet in einige höchst bedeutsame Schlusssätze ein, die es wert sind, wörtlich zitiert zu werden: „Tatian can be seen – as have been numerous 'heretics' throughout the history of Christianity – as simply a victim of time and place: where and when he was active. We have already pointed to other such cases, including the virtually simultaneous excommunication and ordination of Origen, and the rival Easter celebrations of Anicetus and Polycarp. Had Tatian been active only in the East, then he probably would not be known as a heretic. There is one more factor that must be mentioned as well: heresy is frequently not only a question of theology, timing, and location; it is also a matter of personality and presentation. And Tatian's personality seems, in no small measure, to have contributed to his problems with the church in Rome" (S. 156).

Hoch interessant ist auch Antti Marjanens Beitrag zum Montanismus – vorgestellt werden wiederum die Geschichte der Bewegung und ihre wichtigsten Gedanken sowie die Reaktionen der „Großkirche". Dabei stößt Marjanen zu der These durch, dass der Montanismus nicht wegen doktrinaler Probleme verurteilt wurde, also nicht aufgrund seiner prophetischen Aktivitäten und seiner chiliastischer Eschatologie, sondern wegen der Art und Weise, wie diese zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden: Die ekstatische Natur montanistischer Prophetie, ihr Anspruch auf größere Autorität als bisherige apostolische Traditionen oder auch die Rolle von Frauen in der Bewegung – alles Punkte, die vorhandene Kirchenstrukturen ins Wanken brachten – hätten schließlich den Ausschlag gegeben.

Matti Myllykoski beschäftigt sich mit Cerinthus, während Sakkari Häkkinen die „Ebioniten" vorstellt, F. Stanley Jones das Judenchristentum der

Pseudo-Clementinen rekonstruiert und Gerard Luttikhuizen über die Elchasaiten und ihr Buch referiert – alle Beiträge bewegen sich auf hervorragendem Niveau. Kurz vorgestellt werden muss aber zumindest noch Petri Luomanens Beitrag über die Nazarener: Das historische Problem in der Beurteilung dieser Gruppe bestehe darin, dass sie erst bei Epiphanius und Hieronymus genannt werden, dass die Ursprünge dieser Gruppe von Epiphanius aber bereits im 1. Jahrhundert angesiedelt werden. Da aber gerade Epiphanius und Hieronymus durchaus dafür bekannt seien, dass der Inhalt ihrer Schriften gerne und häufig von ihren polemischen Interessen diktiert sei, sei es kein Wunder, dass Ursprung und Identität der Nazarener bis heute vielfältig und differenziert diskutiert werden – Luomanen nimmt nun die Quellenlage erneut im Detail unter die Lupe und kommt zu folgendem erstaunlichen Fazit: „The heresy of the Nazarenes as it is depicted in *Panarion* 29 is pure fiction" (S. 308). . . . „Overall, there is no historically reliable evidence which would justify an assumption that, among Syriac/Aramaic-speaking Christians, there would have been a more or less organized faction with borders defined by characteristically 'Nazarene' doctrines, practices or self-understanding, distinct from other Syriac/Aramaic-speaking Christians" (S. 309). Epiphanius sei es darum gegangen, das Bild der Entwicklung judenchristlicher Häresien zu zeichnen, in der die „Nazarener" die Rolle einer Gruppe spielten, die die Ideen der Jerusalemer Urgemeinde imitieren wollten, aber in ihrem Festhalten am jüdischen Gesetz irrten. Dies habe für Epiphanius den Schlüssel gebildet, alle Formen des Christentums, die dem jüdische Gesetz anhingen, zu verurteilen, gleichzeitig sei es ihm durch die Schaffung solcher Stereotypen gelungen, wirkungsvolle Grenzen der eigenen kirchlichen Identität zu schaffen und zu unterhalten.

Das Fazit ist eindeutig: Alle Beiträge stehen auf erkennbar hohem Niveau, sie sind von international anerkannten Spezialisten verfasst. Immer wieder zeigt sich ein wohltuend umsichtiger Umgang mit der häufig äußerst problematischen Quellenlage, was die Autoren aber nicht davon abhält, weitreichende Thesen zu formulieren. Aufgrund des allen Texten gemeinsamen Anliegens, die polemischen Perspektiven frühkirchlicher Quellen zu durchbrechen, entsteht bei der Lektüre nicht nur das Bild einer von ungeheuer reichen und vielfältigen, differenzierten Problemen, Ideen und Auseinandersetzungen geprägten frühen Kirche. Deutlich werden auch die äußerst verschiedenen Wege und z.T. geschichtlich bedingten Hintergründe, die dazu führten, dass Personen und ihre Gedanken als „häretisch" verstanden wurden – man könnte in diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht von

„häretisch *gewordenen* Gedanken"[1] sprechen. Das wichtigste Verdienst des Bandes, das auch bleibt, wenn sich Detailergebnisse über längere Sicht hin als nicht verifizierbar oder überholt erweisen sollten, scheint mir aber darin zu liegen, dass bei der Lektüre dieses Buches in hohem Maße deutlich wird, was es bedeutet, erhaltene Quellen mit ihren häufig einseitigen Interessen und ihrer manchmal engen Perspektivik auf ihre Aussagen über Vergangenheit zu befragen und damit Geschichte zu konstruieren, die nicht nur von der Perspektive derer, die sich letztlich durchsetzten, geprägt ist.

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Annemaré Kotzé, *Augustine's Confessions. Communicative Purpose and Audience* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae LXXI), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2004, X + 279 pp., ISBN 90-04-13926-5, € 96 / US$ 114 (hardback).

One of the most fascinating developments in recent Augustinian scholarship is the increased use of research on Manichaeism. This has greatly changed our view not only of Augustine but also of Manichaeism. The latter may not be evident at first glance. But as we take Augustine's Manichaeism, as it oozes through the Platonist layer of his writings, more seriously and recognise it in ever greater detail, we also become better able to review (and perhaps revise) some of our hitherto cherished opinions (and prejudices) about Manichaeism. And what we see at work is not so much an abstract doctrinal system or a mere historical phenomenon with its rites, customs, beliefs, and their social functions, but a religion impacting on a person's life and the lives of that person's companions, a religion in transformation, whose inner workings become visible as a reflection in the writings of someone who has rejected that religion and now tries to persuade his previous fellow believers (his friends) in brilliant style and with compelling arguments to emulate him and take the same steps. Indeed it is quite possible and even likely that Augustine will soon no longer be seen primarily as the first of a new breed of Christians, but as one of the last great late

[1] Dies versteht sich in Anlehnung an den von D. Lührmann geprägten Begriff „apokryph gewordene" Evangelien. Vgl. idem, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien: Studien zu neuen Texten und zu neuen Fragen* (NovT.S 112; Leiden-Boston 2004).

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ancient Manichees. The present volume, the published version of a doctoral dissertation submitted at the University of Stellenbosch to obtain a D.Litt. in Latin Literature, will then certainly be quoted as an important landmark in this development. The author, Annemaré Kotzé, has taken two phenomena very seriously in her research. More importantly, she analyses them in combination, competently and convincingly: Augustine's Manichaeism and Augustine's total immersion in classical literary education and rhetoric. She is doing so with a very simple but effective device: She studies the *Confessions* from the point of view of their communicative purpose and their audience. The former, Kotzé elaborates in the first chapter, is protreptic, the latter (at least potentially, but very likely also, at least partly, in real terms) Manichaean. The *Confessions* as a protreptic directed at an intended Manichaean audience, that is the subject of Kotzé's study. Her book is divided into two parts with altogether five chapters. Part 1 ("Prolegomena") has two chapters. Chapter 1 (pp. 7-43) is a literature review ("The *Confessions* and its academic readers"), Chapter 2 (pp. 45-94) a discussion of the protreptic genre and how it applies to the *Confessions*. The literature review is most refreshing to read. Undaunted by the sheer mass of secondary titles Kotzé, with an impressive sense for the important and relevant, singles out the most compelling works of modern scholarship and discusses them with astuteness and skill. Naturally, she homes in on the increasing awareness among "The *Confessions*' academic readers" of the importance of Augustine's Manichaean background culminating in recent works by J. van Oort in particular.[1] But her account also reveals that connections between Manichaeism and exegetical strategies in the *Confessions* have been made as far back as the 1930s, but never thoroughly exploited. Again and again the classical role of the *Confessions* as an educational manual for western intellectuals seems to have influenced scholarship and prevented a breakthrough for the recognition of the importance of Manichaeism for understanding the origin, background, and communicative purpose of the *Confessions*. (J.J. O'Donnell in his new book *Augustine—Sinner and Saint* (2005), recently reviewed in this journal,[2] confirms that (on p. 83), when he writes that the

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[1] See his 'Manichaeism and Anti-Manichaeism in Augustine's *Confessiones*', in *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi 'Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico', Arcavacata di Rende—Amantea, 31 agosto—5 settembre 1993*, Turnhout 1997, 235-248 and *Augustinus' Confessiones. Gnostische en christelijke spiritualiteit in een diepzinnig document*, Turnhout 2002, among others.

[2] *VC* 60 (2006) 109-114.

Confessions have for centuries been a "modern classic". Even in the post-modern period their discourse of the "soul" continues to attract readers. It is seen as an archetypal human narrative. Not that we may not continue to study the *Confessions* from that perspective, but in the light of recent research on Manichaeism we cannot do so without seriously engaging with that religion's influence upon the *Confessions* and their author and (intended) readers. Kotzé duly and fairly also acknowledges her indebtedness to Erich Feldmann's pioneering work on the *Confessions* as a protreptic, supplemented by C.P. Mayer. But credit where credit is due. In whatever direction Feldmann may have developed his seminal ideas expressed in the somewhat constrained format of his *Augustinus-Lexikon* article, had he not been prevented from doing so by his untimely death, it is Kotzé who deserves praise for having moved the agenda on in this monograph. In Chapter 2 Kotzé provides a methodological introduction to ancient protreptic, with a focus on its communicative purpose and function. One important message of this chapter is that protreptic is not propaganda, be it for or against something. It operates more subtly. For Kotzé it is futile to look for ways in which Augustine "refutes" Manichaeism in the *Confessions*. The *Confessions* are not an anti-Manichaean work. Their "communicative purpose" is to persuade Manichaeans to become orthodox Christians, which is not at all the same thing. In Part 2 ("Analyses") Kotzé spells out in detail how Augustine tried to achieve this purpose. Chapter 3 (pp. 97-115) focusses on the meditation on Psalm 4 in *Conf.* 9.4.8-11 and demonstrates how Augustine employs Manichaean motifs in it in a way that shows that he identifies himself with his intended Manichaean audience. Clearly, his intention is not to alienate his readers with anti-Manichaean rhetoric, Kotzé argues. Chapter 4 (pp. 117-196) is an attempt to demonstrate in some detail the pervasiveness of "protreptic-paraenetic intent" throughout the *Confessions*. In it Kotzé cites and discusses Manichaean motifs from the opening paragraph of the *Confessions* and in key passages right across the whole book and shows how these are applied with a particular intention to address a Manichaean audience. Chapter 5 (pp. 197-247) is the most impressive of all. It focusses on the intended audience itself. Kotzé begins by arguing that there exists such an audience, despite the fact that the *Confessions* present themselves predominantly as prayer, speech directed at God. "But, because we know—if merely by the fact of its publication—that the work was intended for a human audience, we must assume this prayer stance to be a rhetorical strategy, designed to influence an audience in a specific manner," she continues (p. 197). In turn, that "specific

manner" should provide clues as to who that audience was. In Chapters 3 and 4 Kotzé already pointed out certain passages and certain elements in these passages which indicate that that "specific manner" consisted (at least to a significant degree) in Augustine trying to turn his readers away from Manichaeism. Now, in Chapter 5, Kotzé assumes the perspective of that audience, people who, like Augustine, knew a great deal about Manichaean life and doctrine (either directly from Manichaean writings or indirectly through Manichaean missionary activity) and were to a certain degree adhering to it, be it as sympathisers on the margins or as hearers or even elect. Personal relationships play a significant role here, and Augustine develops this topic through reflections on friendship (*amicitia*), the dialectics of trust and deception (*seducere, decipere, falli, errare*), and waywardness (*curiositas*). There is a complicating factor here, which Kotzé does not mention, but which J.J. O'Donnell points out in his recent book (*Augustine—Sinner and Saint*, p. 48): Augustine insists that he adhered for altogether nine years to Manichaeism. Yet if one adds up all the periods in which he claims to have been a Manichaean, from his early student days to his days as a rhetor in Rome appointed to the chair in Milan, the result is eleven, or even nearly twelve (!), years. In the light of the reflections on friendship and deception in the *Confessions*, discussed by Kotzé, this would be a further interesting and delicate topic. Could it be that Augustine's intended audience of Manichaean friends and sympathisers would have been able to make sense of this apparent discrepancy? This is not to say that Kotzé's analysis is any worse for not discussing this issue. We only mention it to indicate in what way her findings might be used for further research. The remaining pages of her book amass evidence of Manichaean motifs in the *Confessions*, especially in the opening lines of the work. The use of *magnus* (Ps 144), *uirtus et sapientia* (1 Cor 1:24), seeking and finding (Mt 7:7), knowing and understanding (Ps 118), key concepts in key Manichaean works, are unlikely to have been used merely accidentally. This has been recognised by other authors as well (Kotzé cites J. van Oort and J.J. O'Donnell). What Kotzé does is to draw together these observations and to demonstrate how Augustine uses them to try to keep his Manichaean audience on board, even when he develops a distinctly non-Manichaean theology, e.g. when in *Conf.* 1.4.4 he forestalls any criticism of the Old Testament concept of God while including a host of "Manichaean concerns" regarding the doctrine of God, which would have allowed Manichaean readers to review Augustine's argument in great detail; or when in *Conf.* 13 he addresses a number of Manichaean concerns including dietary reg-

ulations in his allegorical exegesis of Gen 1:29-30 in *Conf.* 13.38-42. In conclusion, this being a doctoral dissertation, it does betray the influence of the scholarship on which it depends, which it frankly acknowledges. Some might quibble with the way it occasionally presents its findings, especially its tendency to include lists of passages without comment or very short sub-sections of chapters (p. 161). Others might detect the occasional grammatical or stylistic mistake, or typo (p. 40 line 27). But these are mere quibbles. On the whole this is an impressive book, well crafted and original, with a very useful and refreshingly slim bibliography and indices (*index locorum*, modern authors, and subjects). A substantial contribution to the ongoing research on the *Confessions* and a vital read for scholars of Augustine and of Manichaeism alike.

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Marguerite Harl, *La Bible en Sorbonne ou la revanche d'Erasme.* Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 2004 ISBN 2-204-07657-0. 364 p. 26€

Dans ce livre l'auteur raconte l'histoire de ses recherches philologiques en grec tardif qu'elle a introduite à la Sorbonne. Elle a donné à ces recherches le titre « La Bible en Sorbonne », un titre, au sens large et riche, qui indique un mouvement admirable.

Mme Harl fut élue professeur de grec tardif en 1958, une année après avoir soutenu sa thése qui portait sur le premier grand théologien du christianisme, Origène. Depuis la loi de 1905, qui avait établi la séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, les textes des Pères de l'Eglise étaient absents du cursus littéraire de l'université.

Mme Harl a montré qu'on peut faire une étude philologique des textes religieux sans entrer dans le domaine de la théologie. Elle a inauguré un enseignement très vaste qui part des écrivains grecs chrétiens; ce qu'elle appelle la revanche d'Erasme, son retour en grâce. Ses recherches sur les Pères l'ont amené au philosophe juif, Philon d'Alexandrie, puis à la Bible, dont les Pères faisaient usage, la Septante.

Durant plusieurs années cette Bible a été l'objet principal de ses recherches, qu'elle faisait en collaboration avec une équipe d'étudiants et de collègues. Les recherches ont débouché sur une collection, qui est déjà célèbre, « La Bible d'Alexandrie ».

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A la fin du livre l'auteur réfléchit sur l'art de traduire, qu'elle possède comme peu d'autres, sur la transmission de la Bible à travers ses traductions et ses traditions de lecture; et sur les relations du judaïsme et du christianisme; ces réflexions témoignent d'une intuition profonde.

Maintes fois elle revient à sa thèse, suivant laquelle on peut interpréter les textes religieux sans adhérer à une religion. Je pense, que cela est vrai, si on a l'intelligence et surtout la sensibilité suffisante. Elle a écrit un livre magnifique.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Beckwith, Roger T., *Calendar, Chronology and Worship. Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 61), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, ix + 255 pp., ISBN 90-04-14603-2, € 89/US$ 127 (hardback).—Collection of thirteen expert studies (five of the essays have in some form appeared elsewhere; eight are new), being a remarkable and worthy successor of the author's *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian. Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies* (AJEC/AGAJU 33, Brill: Leiden etc. 1996).

Bobichon, Philippe, *Justin Martyr, Dialogue avec Tryphon. Édition critique*, Volume I, *Introduction, Texte grec, Traduction*; Volume II, *Notes de la traduction, Appendices, Indices* (Paradosis 47,1/2), Fribourg, Suisse: Academic Press [Département de Patristique et d'Histoire de l'Église de l'Université de Fribourg]/Éditions Saint-Paul 2003, [X +] 1125 pp., ISBN 2-8271-0958-1, € 120 (pb).—Étude extensive et détaillée: 'Cette première [sic] édition critique, avec introduction (en plusieurs chapitres), traduction, notes, commentaires et indices, se fonde sur un examen nouveau des manuscrits. Elle prend en compte toutes les éditions antérieures et l'abondante bibliographie suscitée par le *Dialogue*. Elle vise à faire progresser l'établissement du texte en faisant ressortir l'originalité de sa composition, et l'influence probable, pour le détail comme pour l'ensemble, d'une exégèse rabbinique dont Justin paraît exceptionnellement bien informé'.

Bumazhnov, Dmitrij, *Der Mensch als Gottes Bild im christlichen Ägypten. Studien zu Gen 1,26 in zwei koptischen Quellen des 4.-5. Jahrhunderts* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 34), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006, IX + 262 S., ISBN 3-16-148658-7, € 54 (kart.).—Ursprünglich Dissertation der Fakultät der Kulturwissenschaften der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen (Promotor Stephen Gerö): Einleitung (1-24); Kapitel I: Die Erschaffung des Menschen nach dem Ebenbild Gottes und einige ihrer Implikationen in der pseudo-athanasischen Homilie *De anima et corpore* (25-109); Anhang I: Übersetzung der pseudo-athanasischen Homilie *De anima et corpore* (110-124); Anhang II: Rekonstruktion der Vorlage von *De anima et corpore* nach Gregor Wurst (125-134); Anhang III: Zur Textgeschichte des sogenannten Kompositionsrahmens (135-137); Kapitel II: Der Mensch als Ebenbild Gottes in der Vita des seligen Aphu von Pemdje (138-218); Anhang: Die Übersetzung der

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Vita des seligen Aphu von Pemdje (219-228); Ergebnisse (229-231); Literaturverzeichnis, Stellenregister (233-262).

Conomos, Dimitri & Graham Speake (eds), *Mount Athos the Sacred Bridge. The Spirituality of the Holy Mountain*, Oxford-Bern-Berlin etc.: Peter Lang 2005, 250 pp., ISBN 3-03910-064-5 /US-ISBN 0-8204-6880-0, € 44.60 (pb).—Most of the nine papers included in this volume were presented at a conference convened by the Friends of Mount Athos at Madingley Hall, Cambridge, in 2003. Contributions by Andrew Louth and Kallistos Ware, among others.

Cyprianus: *Cyprien de Carthage, L'unité de l'Église (De ecclesiae catholicae vnitate)*. Texte critique du CCL 3 (M. Bévenot). Introduction Paolo Siniscalco et Paul Mattei. Traduction Michel Poirier. Apparats, Notes, Appendices et Index Paul Mattei (Sources Chrétiennes 500), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2006, XVIII + 334 p., ISBN 2-204-08123-9, € 34 (broché).—Le 500e volume de la fameuse collection « Sources Chrétiennes »! 'Avoir choisi de faire du traité de S. Cyprien de Carthage, *L'unité de l'Église catholique*, le numéro 500 de la collection « Sources Chrétiennes » est une manière de signifier avec force que les Pères constituent pour les chrétiens de toutes confessions un patrimoine commun, une source féconde où s'abreuve l'Église indivise.' (Jean-Noël Guinot, 'Avant-Propos', p. 1).

Didymus the Blind, Commentary on Zechariah. Translated by Robert C. Hill (The Fathers of the Church 111), Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press 2006, xi + 372 pp., ISBN 0-8132-0111-X, US$ 39.95 (hardback with jacket).

Eugenius Toletanus: *Evgenii Toletani Opera Omnia* cura et studio Paulo Farmhouse Alberto (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXIV), Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2005, 480 pp., ISBN 2-503-01141-1, € 210 (cloth).—New edition (which appeared exactly one hundred years after the MGH edition of F. Vollmer) of the complete extant works (i.e., the *libellus carminum*, the *Dracontii librorum recognitio*, and three *epistolae*) of Eugenius, mid-seventh century bishop of Toledo, one of the major Christian poets of his time, and a leading figure in the Visigothic kingdom of Toledo.

Evans, Craig A., *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies. A Guide to the Background Literature*, Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers 2005, 539 pp., ISBN 1-56563-409-8, US$ 34,95/£ 19.99 (hardback with jacket).—Impressive book dealing with a vast range of literature, including a number of Early Church Fathers, the Coptic Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi and Mandaean materials, and supplemented by six original and very useful *appendices*: (1) Canons of Scripture that Include the Apocrypha; (2) Quotations,

Allusions, and Parallels to the New Testament; (3) Parallels between New Testament Gospels and Pseudepigraphal Gospels; (4) Jesus' Parables and the Parables of the Rabbis; (5) Jesus and Jewish Miracle Stories; (6) Messianic Claimants of the First and Second Centuries. Three extensive *indices* (but unfortunately not including the appendices 4-6) complete this fine tool for the study of Early Christianity, its background, and *Umwelt.*

Facundus d'Hermiane, *Défense des Trois Chapitres (à Justinien).* Tome IV (Livres XI-XII). Texte critique (*CCL* 90 A) par J.-M. Clément et R. Vander Plaetse. Introduction, traduction et notes par Anne Fraïsse-Bétoulières/*Contre Mocianus (et) Épître de la foi catholique.* Texte critique (*CCL* 90 A) par J.-M. Clément et R. Vander Plaetse. Introduction, traduction et notes par Aimé Solignac (Sources Chrétiennes 499), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2006, 357 p., ISBN 2-204-07961-8, € 33 (broché).

Florus Lugdunensis: *Flori Lvgdvnensis Collectio ex dictis XII Patrvm,* Pars II, cvra et stvdio P.I. Fransen, B. Coppieters 't Wallant, R. Demeulenaere (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis CXCIII A), Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2006, LXVII + 313 p., ISBN 2-503-04933-8, € 175 (cloth).—Le deuxième volume de la collection dite des Douze Pères: dans ce volume les extraits des oeuvres d'Ambroise, choisis par Florus, n'occupent pas moins de 70 folios du manuscrit de la Grande Chartreuse et alignent 411 péricopes.

Grushcow, Lisa, *Writing the Wayward Wife. Rabbinic Interpretations of Sotah* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity LXII), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, XVI + 329 pp., ISBN 90-04-14628-8, € 97/US$ 129 (hardback).—A study of rabbinic interpretations of *sotah,* i.e. the law concerning the woman suspected of adultery, mainly from tannaic and amoraic texts, but also dealing with passages from Josephus, Philo, and the *Protevangelium of James,* among others.

Harris, W.V., *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries. Essays in Explanation* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition XXVII), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, XIV + 176 pp., ISBN 90-04-14717-0, € 99/US$ 129 (cloth with jacket).—Eight quality essays, edited with care and classically published in a cloth bound book with jacket: Abbreviations, Preface, Contributors (VIII-XIV); H.A. Drake, Models of Christian Expansion (1-13); J.B. Rives, Christian Expansion and Christian Ideology (15-41); Elizabeth A. Clarke, Thinking with Women: the Uses of the Appeal to 'Woman' in Pre-Nicene Christian Propaganda Literature (43-51); Dimitris J. Kyrtatas, The Significance of Leadership and Organization in the Spread of Christianity (53-68); Stamenka E. Antonova, Barbarians and the Empire-Wide Spread

of Christianity (69-85); Isabella Sandwell, Outlawing 'Magic' or Outlawing 'Religion'? Libanius and the Theodosian Code as Evidence for Legislation against 'Pagan' Practices (87-123); J.A. North, Pagans, Polytheists and the Pendulum (125-143); Seth Schwartz, Roman Historians and the Rise of Christianity: The School of Edward Gibbon (145-160); Scholarly Works Referred To (161-172); Index (173-176).

Heizmann, Berthold (Hrsg.), *Kosmos der Heiligen. Die Ausmalung der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Metropolie von Deutschland in Bonn-Beuel*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern 2005, 105 S. (mit 64 Farb- und 4 Schwarzweißabbildungen), ISBN 3-8053-3578-4, € 24,90 /CHF 43,50 (geb.).—Schöne Abbildungen, mit Beigabe von interessanten aber auch ziemlich oberflächlichen Diskussionen zur Bedeutung des 'Bildes' im religiösen Kontext: Was unterscheidet das Bild von der Ikone? Welche Rolle spielt heute noch der Bilderstreit? Welches Verhältnis haben die evangelische, katholische und orthodoxe Kirche zum Bild?

Hieronymus: Jérôme, *Homélies sur Marc*. Texte latin de dom Germain Morin (*CCL* 78). Introduction, traduction et notes par Jean-Louis Gourdain (Sources Chrétiennes 494), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 232 p., ISBN 2-204-07928-6, € 27 (broché).

Hieronymus: *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, Pars I, Opera exegetica 6, *Commentarii in Epistvlam Pavli apostoli ad Galatas* cvra et stvdio Giacomo Raspanti (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina LXXVII A), Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2006, CLXXX + 315 pp., ISBN 2-503-00773-2, € 220 (cloth).

Horn, Cornelia B., *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine. The Career of Peter the Iberian* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, xx + 509 pp., ISBN 0-19-927753-2, £ 95,00 (hardback with jacket).—Impressive study that aims to contribute 'to understanding the origins of anti-Chalcedonian theology and the influence on its development, the Christian topography of the Levant, and the history of the anti-Chalcedonian movement in Palestine'.

Humphries, Mark, *Early Christianity* (Series Classical Foundations), London-New York: Routhledge 2006, xii + 276 pp., ISBN 0-415-20539-5, £ 12,99 (pb).—Professional introduction designed for those beginning the study of early Christianity, particularly students at university, written by a classical scholar.

Livre de l'Enfance du Sauveur. Une version médiévale de l'Évangile de l'Enfance du Pseudo-Mathhieu (XIIIe siècle) Introduction, traduction, commentaire et notes par Catherine Dimier-Paupert (Collection « Sagesses Chrétiennes »), Paris:

Les Éditions du Cerf 2006, 192 p., ISBN 2-204-08103-5, € 21 (pb).—Le *Livre de l'Enfance du Sauveur* est une des nombreuses versions médiévales de *L'Évangile de l'Enfance du Pseudo-Matthieu*, un écrit fondé sur la version latine du Protévangile de Jacques. Dans ce petit livre: introduction, traduction, commentaire, texte latin du *Livre de l'Enfance du Sauveur*.

McMahon, Robert, *Understanding the Medieval Meditative Ascent. Augustine, Anselm, Boethius, & Dante*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press 2006, xiv + 284 pp., ISBN 0-8132-1437-8, US$ 59.95 (hardback with jacket).

Notley, R. Steven, Marc Turnage & Brian Becker (eds.), *Jesus' Last Week. Jerusalem Studies in the Synoptic Gospels—Volume One* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 11), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, 350 pp., ISBN 90-04-14790-X, € 109/US$ 146 (hardback).—Collection of twelve studies on the topic, rather detailed but by no means exhaustive (there is no single treatment of Judas Iscariot, among others, and his name is not even mentioned), and with several flaws in the footnotes (Quebec for Québec; Schurer for Schürer; Erzahler or Erzhler for Erzähler; etc.) and in the Index (e.g. the curious conflation 'Martha Hengel', p. 62).

Pamphilus von Caesarea, *Apologia pro Origene—Apologie für Origenes*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Georg Röwekamp. (Fontes Christiani 80), Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2005, 484 S., ISBN 2-503-52148-7, € 39,16 (pb).—Neuer Band in der bewährten Reihe, mit ausführlicher Einleitung und vorzüglicher Übersetzung (die erste in deutscher Sprache von *Prologus Rufini*; *Secundum Editionem Pamphili Martyris Apologeticus pro Origene liber in Latinum translatus; Opusculum Rufini De adulteratione librorum Origenis* [Liber secundus]). Lateinischer Text des Rufin nach R. Amacker und É. Junod (*SC* 464-465).

Peterson, Erik, *Lukasevangelium und Synoptica*. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Reinhard von Bendemann (Ausgewählte Schriften, Band 5), Würzburg: Echter Verlag o.J. [2005], CVI + 446 S., ISBN 3-429-02747-0, € 58 / CHF 99 (gebunden mit Schutzumschlag).—Akribische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen über Lukas 1-9 aus den Jahren 1925/26 und 1928, mit eindrucksvoller Einleitung und Kommentierung.

Ribi, Alfred, *Eros und Abendland. Geistesgeschichte der Beziehungsfunktion*, Bern etc.: Peter Lang 2005, 380 S., ISBN 3-03910-243-5, € 56.10 (pb).—'Der Eros, die Beziehungsfunktion, hat seine ursprüngliche umfassende Bedeutung heute weitgehend verloren. Während er in der Antike noch ein weltschaffender (kosmogener) Geist war, wurde Eros mit dem Aufstreben des Christentums fast nur noch auf Sexualität reduziert'. Und so weiter und so fort, alles

pauschal interpretiert und bewertet (Kapitel 3: 'Der *Einbruch* des Christentums in die Welt der Antike', als 'eine Revolution *von unten*, der *nicht priviligierten* Bevölkerungsschicht', kursiv JvO).

Rivas Rebaque, Fernando, *Defensor pauperum. Los pobres en Basilio de Cesarea: homilías VI, VII, VIII y XIVB* (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 657), Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 2005, XXII + 667 p., ISBN 84-7914-803-9, € 35,10 (cloth with jacket).—New volume (nr. 657!) in the well-known BAC-series: a detailed analysis of Basil of Caesarea's homilies VI, VII, VIII and XIVB, with in the Appendix a Spanish translation ('Traducción castellana', 561-616) and the Greek text according to Migne (617-667).

Rosen, Klaus, *Julian. Kaiser, Gott und Christenhasser*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 2006, 569 S., ISBN 3-608-94296-3, € 32 (gebunden mit Schutzumschlag).—'Fesselnd schildert Klaus Rosen sein [sc. Julians] kurzes dramatisches Leben, das Ringen um den äußeren Bestand des Römischen Reiches und die inneren Reformen mit dem Versuch, die heidnischen Kulte wiederherzustellen'. Mit Karten und vielen Abbildungen. Der Autor ist ein wohlbekannter Althistoriker der Universität Bonn.

Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique* (Livres V-VI). Texte grec de l'édition J. Bidez – G.C. Hansen (*GCS*). Introduction et annotation par Guy Sabbah. Traduction par André-Jean Festugière et B. Grillet (Sources Chrétiennes 495), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2005, 491 p., ISBN 2-204-07918-9, € 29 (broché).

Tyconius, *Le Livre des Règles*. Introduction, traduction et notes par Jean-Marc Vercruysse (Sources Chrétiennes 488), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2004, 410 p., ISBN 2-204-07739-9, € 48 (broché).—Avec texte latin de F.C. Burkitt (Cambridge 1894, réimpr. Nendeln 1967).

Tzamalikos, P., *Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 77), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, XIII + 417 pp., ISBN 90-04-14728-4, € 147/US$ 198 (hardback).—Impressive book by an acclaimed authority of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: Preface; Abbreviations; Introduction; Part I: *Cosmology*: Ch. I: God and Time; II: The Providential Creation; III: The Fall and Creation of the World; IV: 'Beginningless World': A Myth Reconsidered; Part II: *Ontology of Time*: Ch. VI: Time Proper; VII: Prolongation of Time; VIII: Time and Causality. Conclusion. Bibliography; Indices.

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Colloque sur « L'Evangile de Judas »

Un Colloque International sur ***« L'Evangile de Judas: le contexte historique et littéraire d'un nouvel apocryphe »*** aura lieu à Paris, à l'Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, les 27-28 octobre 2006. Le but du colloque est d'éclairer par diverses approches le caractère complexe de ce texte unique et de comprendre comment il a servi de manifeste pour des communautés chrétiennes dissidentes d'orientation gnostique, établies en Egypte.

Ce colloque, auquel participeront une vingtaine de spécialistes de différents Pays, dont Marvin Meyer, Johannes van Oort et Gregor Wurst, est organisé par Madeleine Scopello, Chercheur au Centre National de la recherche Scientifique (CNRS).

Contact: Dr. M. Scopello, Chercheur au CNRS, Hdr, Université de Paris-IV Sorbonne, Centre Lenain de Tillemont, Maison de la Recherche, 28, rue Serpente, 75006 Paris, mail: madeleine.scopello@free.fr

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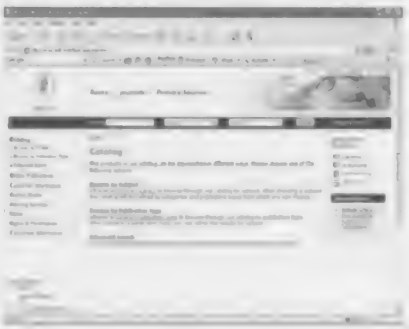

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Gregory of Nyssa, *De hom. opif.* 24 (PG 44,212D) – Greg.Nyss. *Hom. opif.* 24 (PG 44,212D).
Tertullian, *Adv.Marc.* 4,28,1 – Tert. *Adv.Marc.* 4,28,1.

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ISSN 0042-6032 (print version)
ISSN 1570-0720 (online version)

This journal is printed on acid-free paper.

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VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

LX

Vigiliae Christianae

A Review of Early Christian Life and Language

VOLUME LX

BRILL
LEIDEN • BOSTON
2006

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ISSN 0042-6032

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Vigiliae Christianae

A Review of Early Christian Life and Language

VOL. LX NO. 4 2006

ALSO AVAILABLE ONLINE
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BRILL
LEIDEN—BOSTON

VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE *a review of Early Christian Life and Language*

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SCOPE: This quarterly journal contains articles and short notices of an historical and cultural, linguistic or philological nature on Early Christian literature posterior to the New Testament in the widest sense of the word, as well as on Christian epigraphy and archaeology. Church and dogmatic history will only be dealt with if they bear directly on social history; Byzantine and Mediaeval literature only in so far as it exhibits continuity with the Early Christian period. The journal will also contain reviews of important studies, published elsewhere. Each volume appears in 4 quarterly issues.

MANUSCRIPTS: All manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Board, Professor J. den Boeft, Commanderijpoort 4-6, 2311 WB Leiden, The Netherlands. Books for review should be sent to Professor J. van Oort, Department of Ecclesiastical History, P.O. Box 80105, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands. E-mail: j.van.oort@planet.nl.

PUBLISHER: Brill Academic Publishers

PUBLISHED: Four times a year: February, May, August and November

SUBSCRIPTIONS: The subscription price of Volume 61 (2007) is EUR 243.– (US$ 309.–) for institutions, and EUR 75.– (US$ 95.–) for individuals, *inclusive of postage and handling charges*. All prices are exclusive of VAT in EU-countries (VAT not applicable outside the EU).

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only. Orders take effect with the first issue of any year. Orders may also be entered on an automatic continuing basis. Cancellations will only be accepted if they are received before October 1st of the year preceding the year in which the cancellation is to take effect. Claims for missing issues will be met, free of charge, if made within three months of dispatch for European customers and five months for customers outside Europe.

Once the issue is published the actual dates of dispatch can be found on our website: www.brill.nl.

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF BOOKS ON CLEMENT[1]

BY

ERIC OSBORN

Early in the last century, Adolf von Harnack claimed that 'Clement of Alexandria is the one, devoutly Christian and truly open-minded, theologian in the ancient church'.[2] That century has offered a rich harvest which points to Clement's two sources: scripture as ordered by kerygma, and philosophy as method and accumulated wisdom. He shares the kerygma which was set out by Irenaeus (One divine intellect, economy, recapitulation and participation) and which includes but is not confined to the threefold rule of faith. From the kerygma, the divine plan/economy dominates scripture, which Clement quotes more than 5000 times.[3] Scripture is the new Christian bible. The divine plan/economy is both a grand scheme and the continuous salvific proximity of God to humans. Philosophy is both the

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[1] E. de Faye, *Clément d'Alexandrie, étude sur les rapports du christianisme et de la philosophie grecque au IIe siècle* (Paris, 1898); John Patrick, *Clement of Alexandria* (Edinburgh and London, 1914); R.B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria: A study in Christian Liberalism*, 2 vols. (London, 1914; 1971); C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Introduction à l'étude de sa pensée religieuse à partir de l'écriture* (Paris, 1944); W. Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus* (Berlin, 1952); E.F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge, 1957); A. Méhat, *Étude sur Les 'Stromates' de Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1966); J. Bernard, *Die apologetische Methode bei Klemens von Alexandria* (Leipzig, 1968); S.R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: a study of Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford, 1971); A. Brontesi, *La soteria in Clemente Alessandrino* (Rome, 1972); D. Wyrwa, *Die christliche Platonaneignung in den Stromateis des Clemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin, 1983); A. van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and his use of Philo in the* Stromateis (Brill, 1988); D.T. Runia, *Philo in early Christian literature* (Assen, 1993); L. Rizzerio, *Clemente di Alessandria e la 'φυσιολογία veramente gnostica'. Saggio sulle origini e le implicazioni di un'epistemologia e di un'ontologia 'christiane'*, (Leuven, 1996); U. Schneider, *Theologie als christliche Philosophie* (Berlin, 1999); E. Osborn, *Clement of Alexandria* (Cambridge, 2005).

[2] 'Clemens Alexandrinus ist der einzige christlich fromme und wahrhaft freisinnige Theologe gewesen, den die alte kirche besessen hat'. A. von Harnack, 'Der "Eros" in der alten christlichen Literatur', SBA 1918, I, 88. See Völker, 69

[3] J.A. Brooks, 'Clement of Alexandria as a witness to the development of the New Testament canon', *SecCent* 9 (1992), 47 reckons 5121 references.

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 367-388

practice of argument and the intellectual inheritance of Greek philosophy. Each of these two sources—scripture and philosophy—has emerged in the contrapuntal contributions concerning Clement of the last century.

De Faye. Gospel and philosophy

Clement began the twentieth century with three books, which set the stage for subsequent work. The first was that of De Faye (1898), who produced what he saw as a preliminary skirmish. He explored the relation between Christianity and Greek philosophy in the second century. Clement had been a man of transition and indeed the true creator of ecclesiastical theology. The time was not ripe to prepare a complete study of his thought. But an introduction would clarify his problems, which were of three kinds: literary, historic and dogmatic. The literary problem concerned the *Stromateis*: what did this disordered work achieve? The problem of history was to establish the relation of Clement and his ideas to other Christians at the time. The dogmatic question was to discover the extent of the influence of Greek philosophy on Clement. The *Stromateis* were the most important and most obscure work to emerge from the church in the second and third centuries (45); they cannot represent the final stage of Clement's work and we must conclude that Clement never achieved his projected work on the *Didascalus*, which would have resembled the *De Principiis* of Origen (83).[4] The *Stromateis* do not declare the great mysteries as Clement had intended (99). Yet he could neither avoid the questions concerning God and the logos, the universe, moral principles of morality, nor remain with the simple faith of the believers. He wanted a philosophy, which could stand alongside that of the Greeks (100). So the Stromateis are a first draft. Clement's verve carries him through the repetitions, digressions and parentheses (109). He hoped to write a more systematic work, but probably death prevented him from achieving his goal; he did not have time to revise and correct his work (110f). Clement's writing is directed against Gnostics, Greek philosophers and those who refuse to move beyond a simple faith, the *simpliciores* (147). In philosophy, he remains eclectic because his own moral and religious faith governs his philosophical choice (157, 8). Philosophy never loses its lower place; it was a preparation for the gospel and remains subordinate to it (175). *Yet what philosophy here offers is less a set of opinions than a method of ratio-*

[4] This claim though once common would now be rejected by most.

nal argument, the true dialectic, which Clement takes from Plato and applies to his Christian faith (179). At the same time he knows the moral teaching of the philosophers and sees in them a preparation for the teaching of the gospel (182). Indeed, philosophy became more influential on his ideas than he was prepared to allow (183), for he presents a philosophical account of faith and shows how it is tied to the pursuit of knowledge. His idea of God, of the person of Christ and of the true gnostic, all show a respect for philosophy as well as a dependence on scripture. Both the rationality and the mysticism of philosophy influence Clement to produce a form of Christianity, which differs from that of Tertullian and Cyprian.[5] Regrettably, in the history of the church, the way of Carthage and Rome took precedence over that of Alexandria. De Faye was wrong in looking for a system; he was right in identifying the importance of Clement's Platonic method, the true dialectic.

Patrick. Clement as theologian

These lectures were delivered in 1900 but not published until 1914. They set Clement's ideas in order. Taking his bearings from Clement's use of the bible, Patrick asked the questions concerning God, the person and work of Christ, ethics and the place of scripture. His account is remarkable for its coherent detail, which covers all that historical theology could wish. Clement's historical priority is affirmed. Clement is 'the first Christian teacher to find a place in his system of thought for all forms of truth' (33). Clement oscillates between philosophy and Christian theology (65). God 'knows existent things as his own volitions' which have been realised and are his work (74). He is absolute first principle and alone unbegotten (78). Yet he is not the cause of evils which result from human freedom (94f). God is a trinity and the incarnation is central (99); all this is presented to win over the educated Greek.

Clement's theology is marked by the doctrine of the Word. 'He found in it the key to a right conception of God, of nature, of history, and of man' (137). Ethics begin from a high conception of humanity as a plant of heavenly origin (142) and follow the twofold ideal of faith and gnosis (150) which tries to rescue gnosis from 'the degradation which had fallen upon it' (186). Allegorical exegesis is justified by the divine origin of scripture (207). The

---

[5] Tertullian cannot be classified in this way. He was profoundly influenced by classical thought. See J.C. Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris, 1972).

four Gospels are acknowledged and Paul is the apostle *par excellence.* Patrick skilfully analyses Clement's main works in appendices to the book.

Tollinton. Open, liberal theology. Variety of divine economy

Simultaneously (1914) with Patrick, Tollinton published his popular two volumes to claim Clement as a liberal rather than a radical theologian.[6] His account is motivated by an uncritical sense of affinity between author and subject. Clement did not look at the darker realities of life and left 'a memorable example of Christian serenity and high trust in goodness, knowledge and the power of love' (2/255). He had his limitations but 'he believed in truth and knowledge. He had no theological bitterness, he welcomed all good things as he found them' (2/262). All men are not like this, but Clement stands with 'Homer, Shakespeare, Erasmus, Goethe rather than with Aeschylus, Paul, Luther, Milton' (2/271). (This obscures the primacy of Paul in Clement's thought; Clement took his epistemology and soteriology from Paul, the '*theios apostolos*' i.e. appointed directly by God and not through the incarnate Christ). Tollinton senses common ground with his subject, and Clement is introduced into the English race and the English church, for 'in his distrust of extremes, in his love of peace, in his reverent and sober piety, he anticipates some of the best religious characteristics of our race' (2/283).[7] Tollinton's assessment has been the source of much mirth over the years, yet it is probable that without this, he would not have finished the readable, limited synthesis of Clement's ideas, which he presents.

Alexandria provided Clement with a setting where he could think and write creatively (22). He could unite a wide range of experience, join sound learning with true religion and follow a disinterested quest for truth (30). Clement's city and Clement's school are discussed in detail (47). His was the world of Galen whose scientific method was so advanced (178). He chose the literary form of the *Stromateis*, which was in vogue, for Aulus Gellius, Plutarch and Origen all wrote in this way (187). Opinions differ as to whether the *Stromateis* are the promised *Didascalus.* Tollinton cannot regard them as Clement's ultimate achievement but recognises the presence of his

[6] 'freisinnig', Harnack's term (see above note 2) can have both meanings: open-minded or liberal in Tollinton's narrow twentieth-century sense of antidogmatic.

[7] Churchill, the most memorable Englishman of the century, would not qualify as English on Tollinton's definition.

most profound thoughts within them (192). The *Stromateis* are unfinished probably because Clement grew more conscious as he proceeded that an exposition of complete and final truth 'lies beyond the achievement of any single human mind' (194). His appeal to the educated finds its chief support in Plato and its chief obstacle in persuading his readers to move on from their inherited culture and morals (218). Moral issues of the *Paedagogus* precede the intellectual issues of the *Stromateis* (242). Against the power of riches, sex, food and drink, Clement advocates simplicity and restraint. He writes at length of marriage, children and a Christian home, 'a home-life founded on religion' (283). Emancipation of women had gained some ground, and Clement brings Christian arguments in its favour (286). In the *Paedagogus*, Clement appears as a man of great versatility, described by Bigg as 'a most unusual type of cleric' (246). Clement is readily assimilated in all his values to the character of a gentleman (264).

In his ideas the logos takes precedence because through the logos, truth is brought together (335). Yet this unifying concept is not his final word about God, who is beyond plurality and joined to the world by his logos. Here the problem of mediation between the one and the many provides a challenge beyond logical solution, 'but what is logically without solution is sometimes a commonplace of spiritual experience. If men know anything of God, they know that he is far and near at once' (338). In his account of the incarnation, Clement holds on to Paul, John and the Letter to the Hebrews, and stands between them and the great councils of the fourth century (2/2). He is definite on the fact of the incarnation, but indefinite concerning its mode and implications (2/8). His freedom is tied to an insistence that *God had variously appeared to mankind in his economy of salvation.* His openness is valuable: he tries to bring together many different currents and accounts (2/28).

Clement did not like controversy, yet Gnosticism was a challenge which he could not ignore (2/35). Despite his criticisms, he qualifies his judgement and can sometimes praise the Gnostic position (2/48). Proof from scripture is final: 'he who believes in the divine scripture and is possessed of sure judgement, receives as incontrovertible demonstration the voice of God who bestowed the scriptures' (2/194). Clement applies the term 'prophetic scriptures' to the whole of the Old Testament, for Moses, David and Solomon are classified as prophets; they include hints and anticipation of the Christian dispensation (2/198). Clement most frequently quotes from the Gospels the teaching and words of the Lord (2/202). The use of allegory enabled him to join scripture together in harmony and to universalise what belonged to a particular time and place.

Tollinton, in his singleness of mind, did not see Clement's problems, but he popularised Clement's theology and linked it with the divine economy.[8]

Mondésert. Supremacy of scripture and divine economy

In contrast, Mondésert produced, in war-time France, a small and penetrating book. He later added to our knowledge of Clement through texts and translations in *Sources Chrétiennes*, which series was his enterprise and achievement. Later still, A. Le Boulluec extended and confirmed this contribution as the chief advance in the studies on Clement for the century. Through these editions the argument of Clement, as a thinker, stands out with fresh clarity; it is from his argument that Clement is understood.

Mondésert rightly takes scripture as the basis of Clement's thought. Clement's esoterism has no other secret than the sublime scriptural mysteries, which he pursues through prayerful meditation and imparts with the help of Platonic dialectic (61). He makes the language of the bible his own (71). Scripture possesses supreme authority and mysterious form (81): 'a wisdom which is a knowledge of things divine and human, a sure intelligence which is firm and indestructible, which holds together all things present, past and future; this wisdom the lord has taught us by his presence and his prophets' (*str* 6.7.54f). This revelation has been lived out in history (87). Found in the mysterious forms of enigma, allegory, parable and symbol (88), it brings the reader into contact with God and his logos (95), always requiring mental effort and philosophical awareness (112). Scripture interprets scripture, with impartiality and with respect for the mass of inherited exposition (127-9).

A linear sytem is never a possibility. 'S'il y a une terminologie compliquée et anarchique, c'est bien celle qui concerne les divers sens possibles de l'Ecriture'.[9] Mondésert even removes one simplification by showing the slender debt which Clement owes to Philo: 'au fond, il lui doit assez peu'; for Clement presents 'un usage beaucoup plus large et beaucoup plus varié, qui témoigne une intelligence de la Bible beaucoup plus pénétrante'.[10]

Clement's theology begins from the economy ('l'histoire religieuse de l'humanité') which centres in the incarnation (188): 'la lutte morale, les

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[8] Much was written in the next three decades on the literary problems in Clement. The controversy was summed up by Méhat (1966).

[9] Mondésert, *Clément*, 153.

[10] *Ibid.*, 183.

recherches religieuses, les énigmes de la vie et de la destinée humaines trouvent leur réponse dans la rédemption, dans l'illumination, la perfection, le salut, et finalement l'apocatastase' (190). Humanity is like a single human being. ἀνθρωπότης is a frequent word and dominant concept (192). Reciprocal love of God for humanity brings unity to the economy, which the kerygma proclaims (196-8; *paed* 1.3.7-9). The cosmos is brought into harmony by the one divine logos (*prot* 1.6). 'Toutes ces diverses thèses, qui paraissent, à prémiere vue, dans son oeuvre, éparses, fortuites et sans lien entre elles, supposent au contraire, la ferme persistance et la présence latente *d'une vaste conception d'ensemble de l'oeuvre unique—de création et de salut—du Dieu unique*' (207). This vast conception is that of the divine economy. Clement is cited: 'the economy inaugurated by the saviour has produced a kind of universal movement and change' (213; *str* 6.6.47.1). From this has come the newness of the gospel and salvation, a newness, which Clement celebrates as no other writer, does (217; *prot* 11.114); consequently his apologetic is marked by optimism (236).

Mondésert sums up the achievement of Clement as a blend of intellectual audacity and reserve, from an intellectual who is ardently devout, a Platonist and biblical theologian who unites the cultures of Jerusalem and Athens (267).[11] More forcefully than most, he insists on rich coherence rather than simple system.

Völker. Evangelical piety and perfection

Clement, Völker argues, has taken elements from many contexts and inserted them into a new Christian structure. The evangelical motif acts like a magnet on scattered particles to give them a new order.

Völker begins from Clement's Alexandrian situation, problems with *simpliciores* who want no philosophy and with philosophers who denigrate Christian faith. The summit of his writing is his description of the ideal Christian, the true sage, who embodies the gospel. Regrettably, Clement lacks a fixed terminology (13) and symbolism points to hidden meanings (16). His bible is the source of revelation and the best example of symbolic writing (18).

---

[11] T. Camelot produced a lucid study of Clement's epistemology of faith and knowledge: Foi et Gnose. *Introduction à l'étude de la connaissance mystique chez Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1945).

Clement's difficult style and many sources add further burdens. The dispute over whether the *Stromateis* are the promised *Didascalus* is, says Völker, a mistake. His interpreters have wanted to find in Clement an exact system such as they might expect from a modern author (33).[12] Völker aims to present clearly Clement's ideal of a Christian life. In spite of all ambiguities, contradictions and obscurities, Clement has a clear, well-defined understanding of Christian piety (73). Völker argues for rich coherence rather than linear system.

The fight against sin takes the first step towards perfection. Sin is offence against God, and Clement's account of God begins from his goodness and love. God is a God of *philanthrôpia*. Negative theology is balanced by the positive theology of love; the goodness of God is consistent with his justice (84). The economy of salvation takes many forms (85), and spreads from the individual through history and to all creation (90). Clement's negative theology comes from Philo and has little influence on his Christian piety (95). The divine word educates man throughout the history of salvation (101-104), which is governed by a theology of the cross. Clement develops the idea of 'image and likeness' in his own way, making 'image' the conscience which is always present and 'likeness' that which is developed. The image is never separable from the believer (114). To the likeness of God is tied freedom of will, so that God and man work together for the good life (115); synergy provides the structure of the moral life (123).

The slow ascent to perfection begins with faith (220),[13] whence the moral life proceeds (254). Clement brings together a mass of Stoic terms and gives them a new focus (264). The more one reads Clement, the more one is amazed by the unity of his thought. From beginning to end, he is concerned with direction by God's spirit and a closer following of Christ (300).

Knowledge is identified with wisdom (309, 382). Vision or *theôria* is added as another synonym (316). The sage, the *gnôstikos*, is the man in Christ (327) who learns and from scripture and tradition (354). Knowledge is gained by the mind (365) and the movement from faith to knowledge eludes transposition into any modern vocabulary (379). The objects of knowledge are the *noêta*, the 'forms' of Plato and the 'powers' of the bible, which have already

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[12] Völker clearly had not met any philosophers, who nursed 'strong dislike—amounting almost to hatred in the case of Wittgenstein—of all overarching theories and singular schemes of explanation'. Q. Skinner, *The return of Grand Theory to the Human Sciences* (Cambridge, 1985), 12.

[13] Clement's account of faith differs from that of Philo (250).

been joined in Philo. Christ and his promises comprise this divine realm of intellectual objects, which are the sum of theology (392). To know them is to become *isaggelos*, present with the Lord who sees all things in an unbroken vision (403), which is supported by constant prayer. How far it is proper to call Clement a 'mystic' depends on current definition (427). Clement's vision, in its unity and transcendence, remains the Johannine personal vision of divine glory. The goal of assimilation to God is deification (434), where Clement combines yearning for God, life, immortality and joy (442). Perfection joins knowledge and works (44). This blending of word, thought and deed is again Stoic, but transformed by Clement (455), for all is of grace (458). Courage (*andreia*) colours every part of Clement's good life (473). His Stoic concepts are infused with the blood of *agapê* (479). This he has drawn from the Johannine Gospel and Epistle (481) to achieve a synthesis, which Nygren foolishly failed to see (484). Love joins all the virtues (kindness, forgetfulness of evil, mercy, fulfilling all the law) (491). As in the Sermon on the Mount, 1 Cor. 13 and John, love is the imitation of God through the imitation of Christ (496). The unchanging disposition of love accepts and reshapes the Stoic virtues in the portrait of the true gnostic (507). Joy, as in Stoic ethics, is rounded off by a rest in God (519). Divergences from Stoic ethics may be noted in forgetfulness of wrong and the continuing newness of Christian life. The imitation of angelic glory is part of a universal movement towards God and contrasts with Stoic individualism. *Apatheia* is the removal of all *epithumia*, and is linked to the eucharist, to the cross and to the wonder of God in Christ.

By the imitation of God in Christ, each Christian becomes part of the history of salvation and is made divine and equal to an angel (604). Clement's coherence is shaped by the gospel. The kerygma is applied to the whole bible and philosophy plays a subordinate role.

Osborn. Coherence of Clement

My first book on Clement, written from a background of analytic philosophy, aimed to identify the questions for which Clement sought answers. His reluctance to propound a system was always a virtue, for 'the philosopher—unless he be a very bad philosopher—does not set out to construct a system, what he is trying to do is to solve problems.'[14] Clement asked first,

[14] John Passmore, 'The idea of a history of philosophy', *HThS* 5(1965), 27.

'What is God like?' and 'What is the good life?' and 'How is truth known?' Clement's answers followed the pattern of Plato's *Parmenides* (one and one-many). God was for Clement the simple transcendent One and the world was a complex unity, which depended on him through his logos. God the father was a simple unity (one and nothing but one). God the son was a complex unity (one and many). The same pattern was found in ethics where the unique goodness of God was the source of the manifold goodness of men. In logic, the rule of faith, a simple body of basic beliefs, flowed into the manifold unity of truth, which included all human knowledge. Clement stood up to this analysis; the richness of his grasp of God was never impaired by his logic. His many sources pointed to a mind of critical subtlety, which argued for a deeper unity than most interpreters had seen. Dualism was never an answer to the intimate nearness and transcendent wonder of God. Philosophy showed the way in which Clement thought and what he did with the mass of stuff he integrated.

Previous writers had doubted or denied Clement's synthesis of his variegated sources. Völker had argued that his account of Christian faith and perfection fitted together but his philosophy did not. The conclusion that Clement achieved coherence between his philosophical, literary and biblical sources was a forward step.[15] Sadly, some readers wanted to believe in systems and wrongly identified Clement's philosophising with a linear system.

Méhat. Literary structure

From Méhat came thorough literary investigation of Clement's *Stromateis*. He began by reviewing earlier theories. De Faye saw Clement as synthetic rather than analytic and the *Stromateis* as a parenthesis between the second work of the trilogy and the unwritten third work. Bousset produced an analysis based on supposed sources of Clement, which were lecture notes. Munck found in the *Stromateis* a miscellany or *Buntschreiberei*. Clement, he claimed, intended, but did not complete, two trilogies: firstly, the *Protrepticus* and the *Paedagogus* and a work for simple believers, and secondly, *Stromateis* One to Three and Four to Seven and a 'Physiology'. Lazzati argued that the *Stromateis* were lecture notes, which Clement took down but did not

[15] Lilla was able to pursue a fuller exploration of contemporary sources and Wyrwa was to show that beyond these sources Plato himself was part of Clement's rich coherence.

revise. Méhat rejected these accounts and insisted that the work is not haphazard but written according to a clear plan which is appropriate to Clement's position as a teacher in Alexandria. It is driven by a passion to impart the tradition or gospel. The basic unit of the *Stromateis* is the 'small chapter', which is arranged according to a total plan. Clement collects his little chapters and edits them into an observable sequence. They are directed to different audiences: the unlearned pagan, the unlearned Christian, educated people, philosophers, and finally Jews and heretics. The diversity of Clement's audience explains the diversity of the *Stromateis* (293). The greater part of this audience consists of educated people, who are not philosophers but have some acquaintance with philosophy (327).

The conclusions of Méhat's vast work may be set out. The *Stromateis* may be classed with the miscellanies written by Aulus Gellius and Athenaeus, but have a different purpose. They follow an ordered plan and aim to prove the truth of their doctrine. They are better understood by the second description in their title as 'notes'. The joining of notes into a large philosophical work may also be seen in Plotinus and Sextus Empiricus. Notes are dominated by a current, which flows through them. The reader is constantly brought back to the same points so that he may see them with increasing clarity. We know that Clement has direct access to the bible and to Philo; his knowledge of other works may come from contemporary *florilegia.* The *Stromateis* are a work of instruction, and have their faults, errors and passions. Clement shows a sense of resignation for, 'knowledge is not in all', but his dominant motif is one of hope as he pushes on. Méhat describes his thought as a 'grande métaphysique de la charité' (537).[16]

Bernard, Clement as apologist

In contrast to Méhat, the distinction of Bernard's work began from the actuality of Clement for a theologian working in Eastern Europe. Others were to write rubbish about the irrelevance of early Christian thought to contemporary apologetic, because they imagined that stuff could be cleanly lifted from one context to another, although history of ideas has never worked in that way. Bernard stayed in Eastern Germany by choice and his

[16] He applauds the verdict of Tollinton that Clement is a liberal, whose *Stromateis* present a fine example of 'open theology'; both fail to grasp Clement's theological intentions as set out by Mondésert.

academic life was given to apologetic in the widest sense. He found the second century to be a major source.[17] Clement's apologetic went behind particular objections to basic problems, for in his critique of polytheism, he explored both origins and consequences and went on to argue from Greek sources that one personal God exists. Zeus is dead and the light of the divine word has come to all. Philosophy was needed before the coming of Christ and its usefulness (within limits) remains. For philosophy, like everything else, was perfected in Christ according to the principle: the perfection of Greek *paideia* through the *logos paidagôgos*, who became man, and that man might become God. As Clement's interpreters see persistently, the argument against Gnosticism begins from the divine plan/economy (169), which governs the creation and redemption of humanity. Dualism is wrong not just because it goes against scripture and denies one God, but because it denies the worth of physical creation and the integrity of a human person (169). As an apologist, Clement both related the truth of the gospel to the Greek world and took over elements of Greek culture, which the gospel could use. He cannot be understood from philological *Quellenforschung*. His optimism has deep roots in the openness of humanity to God, *analogia entis, potentia oboedentialis* and *desiderium naturale* for God. His apologetic is concerned to win over rather than to rebut opponents (204).

Lilla. Philosophical sources

Lilla shows abundantly how the Middle Platonist world, to which Clement belonged, contributed many elements to Christian thought. Against Völker, he insists that Clement's ethics come from philosophy. The two stages, in which passion is first moderated and then removed, reflect an agreement between Clement, Philo and Neo-Platonism (104). Philo, Middle Platonism and Neo-Platonism in their syncretism of Platonic, Stoic and Aristotelian elements influence Clement's ethics. Clement's highest ideal goes beyond that of his contemporaries: assimilation to God is achieved through the activity of the divine logos (113).

In his epistemology, Clement is again dependent on philosophy. Faith is defined in three ways: it is the means by which first principles of demonstration are grasped, the conviction which comes at the end as well as the

[17] Bernard translated my *The beginning of Christian philosophy* (Cambridge, 1981) and Peter Brown's *Augustine of Hippo* into German because he saw their relevance to the apologetic situation in East Germany.

beginning of a scientific demonstration, and the way in which simple believers receive the truth of scripture. Clement's ideal of *gnôsis* begins from the symbolic nature of scripture and a secret tradition. The logos is the teacher of knowledge and calls to a life of contemplation within the intelligible world. Preparatory disciplines in philosophy prepare for knowledge and the allegory of the entrance of the high priest into the holy of holies points to the ascent of the gnostic soul and its deification (143). Vision is the highest knowledge. Here there are clear roots in Philo, *Phaedo, Symposium, Phaedrus, Republic.* Alcinous (*did.* 153.18-20) speaks in much the same way as does Clement (7.7.46.4) and Maximus of Tyre (*Or.* 10.56a). Plotinus and Philo speak in a similar way.

Clement does not merely wish to follow the language of pagan philosophers in order to convert them. 'He wanted to transform his religious faith into a monumental philosophical system, to which he allotted the task of reflecting the absolute truth'. So he 'considered the best doctrines of Greek philosophy as practically one and the same thing with the highest aspect of Christianity since they, according to him, had been originated by the divine logos' (232). Lilla is a gifted doxographer who pays little attention to the way Clement uses the concepts he borrows.[18] His linear philological account and its system are clear examples of this inadequate approach.

Brontesi. The economy of salvation

Remarkably, another Italian scholar produced, almost simultaneously with Lilla, the longest (773 pages) book on Clement, which indicated how Clement used his many sources in rich coherence. The economy of salvation shapes Clement's thought: 'la salvezza è tutto' (237). The one creator God saves over many times and places, and sends his son as universal saviour. A similar unity marks the assimilation of the believer because faith and knowledge are indivisible: 'imitare Dio significa dunque *unificare* la propria realtà molteplice attorno al *logos*, facendo prevalere in se stessi l'attività logica . . . l'attività *logica* è salvifica perché è incontro con il Logos salvatore' (601).

[18] Strangely, Lilla claims that Clement was connected directly through Pantaenus with Gnostic ideas. 'In fact Christian Gnosticism must be regarded as the source of the Christian element which enabled Clement to give a satisfactory solution to these Neoplatonic problems' (234).

Clement offers a vast wealth of topics for research (una vastità feconda) and a correct perspective is necessary.[19] Brontesi performs a great service by establishing the centrality of the kerygma of salvation apart from which the writings of Clement would not have come into existence.[20] Soteriology points to anthropology, which is central in Clement. There is anthropocentrism for several reasons: anthropocentric Stoic philosophy dominates the second century[21] and Clement's Greek disposition sees man as the measure of all things. His comprehensive soteriology breaks the limits of humanity in a free encounter between man and God. 'Even when salvation is seen as God's gift, Clement's attention is fixed on human attitudes and reactions' (611). Yet salvation brings coherence to Clement's account of knowledge, christology, ecclesiology as well as to the relations of man to the cosmos, to God and other humans.[22] For salvation is the passion of God as it is of humans, especially Clement (611).[23]

Wyrwa. Back to Plato

This book challenges the short-cut, which identified Clement's account with that of Middle Platonism. Wyrwa offers an argued case to the contrary. Clement depends on Plato himself, and while he is aware of later interpreters, his use of Plato is distinctive. For all his contact with Middle Platonic tradition, Clement makes his own way. He follows no Platonic predecessor with any consistency and is aware of interpreters who do not stand in the Platonic tradition. His common ground with Middle Platonic negative theology is clear, but on many points he stands in direct contradiction. He argues that Plato himself gave to the barbarian philosophy the higher

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[19] Which Lilla did not have. Clement used philosophy against Gnosticism as did Plotinus, but knew nothing of Neoplatonism.

[20] The purpose of his book is 'individuare il motivo profondo (= soteriologico), tolto il quale il *Corpus* clementino non sarebbe'. 610.

[21] Brontesi favours the perspective of Pohlenz.

[22] An account of Clement's theology might follow, says Brontesi (611), the model of A. Orbe. *Antropologia de San Ireneo* (Madrid, 1969). The excellence of Orbe's book and that of Brontesi would be further enhanced if they were halved in size.

[23] In 1973 R. Mortley published a useful account of Clement's epistemology, *Connaissance religieuse et herméneutique chez Clément d'Alexandrie* (Leiden, 1973). In 1977 a valuable study of Clement's philosophical method appeared: Apostolopoulou, G. *Die Dialektik bei Klemens von Alexandria: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der philosophischen Methoden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1977).

authority; he denies that matter is a first principle and thereby abandons the 'three principles doctrine'. He denies the eternity of the world and assumes a literal interpretation of the creation story in the *Timaeus*. His eschatological interpretation of assimilation to God and his claim that Plato recommended *apatheia*, are both inconsistent with Middle Platonism. His high valuation of faith and grace can find no place among pagan Platonists and such direct claims as that Christ is the difficult sacrifice necessary for knowledge are all in contradiction to any Platonic tradition. His special concern is to bring Plato into agreement with orthodox Christianity and he turns to the text of Plato for his justification. Doxographical lists can obscure the fact that Clement is saying something new and that the centre of his theology is linked to the ideas of Plato himself. The two central themes of Clement's theology are the revelation of the transcendent God and the future perfection of creation at the eschaton (320). The second point is reached from a variety of claims. The world remains God's creation and his grace is extended to bring redemption and perfection; God's *paideia* culminates in the revelation of Christ. 'Christ is the redeemer and teacher who forgives sins and who reveals spiritual truth' (321). While the believer may turn to inner truth, he never despises the body which is God's creation; for it may used for spiritual progress towards God. The ascent of the knower anticipates the eschaton, and after death he receives, purified by fire, a refined body, and goes on to higher places. Spiritual growth is possible to the end of time, when those who are complete will find perfect sonship and eternal rest in the vision of God (322).

Wyrwa usefully identifies the Platonic material, its transmission, Clement's interpretation, its function within the context of Clement's ideas, and finally the total relation of Clement to Plato (2). In the dispute over whether Clement used Plato himself or merely collections of Platonic material, a decision in favour of Plato's original text is made. Only one fifth of Clement's citations from Plato are to be found in the florilegium of Johannes Stobaeus (5)!

Van den Hoek. Clement and Philo

The relation of Philo and Clement has long been a puzzle. Why did Clement use (without acknowledgement) so much of a writer who knew nothing of those things with which Clement was most concerned? On this question we have moved a long way in the last century. First, Clement has been included in a magisterial work concerning the place of Philo in early

Christian thought.[24] Clement's many citations are not misleading but display both an affinity and a drastic change between the two writers.

Secondly, a careful study classifies and examines at length Clement's citations of Philo.[25] Four major sequences are examined: Hagar and Sarah (23-47), the story of Moses (49-68), the law and the virtues (69-115), temple vestments and the high priest (116-147). Four short sequences show equal if not greater penetration (148-176).[26] The conclusion is well justified: 'Philo however was his (Clement's) master in the use and interpretation of the Pentateuch, skills that other traditions did not provide. In addition, Philo's vision that made it possible to link philosophical concepts with the biblical message was of great influence; this vision itself must be considered as "a step of monumental significance in the history of thought, a step with greater consequences for the development of philosophy and religion than its author could possibly have foreseen".[27] On this track Philo found a follower in Clement; the latter hungrily swallowed Philo's words and eagerly absorbed his thoughts; he used Philo's inventions and misused them to provide his own. Many of the twisting threads of Clement's theological thinking are taken from Philo but they are woven into a very different tapestry' (229f).

Yet the relation between Clement and Philo has been drastically reopened in a recent article. The golden thread, which runs through Clement, is Christ as the power and wisdom of God. The divine plan moves to God's final wisdom and power in the son, the divine love measures equally the wisdom and power of Father and Son, and the new creation springs from faith in Christ as wisdom and from his salvation as power.[28]

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[24] D.T. Runia, *Philo in early Christian literature* (Assen, 1993).

[25] A. van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and his use of Philo in the Stromateis* (Brill, 1988).

[26] 'The first and the last sequence deal with the problem of the knowledge of God and with the anthropomorphic way of speaking about God found in the Bible. The second sequence describes the ascent of the Gnostic soul on its way to contemplation . . . The third sequence deals with the Gnostic soul in its relationship to God' (148).

[27] Cited from D. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato* (Leiden, 1986), 544.

[28] See David T. Runia 'Clement of Alexandria and the Philonic doctrine of the divine powers', *Vig Chr* 58,3,2004, 256-276. Clement's thought comes together in the Pauline concept of the power and wisdom of God. The divine powers of Philo are joined together in Christ and united with the father in one God (*Ibid.*, 261, 265) 'God is knowable, but only through his power, which Clement does not connect with divine forces in the cosmos, but with the knowledge that comes through the Son' (*Ibid.*, 267). For Philo the divine power is mediated through the logos who 'measures' it so that humanity is not destroyed by its excess but aided by its fine tuning (*opif* 23). 'Clement has combined fea-

Here Philo illuminates Clement, especially when Clement deviates from him.

Rizzerio. Physiology as ultimate mystery

Rizzerio has drawn attention to the centre of Clement's thought in his truly gnostic physiology (ἡ τῷ ὄντι γνωστικὴ φυσιολογία) where dialectic joins the God of philosophers with the God of the bible and unites philosophy with the divine logos.[29] Wisdom is gained only by dialectic, purification and a harmony of soul with the cosmos.[30] Clement will not separate ascetic practice and dialectic. Physiology had begun as knowledge of the natural world but became the interpretation of phenomena as signs of transcendent reality. Myth and reality (μῦθος, φύσις) reflected the distinction between appearance and reality. Plutarch and others found cosmology in myths and religious rites; sacred symbols pointed to the physiology of the cosmos. Clement claims authority and precision when he speaks of the truly gnostic physiology which depends on the divine logos.[31] His true dialectic finds the form beyond particulars and goes on to the ultimate form. Metaphor and allegory lead to dialectic, since the νοητά are traces of God in the world. True gnosis and physiology[32] culminate in vision (ἐποπτεία) of the first principle where all is seen through the divine logos. For the final step of *via negativa* is submersion in the magnitude of Christ which leads to holiness. Scripture is the path to final mystery and simplicity.[33]

Schneider. Theology as Christian Philosophy

For Schneider, Christian philosophy is Clement's interpretation of the bible. Plato gives rational structure; the bible gives flesh and blood to his concepts.

For Clement the economy is the criterion by which other philosophy is tested and a gathering point for parts of pagan philosophy. On the way to Christ, philosophy was given as a covenant to the Greeks (101) and the new

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tures of Philonic thought—the twin powers of goodness and justice, the role of the Logos as measurer—into a new theology centred on divine love shared by Father and Son.'

[29] Rizzerio, 291.

[30] *Ibid.*, 295.

[31] Rizzerio, *Ibid.*, 299.

[32] Rizzerio, *Ibid.*, 302.

[33] Rizzerio, *Ibid.*, 312.

covenant fulfils philosophy as it does the bible (111), bringing all to the unity of faith (*str* 6.106f; 113). The gospel unites Jew and Greek in one covenant under God, even reaching back to those who lived before the coming of Christ through the preaching of Christ in Hades (113).

In scripture the one covenant is found in many forms (123). Allegory lifts interpretation to a higher level and symbolism brings a multiplication of meanings. The mysteries of scripture are hidden and must be protected by concealment (130). Here Clement draws on Plato and sees philosophy as a protection as well as a clarification for scriptural truth. The *Stromateis* engage the reader in dialogue as Plato had done (139). In scripture, concealment is found obviously in the law, less in the prophets and less again in John the Baptist, who prepares the way for direct revelation in Christ. The divine economy makes sense of the bible (152).

The final section of Clement's thought concerns the perfection of the Christian (225). In contrast to Gnosticism. Clement affirms both humanity and creation. The optimism of *Heilsgeschichte* corrects any negative overtones which might be detected in Plato. Dualism has no place. Bible and philosophy point to one world in which the true gnostic rises to perfection (231).

Osborn. The kerygma of one God, his economy and salvation through faith

My own recent book, which must be seen as a post-script to the hundred years, elucidates the problems, which Clement faced.

Kerygma and economy. A rational plan of divine movement is declared in scripture and fulfilled in Christ. Clement asks: Can this plan offer coherent answers to questions about God, freedom and immortality? How do we move from narrative and oracle to philosophy and morals?

One God. Scripture proclaimed one God. How can Father and Son be one God? How can the logos both be God and be with God? Clement's exposition of John's answer to this question has not been surpassed: the word is within (Jn 1:18) and beside God (Jn 1:1).

Faith and salvation. Paul offered salvation by faith. How can faith be the one way to truth and what is the salvation, which redeems and preserves mankind? How can knowledge be subordinate to faith?

Clement's response to the three problems is governed by three major concepts: divine plan/economy, reciprocity, and salvation by faith. Everything, he says, is ordered by '*the goodness of the only, one, true, almighty God, from age to age saving by the son*' (7.2.12). *Faith is the one universal salvation of mankind* (*paed* 1.6.30).

1. *The rational divine plan is discerned by dialectic.* The ever-coherent economy culminates in Christ and his universal offer of salvation through faith. Moses gave the law, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. In the same plan, philosophy was given to the Greeks to prepare them for Christ and to make scripture clear to all. Irenaeus had shown how the kerygma could be proved from scripture and had claimed that there was nothing incongruent in the divine economy (*haer* 3.16.7). Clement makes the same claim (*str* 7.15.91), Marcion plainly showed that there was great inconsistency and in modern times, Harnack has claimed that there is too much in the Old Testament that conflicts with the New for the former to retain canonical status for Christians. Clement cracked this problem with Paul's drastic 'letter/spirit' hermeneutic and allegorical interpretation. Only incarnation and cross should be taken literally; everything else, as Paul had claimed, should be interpreted by reference to them. From the divine economy came the true dialectic whereby scripture presented the world of forms to be investigated with all the tools of logic under the criterion of the cross. Only thus did God's saving plan (as revealed in scripture) present a coherent account of divine activity. The movement of the divine plan, which culminates in Christ, resembles the forms of Plato, which consummate in the form of the good. Just as dialectic is used to find how forms lead to higher forms, so it shows how the divine economies discerned in scripture become one economy governed by God in Christ. To lift verses of scripture out of this plan of salvation destroys their context and meaning. True dialectic and true philosophy must work together.

2. *One God* 'saving by the Son'. One God was the starting point of the kerygma. Paul had found it possible to believe in one God, if and only if, Christ were also God. He became a monotheist, when he became a Christian. For John, one God meant reciprocity of Father and Son. To many this crucial move was and is mysterious: do not Christians have two Gods?[34] Following John, Clement claims that the one God is marked by reciprocal love. Always, the Word was with God and was God (Jn 1:1). No one comes to the Father but by the Son (Jn 14:6) and no one comes to the Son unless the Father draws him (Jn 6:44). Reciprocity works on three levels: between Father and Son, between God and every human person, between human and human (Q.D.S.37).

The mystery of divine love between Father and Son makes God knowable and accessible to humans in love. Clement shows how the Platonic

[34] See Origen, *Dialogue with Heraclides*, 120-30.

metaphysics of mind which is both a simple transcendent unity and a universe of forms, makes sense of reality when defined in terms of the Christian God, Father and Son. The final step in the ladder of being is not a step but a beam-balance (*zygon, trutanê*) (*paed* 1.8.71.3). Reality is ruled by reciprocal love, which flows in three ellipses from Father and Son, to God and humans, then to humans and humans. The transcendent Father embraces the world of forms or powers and the universal Son brings all into unity. So the intellectual universe confirms the salvation, which God in Christ imparts.

3. 'Salvation by faith'. Faith like a grain of mustard seed 'bites beneficially into the soul so that it grows in it magnificently until the reasons concerning the highest realities rest upon it' (5.1.3.1). Faith, initially simple, includes knowledge of God, which grows in intimacy and content. Faith is forever moving on, searching like Plato for the best reason (*beltistos logos*).

Clement's ideas are united by the salvation of humankind, which is God's eternal purpose, the restoration of his children to the vision face to face. While affirming the priority of kerygma and scripture, I take seriously the philosophical issues with which Clement engaged. Whether Clement shows how philosophy and theology can be brought together today is a complex question. However, the exploration of Clement's synthesis remains valuable for any who wish to relate these two spheres of human thought.[35]

Conclusion

My restriction to monographs on Clement has merely noted the work of Alain Le Boulluec whose contribution to understanding of Clement has not been surpassed. His editions (with commentary) of Books 7 and 5 of the *Stromateis* (*Sources Chrétiennes* 278, 428, 463) have enriched appreciation of Clement's meaning immeasurably.

Ten points may be made in review of our highly diverse writers of the last hundred years and their recurrent attention to both scripture (as ordered by divine economy), and philosophy (as method and accumulated wisdom).

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[35] For this reason, I commend the points where Clement's thought illuminates philosophy and theology today. For example, Clement's epistemology of faith has clear affinity with Swinburne's internalist account of epistemic justification. R. Swinburne, *Epistemic Justification* (Oxford, 2001).

1. Questions raised by one author have been explored or answered by others. Lilla and Wyrwa have answered Völker's rejection of philosophy in different ways. It is most encouraging that after a lapse of thirty years (1914-44) when literary questions dominated, the challenge of Clement's ideas returned to prominence.
2. The relation of bible and philosophy in Clement remains an issue, chiefly through the foolish survival of Ritschl's rejection of Greek philosophy (as interpreted in the nineteenth century), accepted without serious query by Barth. The opposite view (that Clement is a biblical theologian, an exegete and a philosopher) has been commonly accepted.
3. The relation of philosophy to doxography is important. Lilla sees little difficulty in the simple identification of fragments of philosophy in Clement. Generally, however, the question as to what Clement does with each fragment has rightly superseded naïve *Quellenforschung*.
4. Recent interpreters have affirmed the centrality of the kerygma in Clement's thought. Just as Irenaeus was dominated by the fourfold kerygma of divine intellect, economy, recapitulation and participation so Clement has no other message.
5. The complexity of Clement as of Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullian (not the complexity of their sources) is the most striking quality to emerge. Awarding or denying prizes to these writers is unwise; they will always surprise. Analysis of problems rather than selection according to later priorities has taken over. The sheer length of arguments (some in Irenaeus have twenty moves) calls for skills, which some patristic scholars do not have (*μηδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω*). Neglect of argument and analysis led to the common but idiot classification of Tertullian as a fideist. As propaedeutic, geometry and logic might well be supplemented by harmony and counterpoint if the reader is to find the rich coherence of these writers.
6. Clement's joining of prayer with reason, of piety with argument, of Paul, John with Plato, produced a defining tradition which is commonly noticed first in Augustine's *Confessions*.
7. Clement and Philo continue to illuminate one another through their difference as much as through their similarity; their great divergence is that of Pauline-Johannine Christianity from Judaism. Runia showed that Clement's debt goes beyond verbal parallels to central concepts.
8. The exploration of Clement's complexity and our contemporary rejection of systems, make the identification of the *Stromateis* with the proposed *Didascalus* a simple matter. Given Clement's allusive method of

teaching, miscellanies are the appropriate way of maintaining the Platonic tradition of oblique instruction.

9. Clement's dependence on Paul and John enables him to illuminate both writers, through his exposition of the Johannine God and logos or of the Pauline predominance of Christ and him crucified.
10. Finally, the place of incarnation and christology at the centre of Christian theology is established by Clement. The biblical claims in this area represent the central difficulty today for Christianity in a secular world; this brings special interest to Clement who first developed the Johannine claims on a grand scale.[36]

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[36] There are other useful books and a mass of excellent articles by Kovacs, Pohlenz, Prümm and others. Some of these are discussed in my 'A review of research on Clement of Alexandria 1958-1982'. *SecCent* 3 (1985), 219-44. See also Bibliography in my *Clement of Alexandria* (2005).

PATRISTIC BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS AND METHOD: FOUR CHANGES TO LIGHTFOOT'S EDITION OF *SECOND CLEMENT*[1]

BY

WILLIAM L. PETERSEN

ABSTRACT: This study examines the putative New Testament parallels in *Second Clement*, especially as found in the enormously influential edition of J. B. Lightfoot. Such putative parallels are important not just for the Patristic text itself, but also for the establishment of the text of the New Testament. Additionally, they shed light on the probable date and provenance of the document. Close textual examination suggests there are four places where the text of Lightfoot's edition should be changed (three of these instances apply to all later editions, as well). Investigating how Lightfoot (and later editors) came to their textual decisions exposes serious flaws in their commonly-employed methodology, which we label "normative." The "normative" method is based on the anachronistic use of texts, flawed logic, and special pleading. An alternative to this "normative" method will be presented; it avoids these pitfalls, and produces more reliable results. We label this alternative method "non-normative." The implications for the editing of Patristic and apocryphal texts, as well as for producing critical editions of the New Testament, are significant.

Even a cursory glance through the writings of the so-called "Apostolic Fathers" reveals numerous passages that—to a greater or lesser degree—appear to parallel portions of the New Testament. This fact, combined with the antiquity of the "Apostolic Fathers," means that these passages occupy a crucial position when one seeks to stipulate the oldest textual form of the New Testament. This means that the accuracy and reliability of the critical editions of the "Apostolic Fathers" are crucial. If the editions are flawed,

[1] The author wishes to thank The College of the Liberal Arts at The Pennsylvania State University for the granting of a sabbatical for the academic year 2004-05, during which much of the research for this article and other related projects was undertaken. The author also gratefully thanks Prof. Clemens Scholten (Köln) for his insightful and careful reading of the manuscript, and his helpful suggestions.

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then one of the key building blocks used by critical editions of the New Testament is unstable.

It was in the course of a larger project, namely the isolation and examination of every apparent New Testament parallel in the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, that certain shortcomings in the editions of the Apostolic Fathers gradually became clear. This article describes these shortcomings and reflects on their effect on critical editions of the New Testament and early Christian texts.

Our study is broken into three parts. First, we single out four readings where the standard critical edition of *Second Clement* (edited by the scholar-churchman J. B. Lightfoot) needs correction. Second, using Lightfoot's own statements, we will explore the explicit and implicit assumptions that led Lightfoot to his defective textual decisions. And third, we will consider the effect of Lightfoot's assumptions—which are still accepted and used by many[2]—on editions of Patristic (and apocryphal) texts, and on critical editions of the New Testament.

I. *Four Changes to Lightfoot's Edition*

The only full-dress critical edition of *Second Clement* is that of J. B. Lightfoot.[3] While four more recent editions exist (the so-called "Funk-Bihlmeyer" edition, two editions in the *Loeb Classical Library*, and a German edition by

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[2] See, for example, the remarks by Weber, *infra*, n. 63, or Verheyden, *infra*, n. 50.

[3] The history of publication is confusing. Lightfoot's first edition of the Clementine epistles appeared in 1869: *S. Clement of Rome. The two epistles to the Corinthians*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot (London: Macmillan, 1869). This served as the basis of a second, revised edition of the Clementines, which appeared in 1890, now, however, with a new title, and now as "Part I" of his edition of the Apostolic Fathers: *The Apostolic Fathers. A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot, Pt. I (2 vols.) (London: Macmillan, 1890). (The first edition of Part II [Ignatius and Polycarp] of *The Apostolic Fathers* appeared in 1885.) In addition to the name change, the confusion is compounded by the fact that the second edition of "Part II" (Ignatius and Polycarp) of *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1889) appeared *before* the appearance of the second (retitled) edition of "Part I" (Clement, in 1890). Library catalogues often group the 1885 (first edition of Part II) and 1890 (second edition of Part I) volumes together, and call it the "second edition" of *The Apostolic Fathers*—which is technically incorrect, for the "second edition" would be the 1889 (second edition of Part II) and 1890 (second edition of Part I) editions. All of our references are to the second edition (Part I, 1890; Part II, 1889), in a facsimile reprint: *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot, 2 parts in 5 vols., (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1989), which we cite as "Lightfoot, *AF*."

Wengst),[4] all of the English editions lack Lightfoot's extensive apparatus,[5] and have texts that display a preternatural agreement with Lightfoot's.[6] To his credit, Wengst's edition shows the greatest independence from Lightfoot,[7] but at the variants discussed in this article, his text agrees with the other three editions. Because of the demonstrable and decisive influence Lightfoot's edition has had on scholarship and on all subsequent editions, it is the focus of our study; the other editions will be referenced as necessary.

A. *The Date, Provenance, and Authorship of* Second Clement

From the standpoint of the text of the New Testament, the *Second Epistle of Clement* is one of the most important of the Apostolic Fathers. There are at least four reasons. First, relative to its size, it has a large number of passages which today we recognize as having parallels in our modern New

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[4] The four additional editions are: (1) F. X. Funk's edition (Tübingen, 1878^1, 1887^{rev}, 1901^2) was revised by K. Bihlmeyer, and became known as the "Funk-Bihlmeyer" edition (Tübingen, 1924^1, 1956^2, 1970^3). The "Funk-Bihlmeyer" Greek text was given a new German translation in 1992 by A. Lindemann and H. Paulsen (*Die Apostolischen Väter*, edd. A. Lindemann and H. Paulsen [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992). Our references to "Funk-Bihlmeyer" are from this 1992 edition. The Loeb editions are: (2) *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. K. Lake, Vol. I (Cambridge [MA]/London: Harvard/Heinemann, 1912), and (3) *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. B. Ehrman, Vol. I, LCL 24 (Cambridge [MA]/London: Harvard, 2003). The German edition is *Schriften des Urchristentums*, Zweiter Teil (*Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, ed. K. Wengst (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984).

[5] The two Loebs are pocket editions; therefore, a direct comparison with the apparatuses of Lightfoot and Funk-Bihlmeyer is inappropriate. Nevertheless, the differences are revealing. For example, in chapter 3, Lightfoot's apparatus has 22 variants; Funk-Bihlmeyer has ten, Lake has one, and Ehrman has two. In chapter 6, Lightfoot has 22 variants; Funk-Bihlmeyer has seven, Lake has what might be counted as one (*viz.* he remarks on his rejection of Lightfoot's conjecture at 6.6 [see the following note]), and Ehrman has none.

[6] Their agreement with Lightfoot is astonishing. Comparing Funk-Bihlmeyer, Lake, and Ehrman with each other in chapters 3 and 6 shows not a single difference among the three: the texts are identical (save for editorial decisions about interpunction and capitalization). When these three later editions are compared against Lightfoot, only two minor differences emerge. (1) At 3.2, Lightfoot prints the words ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων in square brackets; the brackets are dropped by all later editions. (2) At 6.6, Lightfoot conjectures οἰώμεθα for the manuscripts' reading οἰόμεθα; this conjecture is rejected by all later editions.

[7] In chapter 3, Wengst's edition differs from Lightfoot's edition at seven points and offers sixteen variants in his apparatus; in chapter 6, Wengst's text differs from Lightfoot at four points and offers thirteen variants. It is important (and disconcerting) to note that some of Wengst's variants are absent from Lightfoot's edition.

Testament.[8] Second, it preserves several agrapha, some of which are paralleled in apocryphal gospels.[9] Third, two of the three extant manuscripts which preserve *Second Clement* are New Testament manuscripts; both include *Second Clement* among the books of the New Testament,[10] an indication of the high status accorded *Second Clement* in antiquity. Finally, the work is important because of its very early date of composition—probably about 140 CE.

Assigning a precise date to *Second Clement* is difficult, but there is general agreement about the range. Karl Donfried offered the earliest date, suggesting "about 98-100." At the other end of the spectrum, Kirsopp Lake gave a range from 120 to as late as 170, with ±150 as a reasonable date. Adolf von Harnack proposed a range from 130 to 160; however, if composed in Rome (which was his preference), then the range narrowed to 130-150. Joseph Barber Lightfoot suggested a range of 120 to 140, or "a still earlier date." More recently, Andreas Lindemann has suggested the "Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts" (presumably between about 140 and 160), and Bart Ehrman found for the mid-second century, "possibly in the 140s."[11] From the foregoing, then, one may justifiably speak of a consensus: *Second Clement* was almost certainly composed in the second quarter of the second century (125-150), with a few scholars extending the range a decade or two earlier or later. Later in our study, we will offer new evidence for fixing a date for *Second Clement* to about 140 (±5 years).[12]

The provenance of *Second Clement* is unknown. Von Harnack and others felt Rome was most likely; J. Vernon Bartlet was among those who suggested Alexandria or, more broadly, Egypt; Lightfoot and others opted for Corinth; Christa Stegemann and others proposed Syria, especially Antioch.[13] Our research will also contribute new evidence to suggest the

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[8] Depending upon the criteria used, and how adjoining passages are counted, there are about 37 possible parallels with the New Testament.

[9] *E.g., II Clem.* 12.2 has a parallel with the *Gospel of Thomas* log. 22; *II Clem.* 4.5 has a parallel with a fragment from the "Zion Gospel Edition" (fragments from the "Zion Gospel Edition" are usually assigned to the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans/Nazaraeans*: cp. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. J. K. Elliott [Oxford: Clarendon, 1993], p. 13).

[10] See below, § B: "The Manuscript Tradition of *Second Clement*."

[11] A summary of the arguments for dating can be found in the "Introduction" of any of the editions or commentaries. See, for example, A. Lindemann, *Die Clemensbriefe*, HNT 17 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992), p. 195, or K. Donfried, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity*, SNovT 38 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 1-2, 16-19.

[12] See the last paragraph of this present section (§ I), *infra*, p. 410.

[13] Consult the sources *supra*, n. 11.

most likely place of composition (Rome or Alexandria seems most likely; Greece and the Levant seem unlikely).[14]

Concerning the author of *Second Clement*, one can only proceed along a *via negativa*. For example, he does not appear to be the author of *First Clement*: although there are certain unique agreements in quotations between the two documents,[15] the diction, style, and vocabulary of the two works are quite different, suggesting different authors. It can be said with certainty that the author of *Second Clement* was not a Semite, for quotations from the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament) are in the form of the Septuagint, and Semitic influences in style and diction are absent.[16] Greek appears to have been the author's first language.

B. *The Manuscript Tradition of* Second Clement

The three known manuscripts of *Second Clement* are described below, commencing with the oldest.

- **MS A = Codex Alexandrinus** (London, British Library, Royal 1 D. VIII; New Testament MS A [**02**], "Codex Alexandrinus"; V cent.)

This famous Greek Bible, presented to King Charles I in 1627, is the oldest extant witness to *Second Clement's* text. *Second Clement* is included among its *capitularia* of New Testament books.[17] Concerning MS A's text of *Second Clement*, Lightfoot remarked: "On the whole this MS appears to give a good text. The shortcomings of the scribe are generally such that they can be easily corrected; for they arise from petty carelessness and ignorance, and not from perverse ingenuity. Thus there are errors of the ordinary type arising from repetition or omission. . . ."[18] He goes on to remark, however, that

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[14] See the last paragraph of this present section (§ I), *infra*, p. 410.

[15] For example, *I Clem.* 23.3 and *II Clem.* 11.2-4 quote a fragment from an unknown source in nearly-identical form (Lightfoot—without any foundation—speculated that the source was a lost *Book of Eldad and Modat*); *I Clem.* 15.2 and *II Clem.* 3.5 also present a quotation from the LXX in almost the same deviating form (the only difference between the two is the inversion of the first two words [with the accompanying article]).

[16] For example, the Semitic idioms, style, and diction found in Melito of Sardis' *Peri pascha*, which Zuntz described as the marks of "Asianic" Greek, are absent from *Second Clement* (cf. G. Zuntz, "Melito, Syriac?" *VigChr* 6 [1952], pp. 193-201]).

[17] The two Clementine epistles follow Revelation. See Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 117.

[18] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 120.

MS A's text of *Second Clement* "constantly betrays evidence of great negligence on the part of the scribe."[19] Nevertheless, this is, in Lightfoot's opinion, the best manuscript of *Second Clement*: "Of our three authorities A (if we set aside merely clerical errors, in which it abounds) is by far the most trustworthy."[20]

- **MS C = Codex Constantinopolitanus** (Istanbul: Library of the Hospice of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Holy Sepulcher, MS 456; 1056 CE)

This Greek manuscript (which is also known as the "Bryennios Codex" [after its first editor, Philotheos Bryennios (1833-1914)], or "Codex Hierosolymitanus" [because the Library of the Hospice—although in Istanbul—is under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem]), is available in an "autotype" or photographic reproduction in Lightfoot's edition.[21] Of the three extant manuscripts of *Second Clement*, it alone is not a Biblical manuscript, but a collection of early Patristic writings, including (among others) the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the Ignatian epistles, and the *Didache*. Of the manuscript, Lightfoot observes:

> It is written with a fair amount of care throughout, so far as regards errors of transcription. In this respect it contrasts favourably with A, which constantly betrays evidence of great negligence on the part of the scribe. But, though far more free from mere clerical errors, yet in all points which vitally affect the trustworthiness of a MS, it must certainly yield the palm to the Alexandrian. The scribe of A may be careless, but he is guileless also. On the other hand, the text of C shows manifest traces of critical revision. . . .[22]
>
> But notwithstanding this fact, which detracts somewhat from its weight, it still has considerable value as an authority. More especially it is *independent* of A; for it preserves the correct reading in some instances, where A is manifestly wrong.[23]

Lightfoot concludes that "in nine cases out of ten, which are at all determinable, the palm [for preserving the older/better text] must be awarded

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[19] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 123; the remark is made in comparison with MS C.

[20] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 142.

[21] For a description of the manuscript, see Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, pp. 121-129; the autotype is found in the same volume, pp. 421-474.

[22] Lightfoot identifies three markers of this "critical revision" of *Second Clement's* text in MS C: (1) harmonistic readings in quotations; (2) dogmatic changes; (3) grammatical and rhetorical changes.

[23] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, pp. 123-124.

to A."[24] Lightfoot regards MS C as the least valuable of the three manuscripts for restoring the oldest text of *Second Clement*.[25]

- **MS S = Cambridge, Univ. Lib., Add. MSS 1700** (1170 CE)

MS S is an important witness to the Harclean version of the Syriac New Testament.[26] Like Codex Alexandrinus (MS A), this Syriac manuscript includes *Second Clement* among the books of the New Testament—this time, however, placing the two Clementine epistles more-or-less in the middle of the New Testament, rather than at the end (as does MS A).[27]

Although MS S's contents were fully and correctly catalogued as early as 1796 (and, therefore, available to any attentive researcher), its text of *Second Clement* remained unexamined until 1876, when R. L. Bensly noticed that it contained the two Clementine epistles.[28] Bensly embarked on an edition of them, but died (in 1893) before finishing the project. Working from Bensly's scattered notes, R. H. Kennett (who later became Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge) finished the edition; it appeared in 1899.[29] Bensly must have shared his notes with Lightfoot, for the second edition (1890 [Part I]) of Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* includes variant readings from MS S, as well as observations on its text.[30] Regarding the text of S, Lightfoot states:

> As a rendering of the Greek, this version is (with notable exceptions which will be specified hereafter) conscientious and faithful. The translator has made it his

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[24] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, pp. 124-128.

[25] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 144: "Of the two inferior authorities [*viz.* C and S] S is much more valuable than C for correcting A."

[26] See the remarks of B. Aland and A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in Syrischer Überlieferung. II. Die Paulinischen Briefe. Teil 1: Römer- und 1.Korintherbrief*, ANTT 14 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), pp. 16, 24-35.

[27] The manuscript's sequence is: (1) the four gospels, (2) a passion harmony (compiled from the four gospels, and found in many Harclean manuscripts), (3) the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, (4) *First* and *Second Clement*, (5) the Pauline epistles, and (6) the Epistle to the Hebrews. See Lightfoot, *AF*, I.1, p. 130. (The Syrian canon was, of course, formally different from the Western canon until the Quinisextine [or Trullan] Council [692 CE]; as this late-twelfth century manuscript shows, however, the facts "on the ground" frequently lagged far behind conciliar decrees.)

[28] Cf. Lightfoot's description of the discovery of the manuscript and its road to publication, *AF*, 1.1, pp. 129-130.

[29] *The Epistles of S. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac*, ed. R. L. Bensly and completed by R. H. Kennett (Cambridge: University Press, 1899).

[30] Lightfoot offers an extensive discussion of the manuscript: see his *AF*, 1.1, pp. 129-147.

> business to reproduce every word of the original. Even the insignificant connecting particle τε is faithfully represented by حسلا. The several tenses too are carefully observed, so far as the language admitted . . .
>
> [In the features discussed to this point,] it is trustworthy. But on the other hand, it has some characteristics which detract from its value as an authority for the Greek text, and for which allowance must be made.[31]

These negative "characteristics" are a tendency to paraphrase, often by using compounds in the Syriac to more fully reflect a single Greek word; and a desire to accurately reflect in Syriac the meaning of the Greek (which sometimes leads to changing word order to achieve that end).[32]

Lightfoot notes that S "most frequently coincides with A" in those places where A differs from C. Less frequently, S agrees with C against A. Lightfoot emphasizes that S is an independent witness; he points to a number of places where "S stands alone and either certainly or probably or possibly preserves the right reading."[33] He views S as more valuable than C in restoring corrupted readings in A; he notes that S "is made up of two elements, one very ancient and good, the other debased and probably recent."[34]

C. *Four Changes to Lightfoot's Edition*

We turn now to three passages from *Second Clement*, in which we suggest four changes to Lightfoot's edition. None of the changes are emendations; all are present in the manuscript tradition just described.

The passages are presented individually, in a standard format. Within the apparatus, the lemma comes first, followed by the variants; a diamond [♦] separates variation units, while a virgule [|] separates sub-variants. For the New Testament manuscripts, the sigla are those found in the twenty-seventh edition Nestle-Aland[35] (which also served as our collation base); for *Second Clement*, they are as given above (MSS ACS).

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[31] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 136.

[32] For example, in a list of words, the Syriac manuscript sometimes rearranges the sequence, so that the clearer, unambiguous words come first, and ambiguous words come later. The assumption is that the translator intended for the readers' mind to be put on the right track by the unambiguous words, so that their meaning guided the reader as he worked his way through the list towards the more ambiguous words.

[33] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 139.

[34] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 144.

[35] *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, edd. K. and B. Aland et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

Reading 1

II Clem. 3.2: Τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με [ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων], ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου.[36]

♦ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων] *om.* S ♦ + ܩܕܡ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ *post* αὐτόν (+ κἀγώ *post* αὐτόν) S ♦ μου] *om.* S[37]

Matt 10:32: Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς·

♦ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων] *om.* Syr^{s} ♦ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ] αὐτόν κἀγώ L 544 | αὐτόν D L 4 273 348 544 1574 it vg ♦ μου] *om.* Syr^{c} Syr$^{pal[a.b.c]}$ Eph^{comm} Clm Al

Luke 12: 8-9: Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ· [9] ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενός με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ.

v. 8: ♦ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων] *om.* Chrys ♦ τῶν ἀγγέλων] *om.* ℵ* Marcion^{Tert38}

v. 9: ♦ *om.* 𝔓^{45} 2 245 2322 *e* Syr^{s} ♦ ἐνώπιον^{1}] ἔμπροσθεν A K Q Θ Π **047 0191** 158 *pm* | ἔνπροσθεν D ♦ ἐνώπιον^{2}] ἔμπροσθεν Y 343 716 726 *pc* | ἔνπροσθεν D

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[36] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.2, p. 216-217.

[37] The Syriac text is from Bensly, *The Epistles*, p. ܢ at line 8.

[38] The apparatus of *The New Testament in Greek*, ed. The American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), Vol. 1, p. 273, is misleading and confused in this verse. It lists Marcion *apud* Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* 4.28.4 [CChr.SL 1, pp. 621-622]) as reading ἐνώπιον for ἔμπροσθεν$^{1 \text{ and } 2}$. This is incorrect, however, for Tertullian's Latin reads *coram* in both places (1 and 2) in this verse, and *coram* can translate either Greek word. The Vulgate, for example, uses *coram* here and in Matt 5:16, 10:32, 26:70, etc., where the Greek is ἔμπροσθεν, but it also uses *coram* in Luke 1:15, 5:25, Rev. 3:5, etc., where the Greek is ἐνώπιον. Hence, it is (at best!) tendentious to offer Marcion *apud* Tertullian as supporting either reading, for *coram* is polysemous. The confusion is compounded by a failure to clearly distinguish between this Latin fragment of Marcion (in Tertullian) and a Greek fragment of Marcion in Epiphanius (*Pan. haer.*, I.42.1.6, scholion 30 [ed. Holl & Dummer, *GCS* (1980^{2}), p. 111, lines 11-12]). Epiphanius' fragment begins in the middle of verse 8, and only contains the second use of the word in question; Epiphanius' fragment of Marcion gives ἐνώπιον in this second use. But Epiphanius has no direct evidence regarding the first use of the word in verse 8.

Rev. 3:5: ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.
♦ ἐνώπιον] ἔμπροσθεν ℵ 1611

Our attention focuses on the phrase ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, which Lightfoot placed in square brackets.[39] In his textual notes, Lightfoot writes:

> [The passage is a] free quotation of Matt. x. 32 (comp. Luke xii. 8).... The omission in S is probably correct, the words [namely, ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων] having been inserted [into MSS AC] by scribes from a well-known evangelical passage, Luke xii. 9.... Our preacher is in the habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton.[40]

Lightfoot's conviction that the reading of MS S was best led him to place the words of the Greek manuscripts in square brackets. Since he was (apparently) convinced they were inauthentic (in point of fact, he omits them in his English translation of the passage),[41] one wonders why he did not eliminate them entirely from his Greek text.

Observe that Lightfoot is not content just to indicate his preferred text (MS S), but goes on to describe both the *source* and the *mechanism* by which the reading of MSS AC came about. According to Lightfoot, attentive Greek scribes noticed the omission in the oldest and best tradition (MS S [so Lightfoot]), and undertook to correct it. They supplied the missing words from Luke 12:9 ("a well-known evangelical passage"), resulting in the present reading in Greek MSS AC.

At first blush, Lightfoot's explanation sounds reasonable. However, if one reflects for a moment on the chain of events he proposes, and examines the text itself, then one quickly comes to the conclusion that Lightfoot's explanation for the reading of MSS AC is preposterous. There are four reasons.

First, the whole passage in *Second Clement* (regardless of which of the manuscripts one follows) is very distant from its putative parallel in our modern critical editions of either Matthew or Luke. Indeed, if one follows MS S (Lightfoot's preferred text), then only ὁμολογ-, ὁμολογήσω, κἀγώ, and τοῦ πατρός μου are found in Matthew, and only ὁμολογ- and ὁμολογήσ- are found in Luke (modifying either gospel text by adopting various variant readings does not significantly reduce the differences). It hardly seems likely,

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[39] Square brackets mean that "it is doubtful whether the words ... ought to stand as part of the original text" (Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1, p. 4).

[40] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.2, p. 216, in the notes, *s.v.* ἐνώπιον κ.τ.λ.

[41] Cf. Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.2, p. 307, which follows MS S.

then, that a scribe would, first of all, notice this difference, and then, second, feel constrained to "correct" this *one* deviation in a passage riddled with other deviations.

Second, this disjunction between *Second Clement's* text and the putative parallels in the New Testament is not unusual, for virtually *all* of *Second Clement's* "parallels" deviate markedly from the text of our present New Testament.[42] That being the case, why—from all the deviating passages in *Second Clement*—would a scribe decide to "correct" the omission of *this* phrase (ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων), but none of the other deviations elsewhere in *Second Clement* (*e.g.*, Reading 2, *infra*)?

Third, if some hyper-attentive scribe had decided to correct the text, then why would he correct the text *incorrectly* (correcting to ἐνώπιον, rather than to the reading of both Matthew and Luke, namely, ἔμπροσθεν)?[43]

Fourth, when Lightfoot proposes how the "correction" was made ("the words [namely, ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων] having been inserted [into MSS AC] by scribes from a well-known evangelical passage, Luke xii. 9"), he ignores the fact that he himself identified *Matt* 10:32 as the best canonical parallel, and Luke 12:*8* as the Lucan parallel; Luke 12:9 is *not* a parallel for this passage in *Second Clement.*

What mystifies one is why—even with the sources known to him in 1890—Lightfoot rejected a very obvious and logical solution: the scribe interpolated the phrase in question from the proper parallel (Matt 10:32 [or failing that, the proper Lucan parallel: Luke 12:8]), which, in the second century, read *ἐνώπιον* τῶν ἀνθρώπων instead of our present *ἔμπροσθεν* τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The only difference is the substitution of one preposition for another, a substitution which is evidenced numerous times in the manuscripts of the New Testament itself, owing to the virtually identical meaning of the two prepositions.[44]

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[42] This will be apparent from the other Readings in this article; cf. also W. L. Petersen, "Textual Traditions Examined: What the Text of the Apostolic Fathers tell us about the Text of the New Testament in the Second Century," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, edd. A. Gregory and C. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 29-46, esp. 30-33.

[43] Lightfoot's operating assumption (which we will challenge [see *infra*, pp. 411ff.]) is that the author of *Second Clement* had the text of "our" Matthew and Luke before him when he wrote.

[44] In the apparatuses above, note the interchangeability of the two prepositions in Luke 12:9 and Rev. 3:5, for example.

For whatever reason, Lightfoot rejected this obvious and eminently reasonable solution, and instead set out to find the phrase he needed *in the critical edition of the New Testament used by him in 1890.* When he found it (in Luke 12:9), the fact that the phrase was in a verse that was not parallel with the *Second Clement* passage did not matter, nor did the fact that he himself had identified Matthew (10:32)—and not Luke—as offering the best canonical parallel.

The necessity of such convoluted and preposterous reasoning ended in 1904, when F. C. Burkitt published the Sinaitic manuscript of the Vetus Syra (Syr^{s}).[45] As the apparatus above shows (*s.v.* Matthew), the reading Lightfoot preferred, MS S ("The omission in S is probably correct . . .") is almost certainly nothing more than a "local text" reading from Syria, for the same omission occurs in the fourth-century Sinaitic Syriac. This means that MS S's omission (contrary to Lightfoot's claim) almost certainly has nothing to do with the oldest and best text of *Second Clement,* but everything to do with an old variant in a prestigious Syriac version of the Gospel of Matthew. MS S's reading is a Syrian variant, dating far back into the textual history of Matt 12:8 in the *Syriac* New Testament.

One cannot fault Lightfoot for his ignorance of a text unedited when he wrote; but he can be faulted for proposing a most improbable explanation of the textual development of the passage in question.

Our conclusion, then, is that Lightfoot's square brackets should be removed from the text; the reading of MSS AC should be adopted without reservation. All later editions have already taken this step; only Lightfoot's edition needs to be changed.

Reading 2

II Clem. 3.4: . . . ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας.[46]

♦ διανοίας AC] ܚܝܠܟ (= ἰσχύος σου)[47] S

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[45] *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe,* ed. F. C. Burkitt, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904).

[46] Lightfoot, *AF,* 1.2, p. 217.

[47] See Bensly, *The Epistles,* p. xvii, *s.v.* "l[ine]. 13"; ἰσχύος is Bensly's first translation; he also gives, as a second equivalent, δυνάμεος, and notes that ܚܝܠܐ is used in the Syriac Bible to translate both Greek words (for ἰσχύς at Mark 12.33, for example; for δύναμις at Mark 9.1, for example). It is unfortunate that, in his apparatus, Lightfoot gives δυνάμεος as the reading of the Syriac manuscript, and does not even mention ἰσχύς. Lightfoot's failure to mention ἰσχύς obfuscates the connexion for most readers.

All modern editions (Lightfoot, Funk-Bihlmeyer, Lake, Ehrman) print the text as given above, adopting the reading of the Greek MSS AC, διανοίας. The passage appears to be a quotation of or an allusion to the *Shema*:

Deut 6:5 (MT):
[48] ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל־לבבך ובכל־נפשך ובכל־מאדך

Deut 6:5 (LXX): ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου

Matt 22:37: ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου·

Mark 12:30: καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.

Luke 10:27: ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης [τῆς] καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου,

The Table below sets out the specific sequence, number, and identity of the elements of these various versions of the *Shema*.

SOURCE	ELEMENTS & SEQUENCE			
Deut (MT)	heart	soul	strength	—
Deut (LXX)	heart	soul	strength	—
Matt	heart	soul	mind	—
Mark	heart	soul	mind	—
Luke	heart	soul	strength	mind
II Clem. (MSS A C)	heart	mind	—	—
II Clem. (MS S)	heart	strength	—	—

[48] *Biblia Hebraica*, edd. R. Kittel, P. Kahle, et al. (14th emended printing of the 7th ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1966), *ad loc. cit.*

As can be seen, all of the canonical versions have either three or four elements, while *Second Clement* (following either the Greek or the Syriac tradition) has only two.[49]

No great mental effort—and certainly no research—is necessary to devise any number of explanations for *Second Clement's* binary *Shema.* Over the decades, a laundry list of Patristic shortcomings has been assembled for just such occasions. Fathers whose parallels do not agree closely enough with the text of our modern, critically-edited New Testament have been accused of having faulty memories, of carelessness, of adapting the text on the spur of the moment to suit their rhetorical, literary, or theological purposes.[50] Indeed, in Reading 1, above, we saw Lightfoot charge the author of *Second Clement* with offering a "free quotation."[51] What Lightfoot means by this is very important, as are the logical implications of the statement. Lightfoot's assertion means that, had he wished, *Second Clement's* author *could* have quoted verbatim, and given us a proper, accurate quotation; but, for whatever reason, he chose not to do so. Instead the author of *Second Clement* quoted his source "freely." The same explanation is equally applicable here, in Reading 2: *Second Clement's* non-standard binary *Shema* is the result of a "free quotation" or a lapse of memory. But there is more.

Apropos of Reading 1, Lightfoot also offered the general observation that the author of *Second Clement* "is in the habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton."[52] The abbreviated *Shema* we find before us appears to fit Lightfoot's characterization perfectly: one's first impression is that words seem to have been "dropped" from what was presumably a "quotation," resulting in a "skeleton" version of the presumed original text.

In addition to all the psychological and rhetorical explanations that have been put forward to explain deviating Patristic and apocryphal readings,

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[49] A binary version of the *Shema* occurs in Deut. 13:4; however, the elements there are "heart-soul" (בכל-לבבכם ובכל-נפשכם || ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν). This combination agrees with neither MSS AC nor MS S in *Second Clement*; furthermore, Deut. 13:4 uses the plural pronoun, while Deut. 6:5 uses the singular. We conclude that Deut. 13:4 has no direct bearing on our investigation of *Second Clement.*

[50] See, for example, J. Verheyden, "Assessing Gospel Quotations in Justin Martyr," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift J. Delobel,* ed. A. Denaux, BEThL 161 (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), pp. 361-377, esp. 375 ("the whole composition and comment in Dial. 93 is centered around 'dualities'").

[51] See *supra,* n. 40, where Lightfoot uses the expression "free quotation."

[52] Ibid.

one can also point to mechanical reasons why a copyist might omit an item from a list such as the one we find in the *Shema* before us. The omission might be due to *haplography*, as the copyist's eye skipped from one σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ to the next, inadvertently omitting what lay between.

While it is obligatory to consider all of these potential explanations, it should also be obligatory to evaluate the *textual* evidence as well, especially when one is preparing a critical edition of a text. Consider the following:

Justin, *Dial.* 93.2: Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.[53]

Justin, *Dial.* 93.3: ἀγαπᾷ κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν.[54]

Justin, *I Apol.* 16.6: . . . καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, κύριον τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε.[55]

Vetus Latina MS *k*, *apud* Mark 12:30: . . . et diligit Dominum Deum etsum de toto corde tuo et de totis viribus tuis.[56]

Let us begin with Justin. Three times, in two separate literary works (a fact that is significant, for it means the works were composed at different times, for different occasions and audiences, and are of different literary genres—yet they share the same variant reading), Justin Martyr presents (1) a binary *Shema*, that (2) consists of the same two terms we find in MS S of *Second Clement*, in (3) precisely the same sequence.[57]

We know that the author of *Second Clement* and Justin are close, perhaps even exact chronological contemporaries. Justin arrived in Rome about 150, and died there about 165 CE. His *First Apology* is usually dated (with a few years' leeway at either end) to between 151 and 155, and his *Dialogue with*

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[53] *Die ältesten Apologeten*, ed. E. J. Goodspeed (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984 [reprint of the 1914 edition]), p. 208.

[54] *Die ältesten*, p. 208.

[55] *Die ältesten*, p. 37.

[56] *Itala II, Marcus-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970^2), pp. 115-116. "Deum etsum" appears to be a corruption of the standard reading "Deum vestrum."

[57] Note that this variant has three markers of filiation: (1) the *number* of elements (two [not three or four]), (2) the *identity* of the elements ("heart" and "strength"), and (3) the *sequence* of the elements.

Trypho the Jew to between 155 and 160 (again, with a few years' leeway); both are commonly assigned Roman provenance.[58] Furthermore, if, as von Harnack, Hilgenfield, Goodspeed, and others have suggested, *Second Clement's* provenance were Rome, then *Second Clement* and Justin would have been in direct geographic proximity, as well.[59]

Turning to Codex Bobbiensis (Vetus Latina MS *k*), we note that it is one of the two oldest Vetus Latina manuscripts extant. Although copied about 400 CE, its distinctive text is much older, for it is very similar to the text used by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage,[60] who converted to Christianity in 246, and was martyred in 258. This demonstrates that MS *k*'s text is geographically western, and *older* than Cyprian. In other words, the text found in MS *k* cannot be later than the first half of the third century (*c.* 200-250 CE). We can, however, go back even further.

The Latin paleographer E. A. Lowe suggested that the text of MS *k* is older than the age of Cyprian, and dated from the second century. In a note published in the *Bulletin of the Bezan Club* in 1936, Daniël Plooij states that Lowe "told me that the Codex Bobiensis [*sic*] *k* shows palaeographical marks of having been copied from a 2^{d} century papyrus."[61] To the best of your author's knowledge, Lowe himself never published the specific "palaeographical marks" which led him to this conclusion, and subsequent scholarship does not appear to have investigated his pregnant remarks.[62] Therefore,

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[58] Cf., *e.g., Die ältesten*, p. 24, or L. W. Barnard, *Justin Martyr* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 13, 19, 23.

[59] A list of scholars opting for Roman provenance is found in Donfried, *The Setting*, p. 17, n. 1.

[60] The classic study of MS *k*'s relationship to Cyprian is that of W. Sanday ("Relation of the Text of These Fragments to That of Other Old Latin MSS."), in *Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew from the Bobbio MS. (k), now numbered G. VII. 15 in the National Library at Turin . . .*, edd. J. Wordsworth, W. Sanday, and H. J. White, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886), pp. xlii-cclvi, esp. xlii-xc.

[61] Plooij died on July 5, 1935; his note, titled "The Latin Text of the Epistles of St. Paul," appeared posthumously in the *Bulletin of the Bezan Club*, no. 11 (May 1936), pp. 11-12 (here p. 11). The *BBC* was published irregularly by an informal "club" of scholars interested in the Western text. The firm of Brill, in Leiden, printed the *Bulletin*, which circulated privately.

[62] See, however, the remarks of Lowe about MS *k* and its *Vorlage* quoted and paraphrased by A. H. A. Bakker in her dissertation, *A Study of Codex Evang. Bobbiensis (k). Part I* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeverij, 1933), esp. pp. 9 and 17. Bakker's *Doktorvater* was Plooij. The fact that both Bakker and Plooij, within a period of about three years, quote letters and/or conversations with Lowe about Codex Bobbiensis' *Vorlage*, suggests that the discussions arose from Bakker's research and dissertation.

one can say with certainty that the *text* of Codex Bobbiensis antedates Cyprian;[63] should Lowe's observations be correct, then Codex Bobbiensis' text would date from the second century.

The textual evidence from Justin and Codex Bobbiensis demonstrates the following. (1) A binary *Shema*, whose two elements were "heart" and "strength," and in that sequence, was well known and circulated in the precise chronological period in which *Second Clement* was composed. (2) This binary *Shema* seems to have circulated in a specific geographic area, namely, the Roman (Latin) west. Within that area, we can point specifically in Rome (Justin) and North Africa/Carthage (MS *k*). Interestingly enough, one of

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[63] The evidence from Cyprian himself is contradictory and inconsistent. For example, Florus of Lyon (*fl. c.* 840), *Collectio ex dictis XII patrvm* (Cyprianus 8), offers a fragment from Cyprian's *ad Fortunatum* 9; Florus quotes Cyprian's text as "ex toto corde uestro et ex tota uirtute uestra"—the same binary pairing we find in Justin, Codex Bobbiensis, and *Second Clement*. There are, however, two difficulties that prevent one from citing this as supporting the Justin/Bobbiensis reading. First, the passage being cited by Cyprian (and, therefore, Florus) is Deut. 13:4, not Deut. 6:5; this is discernible in the plural pronouns ("uestra") and the full context. Second, the best modern edition of Cyprian's *ad Fort.* 9 reads "ex toto corde uestro et ex tota anima uestra et ex tota uirtute uestra" (CChr.SL 3 [ed. R. Weber], pp. 197-198), with no textual variants (the oldest Cyprian manuscript used in Weber's edition is MS S [fifth-sixth cent.]). It would seem indisputable that Cyprian's text has been tampered with here, in his own manuscripts, for the passage being cited is Deut. 13:4, which is binary, and reads (in the MT and LXX) "heart-soul." Somewhere in the transmission history of *ad Fort.*, some scribe confused it with the *Shema* of Deut. 6:5, and supplied a third element: "strength." This triple-element version has (apparently) contaminated all manuscripts of Cyprian at this point; Florus' reading is probably a better witness to Cyprian's text here than Cyprian's own manuscripts! But that still does not help our investigation, for our passage is from Deut. 6:5.

Another "near miss" is Cyprian's *ad Quirinum* 3.18. Here the manuscripts of Cyprian divide, with some reading the text the editor adopts ("de toto corde tuo et de tota anima tua et de tota uirtute tua"), while two other manuscripts (MSS QM [both are eighth-ninth cent.; an earlier editor, Hartel, felt they came from the same, very contaminated, archetype) read "de toto corde tuo et de tota uirtute tua" (CChr.SL 3 [ed. R. Weber], p. 112, in the apparatus). Here again we find our reading in MSS QM, and this time it is the correct parallel, Deut. 6:5. But again there are problems. First, as we have pointed out, Hartel felt the QM tradition was very contaminated; second, one of these manuscripts (MS M) appears to catch the omission (which presumably arose from haplography), and adds the omitted term at the end of the phrase, *post* "uirtute," giving the reading ". . . corde tuo et de tota uirtute *et anima* tua." At best, the evidence is ambiguous, for it pits one manuscript (MS Q) against the other eighteen manuscripts at this point.

these, Rome, has been suggested as the place where *Second Clement* was composed.

How the reading of MSS AC came about (and why Lightfoot and all later editions adopted it) is something of a puzzle, for (unlike the reading of MS S) it agrees neither with the Biblical parallels nor with the readings found in its contemporaries in Patristic and apocryphal literature. One might speculate (but it is only a guess) that the version in MS S (and Justin and Codex Bobbiensis) is an abbreviation of the MT/LXX version of the *Shema*, utilizing only the first and last elements, while MSS AC have a reading that is an abbreviation (first and last elements, again) of the New Testament versions, all three of which end with "mind." In the end, however, the genesis of the variant in MSS AC remains a mystery.

There is, then, an extremely high probability—which, in textual criticism, is as close to certainty as one gets—that the correct reading for *Second Clement* at this point is preserved in MS S: ἰσχύος σου. It is the reading of

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In short, the evidence from Cyprian is of little help. The editor (R. Weber) explains why:

> Comme d'autres écrits des Pères comportant de nombreuses citations bibliques, *Quir.* et *Fort.* étaient exposés au cours de leur transmission manuscrite à subir de nombreuses alterations textuelles du fait que les copistes ont toujours eu tendance à substituer au texte biblique de leur modèle celui qui avait cours dans leur milieu et leur était familier. Pour *Quir.* cela s'est produit très tôt, puisqu'on a pu relever dans certains manuscripts des traces d'une version africaine de la Bible de peu postérieure à saint Cyprien (CChr.SL 3, p. LIV).

This is a very curious statement. Clearly, yes, assimilation of the manuscripts of Cyprian began rather early. But Weber's assumption is precisely the opposite of all New Testament textual critics: Weber argues that the contamination of *ad Quir.* began very early, because in certain manuscripts one finds traces of an African version of the Bible (the *afra* text, of *k* and *e*), which (according to Weber) arose only *a little later* than Cyprian: "Pour *Quir.* cela s'est produit très tôt, puisqu'on a pu relever dans certains manuscripts des traces d'une version africaine de la Bible *de peu postérieure* à saint Cyprien." New Testament textual critics assume just the opposite: that the *afra* text *antedated* Cyprian, who used it because it was the "standard" text of his time and place. In view of the argument we will make in our second section (§ II. Observations on Methodology: "Normative" versus "Non-normative"), Weber appears to be another scholar who anachronistically retrojects into earliest Christianity a text which agrees with our modern Biblical text, which is then "contaminated" by *assimilation* to a later, "local" text, such as the *afra*. Weber's model (which we will label as "normative" in our discussions below [see § II]) founders on the facts: the *afra* is the *earliest* text in the African, Latin West for which we have evidence; this is shown by its agreements with such early figures as Justin and Clement of Alexandria. Where is Weber's evidence for a "pure" text *before* the *afra*?

the time, and perhaps even the reading of the place. All editions of *Second Clement* should be changed accordingly.[64]

Readings 3 & 4

II Clem. 6.2: τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐάν τις τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ;[65]

♦ ὅλον] *om.* C ♦ ζημιωθῇ] ובטבה (ἀπολέσῃ) S

Matt 16:26: τί γὰρ ὠφεληθήσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ;

♦ ὅλον] *om.* **0133** 124 *b c q* r^1

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[64] Before leaving this reading, attention must be drawn to one other source with the identical, deviating, binary ("heart-strength") *Shema* at Deut. 6:5. What was formerly catalogued as MS Sassoon 30 (but now, apparently, as London, MS Valmadonna 6), of the Samaritan Pentateuch reads as follows:

ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל מאדך

All extant Samaritan Pentateuch manuscripts are late medieval; MS Sassoon 30 dates from the same general period as the other manuscripts, namely, the late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth century (for the text: *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, ed. A. von Gall [Giessen: Töpelmann, 1918], p. 377; for the dating, pp. xxxv-xxxvi). According to von Gall's apparatus, the missing words (namely, לבכל נפשך) have been inserted *inter lineas secunda manu*. The date of the second hand is not specified.

The value of this variant in MS Sassoon 30 is impossible to determine. At first glance, it certainly appears to be nothing more than a copying error, caught and corrected. When that correction took place is unknown; it might have been immediately, or some decades later. As attractive as such a solution is, it would be rash to subscribe to it, for Justin Martyr himself tell us his family came from Flavia Neapolis (cp. *I Apol.* I.1: . . . Ιουστῖνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου, τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαουΐας Νέας πόλεως Συρίας Παλαιστίνης [ed. Goodspeed, p. 26]), a stone's throw from Sechem—the *Hauptstadt* of Samaritanism. Is it by chance, then, that this Samaritan manuscript is the *only* known Biblical manuscript, in Hebrew (MT) or Greek (LXX, New Testament) that offers a variant agreeing with Justin's reading?

The case of MS Sassoon 30 is doubly odd because the presumed mechanism generating the variant would be mechanical, a copying error (haplography). But if the *prima manu* reading of MS Sassoon 30 were generated by a mechanical copying error, then one would expect to find the same (rather common) mechanical error repeated elsewhere among the numerous Hebrew and Greek Biblical manuscripts, with mechanical frequency and regularity. But an examination of the pertinent apparatuses shows that this is not the case. MS Sassoon 30 is, apparently, a singularity, whose significance must, for the present, remain unknown.

[65] Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.2, p. 221.

Mark 8:36: *τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἄνθρωπον κερδῆσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον καὶ ζημιωθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν* αὐτοῦ;

Luke 9:25: *τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος κερδήσας τὸν κόσμον ὅλον* ἑαυτὸν δὲ *ἀπολέσας ἢ ζημιωθείς*;

Justin, *1 Apol.* 15.12: τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἂν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδῆσαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ;[66]

Clem. Al., *Strom.* 6.112.3: τί γὰρ ὄφελος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον κερδήσῃς, φησὶ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπολέσῃς;[67]

All subsequent editions follow Lightfoot, printing ὅλον (with MSS AS) and ζημιωθῇ (with MSS AC) as their text.

While it is clear that the same *logion* ultimately lies behind all of various versions of this saying, careful comparison shows that *Second Clement's* best parallel is not with any New Testament document. Rather, *Second Clement's* best parallel is with Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* 6.112.3. It is well known that common deviations are one of the surest sign of filiation. Here, only *Second Clement* and the *Stromata* use a noun (ὄφελος) instead of a verbal form; only they omit ἄνθρωπος; only they omit αὐτοῦ *post* ψυχήν. In short, when compared with each other, and juxtaposed against the canonical versions of this *logion*, it is simply an empirical fact that the two "Clements" share the same textual tradition, one which is distinct from any canonical version.

Given this, it is surpassingly strange that in his textual decisions, Lightfoot twice rejected readings in *Second Clement's* textual tradition that agree with the *Stromata*, and adopts readings that move *Second Clement's* text closer to the canonical text.

As Reading 3, note that MS S reads ἀπολέσῃ (ܐܒܕ), as do the *Stromata*; and as Reading 4, observe that MS C omits ὅλον, as do the *Stromata*. Neither of these changes are unattested in the early period, for the substitution of ἀπολέσῃ (ܐܒܕ [MS S]) for the canonical ζημιω-θῇ/-θῆναι/-θείς

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[66] *Die ältesten*, p. 36.

[67] *Clemens Alexandrinus. II. Stromata Buch I-VI*, edd. O. Stählin and L. Früchtel, GCS (Berlin: Akademie, 1960[3]), p. 488.

is also found in Justin Martyr,[68] and the omission of ὅλον also occurs in Matthew in **0133** (ninth cent.), 124 (eleventh cent.), and a clutch of *Vetus Latina* manuscripts (the earliest of which is MS *b*, fifth cent.).

The repeated agreement between deviating readings in the manuscripts of *Second Clement* and the *Stromata*—and, in the case of ἀπολέσῃ, in Justin Martyr, as well—establishes the antiquity of these variants: all three sources (*Second Clement*, the *Stromata*, Justin) are second century.

To our conclusions, then, commencing with Reading 3, the variant ζημιωθῇ / ἀπολέσῃ. Textual evidence—in the form of common deviations from the canonical text, already noted above—shows that *Second Clement* and Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* reproduce a common tradition. Curiously enough, however, when choosing between the readings ζημιωθῇ and ἀπολέσῃ, Lightfoot ignored this filiation, and adopted the reading ζημιωθῇ (the reading of Greek MSS AC) as his text; he rejected ἀπολέσῃ, the reading of the *Stromata*.

From a text-critical standpoint, Lightfoot's decision makes no sense. To begin with, it is a well-known fact that scribes were prone to bring deviating passages into line with the normative canonical text of their time and place. Because of that, in a case such as this, textual critics generally favor the reading that *deviates* from the canonical text, and view the variant that agrees with the canonical text as a *later* scribal attempt at assimilation. Second, this general rule of thumb becomes virtually a law when one has in hand—as one does here—the identical deviating reading in multiple, directly contemporary, non-canonical documents, such as Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* and Justin Martyr (with whom *Second Clement* has other agreements).[69]

The reading that Lightfoot rejected, ܐܒܕ (ἀπολέσῃ) (the reading of Syriac MS S), is plainly second-century (this is shown by its presence in three separate second-century sources). Moreover, it agrees with the closest parallel to the passage—namely, the version found in the *Stromata*. The reading found in Lightfoot's preferred manuscripts (MS AC: ζημιωθῇ)

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[68] A fact already noted by Bensly: "this word . . . is the reading of Justin" (*The Epistles*, p. xvii).

[69] *E.g.*, Reading 2, *supra*. An even more striking example of the link between Justin and *Second Clement* is the application of a passage from Is. 54:1 (quoted by Paul, in Gal. 4:27). Both Justin (*I Apol.* 53.4) and *II Clem.* (2.3) interpret the passage as predicting the *numerical superiority* of Gentile Christians over Judaic Christians. No other sources are known to have this interpretation; it is unique to Justin and *Second Clement*.

agrees with the text of canonical Matthew. It is best understood as an attempt to bring the deviating passage closer to the canonical version of the text. This means, however, that it must be secondary. Therefore, the reading of MS S ܐܒܕܗ (ἀπολέσῃ) is to be preferred. All editions should be changed accordingly.

Turning now to Reading 4 in this passage (the inclusion or omission of ὅλον), one discovers that the profile of the problem and evidence is similar. The identical omission is found in MS C of *Second Clement*, the *Stromata*, two Greek manuscripts of Matthew, and some Vetus Latina manuscripts. The word is found in all three canonical gospels, as well as Justin.[70]

In view of the fact that *Second Clement's* closest textual filiation is clearly with the version of the saying found in the *Stromata*, our conclusion is that ὅλον should be dropped from the text of *Second Clement.* Including the word is an act of assimilation, bringing the *logion* closer to all three versions found in the canon. Furthermore, it should be noted that the interpolation of ὅλον to modify κόσμος is pleonastic, precisely the sort of a modification that would appeal to a scribe. The omission is, therefore, to be preferred: the reading of MS C (which omits ὅλον) should be adopted as the text, and the reading of MSS AS, which include it, should be placed in the apparatus.

The evidence presented above is representative of what your author found in his broader investigation of *Second Clement's* putative parallels with the New Testament. The best textual parallels lie in Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and the *Gospel of Thomas.* This is important information which, hitherto, has not been brought to bear on the problems of the provenance and date of *Second Clement.* The form of *Second Clement's* text in these presumed parallels seems slightly older than the form found in Justin Martyr, who wrote in the 150s (cf. Readings 3 and 4). Hence, one may suggest *c.* 140 (± 5 years) as the probable date of composition. Our textual evidence also speaks to the question of provenance. Rome or Alexandria (or, more broadly, Egypt) are the most likely; on the other hand, there is no textual evidence to point to Greece (Corinth) or Syria (Antioch). As K. Lake

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[70] That textual assimilation to the canonical version has been at play in these passages would appear to be confirmed here: it is probably safe to assume that, at one time, Justin's text also omitted ὅλον, but was later assimilated to the canonical text; this explains both Justin's links with *Second Clement* (Reading 3), as well as his differences (the omission of ὅλον).

observed, the value of Patristic quotations "consists in the opportunity they afford us of localizing and dating various kinds of texts in MSS. and versions."[71] The value of Lake's observation is self-evident here.

II. *Observations on Methodology: "Normative" versus "Non-normative"*

Now that the four changes to Lightfoot's edition of *Second Clement* have been presented, let us turn our attention to the matter of Lightfoot's methodology, and how it led him to flawed conclusions. His notes give us the first insight, as does his "pattern and practice" when selecting among variant readings.

The fundamental implicit assumption—which spawns most of the other difficulties—is Lightfoot's unspoken belief that all the passages in *Second Clement* with a parallel in the New Testament are "quotations" from a book that now stands in the New Testament. Lightfoot's notes apropos of Reading 1 make this clear. Despite its many differences from the canonical parallel(s), Lightfoot pronounces the passage to be "a free quotation of Matt. x. 32."

Given the differences between Reading 1 in *Second Clement* and the canonical parallel(s), one wonders how Lightfoot determined that it was a "free quotation" from a specific *canonical* gospel, and not from a Judaic-Christian gospel (especially when *Second Clement* reproduces a passage we recognize from the "Zion Gospel Edition" [usually thought to be the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans*] at *II Clem.* 4.5), or from some unknown gospel, like Egerton Papyrus no. 2 (although it circulated in the same period, and *Second Clement* reproduces passages we recognize today as also having stood in the *Gospel of Thomas* [at *II Clem.* 6.1a, 9.11, and 12.2]), or from some unknown testimony book or catena (although we know such works also circulated in the same period).[72] Since it is indisputable that *Second Clement* both *knew* and *used*

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[71] K. Lake, *The Text of the New Testament* (6th ed., rev. by Silva New; London: Rivingtons, 1933), p. 50.

[72] It has been suggested that Justin Martyr may be citing from such a work in his writings—notably, in his *First Apology*, where a laundry list of ethical imperatives are offered (*I Apol.* 15-17); their arrangement suggests that they may stem from a primitive catechism (cp. A. J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, SuppNovT 17 [Leiden: Brill, 1967], pp. 49-57). Elsewhere in Justin, his deviating versions of passages often agree with versions found in other early Christian texts, suggesting that a written source may stand behind them (cp. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings*, p. 95, *s.v.* "5. Results"). Yet another example of a possible source is the now-lost "Explanation of the Sayings of the Lord," composed by Papias (*c.* 130 [?]).

a wide variety of non-canonical sources (some of which we seem to be able to identify, and others which we cannot),[73] it flies in the face of the empirical evidence to claim, as Lightfoot does, that this passage in *Second Clement* is a "free quotation" of a canonical document. We simply do not know the identity of the source the author of *Second Clement* is using. The improbability of Lightfoot's claim is magnified when one realizes that, in order to make this assertion even remotely plausible, he has to characterize it as "a *free* quotation."

Additional evidence that Lightfoot is assuming canonical texts lie behind *Second Clement's* passages with parallels in the New Testament is apparent from his editorial decisions. In Readings 3 and 4, for example, he decides *against* variants that agree with the text that is empirically the best parallel (*viz.*, Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*), and twice chooses variants which agree with the *canonical* text. In both instances, his textual decisions fly in the face not only of the empirical textual evidence, but also of the canons of textual criticism.

The second flawed, implicit assumption in Lightfoot's method is the follow-on corollary that, since the putative New Testament parallels in *Second Clement* come from a canonical document, the specific *textual form* of this canonical source is known. Lightfoot assumes that the textual form of the source from which the author of *Second Clement* was quoting was *identical* with the text of our modern, critically-reconstructed editions[74] of the New Testament.

When the matter is put so bluntly, some readers may protest, and claim this is a misrepresentation of Lightfoot. Defenders of the Bishop of Durham would claim the only thing Lightfoot was asserting was that *Second Clement's* source for this passage was canonical; he was not making an assertion about the precise textual form of the passage in *Second Clement's* source.

Lightfoot's own words, however, refute such a claim. In Reading 1, Lightfoot states that the passage in *Second Clement* is "a *free* quotation"; he then proceeds to observe that the author of *Second Clement* "is in the habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton." In order to make these assertions, logic *demands* that Lightfoot knows both the *name*

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[73] *E.g.*, the "quotation" that Lightfoot presumed came from the mysterious *Book of Eldad and Modat* (*supra*, n. 15); we, of course, have no idea what source is being quoted.

[74] Lightfoot was probably using the Westcott-Hort edition (1881) for this second edition of his *Apostolic Fathers*; most scholars today would be using Nestle-Aland (currently in its twenty-seventh edition).

of the document being quoted, and the precise *textual form* of that document, for if he does not, then he has *no* way of knowing whether the "quotation" is "free" or verbatim, and *no* way of knowing whether the author was "dropping out words" from his "quotation," or reproducing his source with absolute accuracy.

It is apparent to all, however, that Lightfoot had no idea of either the name of the source being used by the author of *Second Clement*, or its precise textual form. Therefore, Lightfoot's assertions that this is a "free quotation," and that the author of *Second Clement* was "in the habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton," mean that Lightfoot's basis of comparison had to be a modern critical edition.[75] It is also self-evident Lightfoot implicitly assumed that the text of his modern critical edition of the New Testament was identical with the text of the New Testament in the second century: that is how he could discourse with such alacrity on whether a quotation were "free" or not, and describe the "habits" of our author. All of this, however, is fancy heaped upon fancy: Lightfoot did not know what document (if any) was being quoted, or its textual form; his retrojection of the text of a modern critical edition of the New Testament into the second century, and then assuming that its text was identical with the text being quoted by our author, is methodologically and empirically wrong.

Although Lightfoot does not comment in his notes on Readings 2, 3, or 4, it seems clear that he would have considered them to be "free quotations" as well, two of which (Readings 2 and 4) involve "dropping out words in his quotations." But here our research has shown that, in each case, *Second Clement's* version of the passage is *not* a "free quotation," but, rather, a *verbatim* quotation: in the case of Reading 2, *Second Clement's* text is in virtually verbatim agreement with the text of Justin Martyr (three times), and Codex Bobbiensis; in Readings 3 and 4, the agreement is with the *Stromata*. Observe that if one rejects Lightfoot's textual choices, which assimilate *Second Clement's* text to the text of our modern critical editions of the New

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[75] Care must be taken here to distinguish between two separate activities. Our objection is *not* to the use of a modern edition for a *collation base*. A collation base is a necessity for ordering datum and analyzing it. It is an arbitrarily chosen text; it could be ancient or modern, a critical text, or the text of a manuscript. Our objection is to something different, namely, the (mis-)use of a collation base as the *standard* for determining whether an ancient author quoted a source accurately or freely. Such a determination can *only* be made by comparing the ancient text against *the document from which the ancient author made his quotation*; a collation base plays no role in such a comparison.

Testament, then *Second Clement* is in virtually verbatim agreement with the *Stromata* (dashes mark the differences):

II Clem. 6.2: τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος, ἐάν τις τὸν κόσμον κερδήσῃ—τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπολέσῃ;
Strom. 6.112.3: τί γὰρ—ὄφελος, ἐὰν—τὸν κόσμον κερδήσῃς, φησὶ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπολέσῃς;

Compared with the canonical versions, it is clear that both "Clements" are privy to the same textual tradition. It is not "canonical" in the sense of standing in a canonical gospel; Lightfoot's first error was to assume it stood in a canonical gospel. This assumption led Lightfoot to his second error: adopting readings that moved the passage in the direction of the canonical text.[76]

A suitable name for Lightfoot's methodology is "*normative*," for it anachronistically and arbitrarily retrojects into the second century a modern, critically-reconstructed text of the New Testament, and sets up this modern text as the *norm* against which the ancient text will be evaluated for the accuracy of its quotations. When making textual decisions, variants are sought which agree with this canonical text—for that is the text from which Lightfoot presumed the author of *Second Clement* drew his quotations.

Topping off Lightfoot's ill-conceived enterprise is his use of rhetoric to defend his model. He availed himself of a tactic often used by researchers who share Lightfoot's assumptions: he "blamed the Father." In Reading 1, for example, Lightfoot attributed the differences to the author's "habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton." The passage was "a free quotation," not a verbatim one.

"Blaming the Father" is ubiquitous in the discipline, and has been applied to virtually every early Patristic and apocryphal source as a means of glossing over the disjunction between that source's text in Biblical parallels, and the text of our modern Bibles. Consider the following statement, concerning the Biblical quotations in the *Epistle of Barnabas*:

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[76] This applies to Lightfoot's frantic search for the phrase he needs in Reading 1 (ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων). As we saw, he is willing to accept it from the most absurd place (in this case, the wrong verse of the wrong gospel)—as long as it came from within the canon.

> The ordinary reader may find himself puzzled by the seeming[77] inaccuracy of many of Barnabas's profuse quotations from Scripture. There are three factors, any of which—either by itself or in combination with others—may account for this. In the first place, it must not be forgotten that Barnabas is using the only Bible that was familiar to the Greek-speaking world, the Greek (LXX, or Septuagint) translation of the original Hebrew books. Secondly, his standards of exactitude are not high; he often quotes from a not very reliable memory, and is content to give the general sense of a text instead of its exact words.[78] And finally, it must be confessed that he has regrettably few scruples about altering or adding to a Scriptural text to strengthen his argument.[79]

Yet another victim is St. Justin Martyr. Because of his early date and bountiful parallels with texts now in the New Testament (virtually all of them deviating, of course), he has been burdened with a poor memory since at least 1848, when Karl Semisch used it to explain away the divergences.[80] Theodor Zahn also attributed the "non-standard" form of Justin's gospel "citations" to a faulty memory.[81] Others have readily followed Semisch and Zahn: "Justin quotes from memory, so that there are some slight[82] discrepancies between the words of Jesus as here cited, and the same sayings as recorded in our Gospels"; "This and the following quotation taken promiscuously from Matt. xxiii. and Luke xi."[83]

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[77] A curious term, for either the "profuse quotations" are accurate or "inaccurate." What lies behind this adjective is, of course, a palliative for those who are upset by the thought that early Christians should quote "inaccurately."

[78] Note how this clause echoes Lightfoot's characterization of our author's "habit" of "dropping words" and "presenting them in skeleton."

[79] *Early Christian Writings*, ed. M. Staniforth (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), 191.

[80] K. Semisch, *Die apostolischen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus* (Hamburg/Gotha: F. & A. Perthes, 1848), pp. 389-392.

[81] Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, I.2 (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1888), pp. 463-585.

[82] Note how the adjective "slight" ameliorates the concerns of the reader: the magnitude of the "discrepancies" is minor—and, therefore, by inference, unimportant.

[83] *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (American edition), edd. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (reprinted: Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), here Vol. 1, p. 167, n. 3 (apropos of *I Apol.* 15.1-4), and Vol. 1, p. 203, n. 6 (apropos of *Dial.* 17.3b-4), respectively. Even H. Koester can fall prey to the siren-song of labeling passages "free quotations." Of *II Clem.* 3.2 (our Reading 1), Koester cites Lightfoot's characterization ("dropping out words . . . presenting them in skeleton") with approval, and goes on to speak of our author's "sorglose Art des Zitierens" (*Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 [V.10] [Berlin: Akademie, 1957], p. 73); of *II Clem.* 6.2 (our Readings 3 & 4), Koester writes "daß 2. Clem. aber sorglos frei zu zitieren scheint" (ibid., p. 74). I am indebted to Prof. C. Scholten for calling my attention to these two references.

Still another example of this vexing problem is Clement of Alexandria. He offers numerous passages with putative parallels in the New Testament. Among the most noteworthy is an extended quotation at *Quis dives salvetur* 4.4-10, which Clement says he is drawing from Mark 10:17-31: "These things are written in the Gospel according to Mark" (*Q.d.s.* 5.1). The "quotation" is, however, a mélange of Marcan, Matthean, Lucan, and other elements.[84] The standard apology is to claim that Clement displays "Eine gewisse Treue zum Text, die aber der Lebendigkeit der Darlegung und dem Einfühlungsvermögen in den Zusammenhang untergeordnet bleibt."[85] But there is a problem: Clement himself, after he has stated that this quotation is from "Mark," goes on to say that ". . . according to Mark; [it is] also in all the other [gospels] deviating slightly, with, on the one hand, the words changed in each one, but, on the other hand, all of them displaying agreement in sense" (5.1).[86] Thus, it is clear that Clement of Alexandria is aware of the parallel accounts, and even remarks on their differences!

All of these apologies (for that is what they are) contain two implicit assertions. The first is that the fault *always* lies with the Patristic or apocryphal writer. He is the one who "quotes from a not very reliable memory"; he is the one who "is content to give the general sense of a text instead of its exact words"; he is the one who "has regrettably few scruples about altering or adding to a Scriptural text to strengthen his argument"; he is the one who quotes "freely," and is in the "habit of dropping out words in his quotations, and presenting them in skeleton"; he is the one who cites "promiscuously." This casting of aspersions on the Fathers has a corollary: the text of our modern, critically-reconstructed editions of the New Testament is always presumed immaculate, and never called into question. Where the text of a New Testament edition and a Father differ, the Father's text is the

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[84] For example, among the many differences, Clement of Alexandria's version of "Mark" includes: at Mark 10:21, "if you wish to be perfect" (from Matt 19:21 [an interpolation also found in Mark in MSS K W Θ φ 565 sa bo^{pt}]); at Mark 10:22, "possessions *and fields*" (also found in Mark in Vetus Latina MSS *b k*); of vv. 29-30, Michael Mees observes: "Besonders aber dienen diesem Zwecke die beiden Verse 29-30, die sich so in keinem Neuen Testamente finden" (M. Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien*, Quaderni di Vetera Chirstianorum 2 [Bari: Instituto di Letteratura Cristiana Antica/Università di Bari, 1970], p. 60).

[85] Mees, *Die Zitate*, p. 62.

[86] Translated from *Clemens Alexandrinus. Stromata Buch VII und VIII*, ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, and U. Treu, 2nd edition (Berlin: Akademie, 1970), p. 163, lines 13-16. The quotation from "Mark" is on pp. 162-163.

one presumed to be in error. Our evidence, however, has shown that such a presumption is, at least in some cases, wrong.

The problems with this "normative" methodology are numerous, obvious, and fatal. One simply cannot expect to arrive at trustworthy, reliable conclusions by anachronistically retrojecting the text of a modern, critical edition of the New Testament into the second century.[87] The Alands have told us why:

> Denn im 2. Jahrhundert ist der Text des Neuen Testaments noch nicht endgültig festgelegt. Noch bis 150, wo wir bei Justin zum ersten Mal Zitate aus den Evangelien einigermaßen fassen können (vorher herrscht völlige Willkür in der Zitation), werden diese "freischwebend" zitiert, erst um 180 (bei Irenäus) setzt eine Verfestigung ein.[88]

If there were no "festgelegt" text of the New Testament in the second century, if before Justin "herrscht völlige Willkür in der Zitation," and if it were "erst um 180 (bei Irenäus) setzt eine Verfestigung ein," then how, methodologically, can one legitimately compare passages in *Second Clement* (composed between 125 and 150) against a modern edition of the New Testament, and then, on the basis of that comparison, pronounce upon the accuracy of the "quotations" and the citation "habits" of the author? It defies both logic and common sense, to say nothing of the empirical textual evidence.[89]

There is no question but that *some* quotations in Patristic works *are* "free," and were adapted or changed by the author for some reason. But *which*

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[87] See W. L. Petersen, "What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History*, edd. B. Aland and J. Delobel, CBET 7 (Kampen: Kok/Pharos, 1994), pp. 136-152; W. L. Petersen, "The Genesis of the Gospels," in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (FS J. Delobel), BEThL 161 (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), pp. 33-65.

[88] K. and B. Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982), p. 64.

[89] In a session of the "New Testament Textual Criticism Section" of the Society of Biblical Literature (meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA, on November 21, 2005), Prof. Holger Strutwolf, Direktor of the Münster Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, acknowledged in the discussion after the presentation of his paper and your author's paper that the text of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* reflects a text which arose when the early church had become "textbewusst" ("aware of the text [and its importance]"), something that occurred about 180 CE (as indicated in the Alands' quotation). Strutwolf went on to say that the Nestle-Aland text cannot and does not attempt to reconstruct an earlier (that is, pre-180) text, for that text was pluriform, and might called a "school-text," under for teaching and preaching, but which was not fixed (hence the Alands' description of the pre-180 text as "freischwebend").

passages those are, and how to *distinguish* them from verbatim (or nearly verbatim) quotations from early sources—some of which might later have became canonical, and others of which remained non-canonical—whose texts *deviate* from our modern critical editions of the New Testament, is extremely difficult. Indeed, it can only be done (and even then, only in a tentative manner) when one possesses other sources from the *same* general period[90] with the *same* or a *similar* deviating reading, and then compare them. This is the approach that we will now describe; we will call it "non-normative."

A "*non*-normative" methodology avoids the errors which bedevil Lightfoot's "normative" approach. For example, instead of retrojecting the text of a modern critical edition of the New Testament into the second century, and then measuring Patristic parallels against it, a "non-normative" approach acknowledges—as the Alands do in the passage quoted above—our ignorance of the form of the text (and, indeed, even the name of the document[s]) used by early writers. A "non-normative" approach begins by assuming ignorance (always a virtue, in science), and then seeks to assemble concrete textual evidence. It does this by placing the text under investigation at the center of a matrix. Then, as in archaeology, one carefully excavates outward from that point, seeking parallel phenomena in the same strata (*viz.*, the same chronological period), or adjoining strata (slightly earlier or later).

We employed the "non-normative" method in our revision of Lightfoot's text. Observe that our method bore fruit *only* when *multiple, contemporaneous, identical* (or *virtually identical*) *parallels* were found. In Reading 2, for example, it was the agreement of the text of three second-century[91] sources (*Second Clement*, Justin Martyr, Codex Bobbiensis) that allowed us to suggest a different text. In Readings 3 and 4, it was the evidence of the *Stromata* and Justin that allowed us to triangulate a source (whose name is unknown[92]) for our proposed text. In Reading 1, the "non-normative" methodology worked in

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[90] Or which have a link with that period: an example would be a *testimonium* in a much later work.

[91] The reasons for presuming that Codex Bobbiensis' *text* reflects the second century were presented *supra*, nn. 62 and 63.

[92] It may be an non-canonical document, or it may be an early version of "Matthew" that eventually, after much redaction, came to be the Matthew found in the "Great Uncials" of ℵ and B. We simply do not know. Observe that in such a case as this, where the evidence is unclear, the "non-normative" method prevents one from outrunning the empirical evidence.

a different manner: a parallel in Syr^{s} placed Lightfoot's preferred reading in MS S in a new perspective, and showed us that it was a "local text" from Syria, unrelated to the textual tradition of *Second Clement.*

One of the virtues of the "non-normative" method is that it is difficult to go beyond the empirical evidence. If parallels cannot be found, then one will not be able to stipulate either the likely source of a quotation, or the apparent textual form of that source. Such a *non liquet* may be disappointing to some, but it is preferable to the results of the "normative" method: an inaccurate text, accompanied by demonstrably false characterizations—slanders, to be blunt—of a Patristic writer's citation techniques.

III. *The Consequences of the "Normative Method" for Scholarship*

What we found in Lightfoot's edition of *Second Clement,* an edition that has exercised enormous sway over all three subsequent editions, is disconcerting. As we have shown, there are excellent grounds for rejecting his text in four passages which appear to have parallels in the New Testament.

A flawed edition of a Patristic text is bad enough, but the real problem with the "normative method" is that it creates a vicious circle, which allows the method to perpetuate itself. The circle operates like this. Lightfoot's erroneous edition is consulted by textual critics when preparing modern critical editions of the New Testament. When this modern critical edition of the New Testament is completed, then it will, in turn, be retrojected into the second century and set up as the *new* "norm," against which ancient Patristic texts are measured. As we saw in Lightfoot's case, readings in his edition that differ from this "norm" will be labeled as "free quotations," and dismissed, while variant readings which agree with the "norm" will be favoured (as Lightfoot did [cp. his textual decisions in Readings 3 and 4]). This, in turn, will result in more defective editions of ancient Patristic texts, which will then be used to create new critical editions of the New Testament. And so the circle repeats itself, endlessly.

The problem with all this is rather obvious: the "normative" method will never yield a reliable text, either of the Father (*e.g.*, Lightfoot's edition), or of the New Testament.

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PSEUDO-JUSTIN'S *DE RESURRECTIONE*: ATHENAGORAS OR HIPPOLYTUS?

BY

A. WHEALEY

ABSTRACT: Against the opinion of Martin Heimgartner, who ascribes the Pseudo-Justin *de resurrectione* to Athenagoras, Dr. Wealey argues that Hippolytus is more likely to be its author.

In 2001 two monographs were published that dealt in depth with several fragments of an early Christian work on the subject of the bodily resurrection: *Pseudo-Justin: Über der Auferstehung* by Martin Heimgarter and *Pseudo-Giustino: sulla resurrezione* by Alberto D'Anna.[1] Most of these fragments are dubiously attributed to Justin Martyr, although a few are anonymous.[2] While it is very unlikely that Justin is their author it is clear that the fragments are from a work written in the ante-Nicene period. Heimgartner and D'Anna assumed that the work dates to the second century. In addition, Heimgartner ventured to argue that the author of this fragmentary *de resurrectione* might be Athenagoras of Athens. Neither author showed any awareness of an article that argued that the fragments of this *de resurrectione* attributed to Justin most likely derived from the treatise on the resurrection by Hippolytus of Rome.[3] This latter treatise is called περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως on the Roman statue believed to be inscribed with various works by Hippolytus.[4] It is called *de resurrectione* by Jerome in *de viris illustribus*

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[1] M. Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin: Über der Auferstehung*, Patristische Texte und Studien 54 (Berlin, 2001), and A. D'Anna, *Pseudo-Giustino, sulla resurrezione: Discorso cristiano del II secolo* (Brescia, 2001).

[2] The best critical edition of this work (PG 6,1572D-1592A) is now Martin Heimgartner's version, *Pseudo-Justin: Über der Auferstehung* (Berlin, 2001) 102-131.

[3] A. Whealey, "Hippolytus' lost *De universo* and *De resurrectione*: Some new hypotheses," *Vigiliae Christianae* 50 (1996) 250-256. Presumably this article was ignored by Heimgartner and D'Anna because it does not refer to Pseudo-Justin in its title.

[4] I do not find justified the skepticism of those modern scholars who argue that the Roman statue's inscriptions are not of Hippolytus' works, but whether or not the inscriptions are Hippolytan or not, the fact that Hippolytus wrote a treatise specifically dedi-

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61.[5] In this paper, I shall examine Heimgartner's arguments about the date and authorship of the Pseudo-Justin *de resurrectione*, and I shall show why Hippolytus is more likely to be its author than either Athenagoras or any other second century author.

Heimgartner's dating of Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* to the second century is based on his belief that its phrase "ἐξ ἐλαχίστης ῥανίδος ὑγροῦ τηλικοῦτον πλάσσεται ζῷον" (*res.* 5,7) was subsequently used in *ad Autolycum* I 8,3 by Theophilus of Antioch, who writes "ἐπλασέν σε ἐξ ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας μικρᾶς καὶ ἐλαχίστης ῥανίδος."[6] Yet Heimgartner's certainty that *ad Autolycum*, which is dated around 180 AD, must be posterior to *de resurrectione*, rather than vice versa, is hardly justified on this basis alone, as one reviewer has already pointed out.[7] Moreover, the linguistic similarity between this phrase in *ad Autolycum* and its parallel in *de resurrectione* is not in itself decisive proof that the former drew from the latter. For this common phrase, which is a *topos* that the God who can create a human being from a drop of liquid can certainly resurrect the body, might have been drawn by the authors of both texts independently from a common fund of written proof-texts circulating in the early church, or even from another lost theological tract. Even Heimgartner could find no other close linguistic similarities between *ad Autolycum* and *de resurrectione*. Unfortunately, his certainty that Theophilus of Antioch must have used *de resurrectione* caused him to com-

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cated to the topic of the resurrection is independently confirmed by Jerome, who certainly was familiar with some of Hippolytus' treatises (*ep.* 49, 70, 84; *commentarium in Danielem* 9,24; *commentarium in Esaia* prol.). When the statue was discovered and reconstructed during the Renaissance, it was assumed to actually represent Hippolytus, but now it is generally accepted that third-century Christians inscribed an Easter table and the titles of some of Hippolytus' works on an older statue, which may have originally portrayed a female figure. Markus Vinzent summarizes some of the modern theories about the statue and proposes, on iconographical grounds, that the original statue portrayed the queen of the Amazons. Significantly, Amazons were used as a symbol of Rome in third century Roman art, and the Amazon queen of Greco-Roman mythology was known as Hippolyta, with a son who was named Hippolytus (M. Vinzent, "Hippolyt von Rom und seine Statue," in A. M. Ritter, W. Wischmeyer and W. Kinzig, *Zur Zeit oder Unzeit* (Mandelbachtal, 2004) 125-134.

[5] The edition of *de viris illustribus* consulted is E. Cushing Richardson, *Hieronymus: Liber de viris inlustribus*, TU 14,1 (Leipzig, 1896) 35-36.

[6] Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin*, 75-76.

[7] M. J. Edwards, book review of A. D'Anna, *Pseudo-Giustino. sulla resurrezione: Discorso cristiano del II secolo*; M. Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin: Über der Auferstehung* in *Journal of Theological Studies* 55,1 (2004) 333-336.

pletely overlook the works of Hippolytus for more extensive parallels with *de resurrectione* than can be found in *ad Autolycum* or indeed any other second century work.

Heimgartner himself agreed with many earlier scholars that the several linguistic parallels between *de resurrectione* and Book V of Irenaeus' *adversus haereses* are much more extensive than the single linguistic parallel between *ad Autolycum* and *de resurrectione.*[8] Thus any attempt to date *de resurrectione* should focus on the possible literary dependence between it and Irenaeus' *adversus haereses* rather than on its much more dubious dependence on Theophilus' *ad Autolycum.* Because Heimgartner was so certain that *ad Autolycum* must have used *de resurrectione,* he had to conclude that *de resurrectione* must have been used by Irenaeus in his *adversus haereses* rather than vice versa, as argued by other scholars. Yet because we lack an adequate Greek text for this part of Irenaeus' *adversus haereses,* it is probably not possible to decide simply on the basis of the two texts alone which is prior to the other.[9]

On the other hand, Heimgartner's concurrence with earlier scholars that several linguistic and theological parallels suggest that Methodius of Olympius probably used Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* for his counterblast against Origen's treatise on the resurrection is more convincing than his argument that Irenaeus used *de resurrectione.*[10] For at least we have a more adequate Greek text of Methodius' *de resurrectione mortuorum* to compare to the Greek of Pseudo-Justin than we have for the relevant section of Irenaeus' *adversus haereses.* Now a *terminus ante quem* of Methodius' *de resurrectione mortuorum* helps to narrow the likely authorship of Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* to Hippolytus of Rome, since very few Greek Christians before Methodius other than Hippolytus are known to have written a treatise which, like the Pseudo-Justin *de resurrectione,* was specifically dedicated to the topic of the resurrection of the flesh. The only other Greek authors before

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[8] Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin,* 77-82.

[9] For the same reason, Heimgartner's attempts to demonstrate direct literary dependence between *de resurrectione* and second century Coptic texts such as *epistula apostolorum* will probably be inconclusive, as will attempts to demonstrate direct literary dependence between Tertullian's *de resurrectione carnis* and Pseudo-Justin (Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin,* 138-140; 179-187). This is also why I did not use the non-Greek versions of Hippolytus' works to demonstrate parallels with Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione.*

[10] Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin,* 91-94. For evidence that Methodius used such undisputed works of Hippolytus as *in cantica canticorum* and *de antichristo* in some of his other works as well as in his *de resurrectione mortuorum* see G. N. Bonwetsch, *Methodius,* GCS 27 (Leipzig, 1917) 534.

Methodius mentioned by Eusebius or Jerome as having written a treatise specifically dedicated to the topic of the resurrection are an otherwise unknown Sextus (Eusebius, *h.e.* V 27,1),[11] and Origen, who cannot be the author of Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione*. This obscure Sextus and Origen were older and younger contemporaries, respectively, of Hippolytus. Origen's early literary career overlapped with Hippolytus' later literary career, and Hippolytus' works are believed to have influenced Origen's works, as Jerome informs us (*vir. ill.* 61), and as the characteristics of some of the two authors' works further suggest.[12]

But more crucial for determining the provenance of the Pseudo-Justin *de resurrectione* than simply showing which earlier texts it used is, of course, style. On this point, I will show that Hippolytus is a better candidate as an author of *de resurrectione* than Athenagoras, as suggested by Heimgartner.[13] Before

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[11] The edition consulted is E. Schwartz, *Kirchengeschichte. Eusebii Ecclesiasticae Historiae.* GCS 9 (Leipzig, 1903).

[12] In addition to Jerome's testimony, there is internal thematic evidence that Hippolytus' *commentarium in canticum canticorum* influenced Origen's early Alexandrian commentary on the Song of Songs (J. Quasten, *Patrology* 2 (Utrecht, 1953) 174), and that Hippolytus' *commentarium in Psalmos* influenced Origen's commentaries on the Psalms (R. Cadiou, *La jeunesse d'Origène* (Paris, 1935) 100-101). As for influence in the other direction, there is evidence that Hippolytus' *commentarium in Psalmos* was written with a knowledge of Origen's early commentary on the Psalms, which was written in Alexandria between 222-230 (A. Whealey, "Prologues on the Psalms: Origen, Hippolytus, Eusebius," *Revue Bénedictine* 106, 3-4, (1996) 243-244). Hippolytus' literary activity dates from approximately 202 AD, a date based on indications in his *commentarium in Danielem*, to his death, which most likely dates to 235 or 236. Origen presumably outlived Hippolytus, perhaps by as much as twenty years, but began writing in Alexandria when Hippolytus was still active. For the dating of Origen's literary output see P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977) 262-292, and H. Crouzel, *Origène* (Paris, 1985) 63-78.

[13] One of the additional weaknesses of Heimgartner's argument that Athenagoras is the author of Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* is that he rejects, along with many other modern scholars, the attribution of *de resurrectione mortuorum* to Athenagoras, yet he assumes, along with those who accept this attribution, that the λόγος of *leg.* 37,1 indeed refers to some other treatise that Athenagoras wrote. Yet the notion that Athenagoras wrote the *de resurrectione mortuorum* controversially attributed to him seems to have arisen precisely from Byzantine copyists dubiously assuming that this ambiguous λόγος of *leg.* 37,1 is a reference to a separate treatise, and then assigning *de resurrectione mortuorum* to Athenagoras. Critics of the attribution of *de resurrectione mortuorum* to Athenagoras have pointed out that the λόγος of *leg.* 37,1 does not necessarily refer to a separate treatise on the topic of the resurrection, such as that by either Pseudo-Justin or Pseudo-Athenagoras. It may simply be a repetition of the use of λόγος to refer to general Christian teaching, as in *leg.* 2,6; 9,1; 11,1-3; 32,4. The edition of Athenagoras' *legatio* that I am following is W. Schoedel, *Athenagoras: Legatio and De resurrectione* (Oxford, 1972).

proceeding further, however, I should clarify that my own perception of linguistic parallels between *refutatio omnium haeresium* and the undisputed works of Hippolytus induces me to accept that the same author, that is Hippolytus, wrote *refutatio omnium haeresium* as wrote the undisputed works, in contrast to a minority of contemporary scholars, who rejects the idea that *refutatio omnium haeresium* was written by Hippolytus.[14] But in any case, I believe that the parallels between Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* and the undisputed works of Hippolytus are sufficient to warrant further investigation by both those who accept and those who reject the Hippolytan authorship of *refutatio omnium haeresium.*

First of all, quite a few of the terms and ideas that Heimgartner singled out as suggesting a common authorship between Athenagoras' *legatio pro Christianis* and the author of *de resurrectione*[15] can just as readily be found in the writings of Hippolytus: ζωὴν αἰώνιον (*res.* 1,9) can be found in *commentarium in Danielem* III 24,2; IV 12,1, and in *fragmenta in Proverbia* 29; 33. The use of ἄρχων for the devil (*res.* 3,13) can be found in *Dan.* I 16,3, and πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων (*res.* 1,9) can be found in *Prov.* 8.[16] Heimgartner also claims that

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[14] On those who reject the Hippolytan authorship of *refutatio omnium haeresium* see J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West* (Oxford, 2002) 79-82; 116-122. Cerrato himself ignores the question of linguistic style in favor of broader common themes in deciding which texts are what he calls "core Hippolytan documents." I find improbable some of Cerrato's own arguments about *refutatio omnium haeresium* in particular, which he removes from the core Hippolytan documents, and about the use and preservation of Hippolytan texts in general. In brief, Cerrato tends to ascribe too much of the preservation of Hippolytan texts to Monophysite motivation, while he ignores other traditions, such as the genre of apocalyptic writing in response to the Islamic conquest of the Middle East, which certainly employed, and presumably preserved Hippolytus' *de antichristo* for reasons unrelated to conflict over the Council of Chalcedon. (On the use of Hippolytus' works and reputation in post-Islamic apocalyptic texts see Liutprand of Cremona, *legatio* 40; L. Ryden, "Apocalypse of Andreas Salos," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974) 221-222; 251; 258; and A. Whealey, "*De consummatione mundi* of Pseudo-Hippolytus: Another Byzantine apocalypse from the early Islamic period," *Byzantion* 69 (1996)). More seriously flawed, in my judgment, are Cerrato's general assumptions about what constituted an eastern and a western writer in the early church, and about the fate of Greek patristic writing in the medieval Western church and non-Greek Eastern churches. For a review of Cerrato's monograph that brings other criticisms to bear → C. Scholten, *Vigiliae Christianae* 59 (2005) 85-92.

[15] Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin*, 208-209.

[16] For Hippolytus' *commentarium in Danielem* I am following the numbering and text of M. Richard, *Kommentar zu Daniel.* GCS NF 7 (Berlin, 2000). For the numbering and text of Hippolytus' *fragmenta in Proverbia*, which is partially reconstructed from the catenae, I

there are similar uses of doxographical material by Athenagoras (*leg.* 7) and Pseudo-Justin (*res.* 6).[17] Yet the passages *res.* 6,1-2; *res.* 6,6; and *res.* 6,13 share more resemblances with Hippolytus' introductory remarks about Platonism and Epicureanism in *haer.* I 19,1-6 and *haer.* I 22,1-3 than any doxographical material in Athenagoras' *legatio.*[18] The similar characterization of Platonic and Epicurean belief between *refutatio* and *de resurrectione* may be due to both Hippolytus and the author of *de resurrectione* having used Diogenes Laertius.[19]

In addition, some of the terms adduced by the earlier scholars, Carl Semisch, Aimé Puech, and F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, as distinctive to *de resurrectione* and unknown in the works of Justin Martyr can be readily found in the writings of Hippolytus, even while the same terms are absent from Athenagoras' *legatio.*[20] These include the use of σώτηρ, δεσπότης and ἰατρός as epithets of Christ. While the first title is very common in many early Christian works other than those by Hippolytus, δεσπότης for Christ is rarer, but can be found in *Dan.* II 21,3 and in *de benedictione Jacobi* 7; 16.[21] ἰατρός for Christ is unusual in early Christian literature but can be found in Hippolytus' *de antichristo* 3.[22] The use of ἀντικείμενος (*res.* 1,12) for the

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am following M. Richard, "Les fragments du commentaire de saint Hippolyte sur les Proverbes de Salomon," *Muséon* 79 (1966) 79-94.

[17] Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin*, 218.

[18] The text of *Refutatio omnium haeresium* consulted is M. Marcovich, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (Berlin, 1986).

[19] The probability that both the author of *refutatio omnium haeresium* and the author of Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* used Diogenes Laertius had been independently suggested by different scholars of both texts some time ago (F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, "Loof's Asiatic source (IQA) and the Pseudo-Justin *de resurrectione*," *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 36 (1938) 41-60; F. Legge, *Hippolytus: Philosophumena* 1 (London, 1921) 35-36; 41-42; 44; 56; 64). The possible use of the same doxographical source is one more, albeit in itself weak, indication that the author of both works is the same.

[20] Heimgartner cites C. Semisch, *Justin der Martyrer* 1 (Breslau, 1840) 146-161, and A. Puech, *Les apologistes grecs du II siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1912) 267-275, 339-341 in *Pseudo-Justin*, 213. For Hitchcock's work see ibid. n. 19.

[21] Heimgartner notes that δεσπότης is used for Christ by Clement of Alexandria and Melito of Sardis, but not by Athenagoras (*Pseudo-Justin*, 139 n. 27). For Hippolytus' *de benedictione Jacobi*, I am using the numbering and edition of M. Brière, L. Mariès and B.-C. Mercier, "Hippolyte de Rome: Sur les bénédictions d'Isaac, de Jacob, et de Moïse," *Patrologia Orientalis* 27 (1954) 1-115.

[22] G. W. Lampe lists Ignatius of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria as the only other ante-Nicene writers who clearly used ἰατρός as an epithet for Christ (*A patristic Greek lexicon* (Oxford, 1961)). The edition of *de antichristo* used is H. Achelis and G. Bonwetsch, *Hippolytus Werke*, GCS 1 (Leipzig, 1897) 3-47.

devil, singled out as distinctive by Semisch, Puech, and Hitchcock, can be found in the works of Hippolytus (*Dan.* III 24,9; IV 14, 3; *antichr.* 60), as can the use of εὐθέως *res.* 3,8; 8,1) found in *Dan.* II 38,4; III 7,1; III 16,4; III 17,5, *haer.* I 2,14; I 9,1; IX 23,1, and Hippolytus' prologue to *in Psalmos* 17.[23] And the use of ναί as an interjection to a fictive interlocutor (*res.* 4,1; 7,9; 8,16) is found in *Dan.* II 36,8; IV 17,8.

The expression ἐλεύθερος καὶ αὐτεξούσιος in *de resurrectione* is not only linguistically distinctive, as Puech, Semisch and Hitchcock pointed out, but it is also a significant theological commonality between *de resurrectione* and the works of Hippolytus. The former's assertion that "ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος" which is sent by God, is "ἐλεύθερος καὶ αὐτεξούσιος" (*res.* 1,1), is an idea that is closely paralleled by Hippolytus' assertion in *Dan.* II 30,4 that nothing created by God and his λόγος is ὡς ἐλεύθερον . . . ἢ ὡς αὐτεξούσιον. As Heimgartner himself notes, the use of αὐτεξούσιος to refer to the independence of God or his λόγος, as we find in *de resurrectione* and *commentarium in Danielem*, has no precedents in second century Christian works, and it does not appear in Athanagoras' *legatio.* According to Heimgartner, in second century Christian literature αὐτεξούσιος is used of humankind and occasionally angels, but not of God or Christ as in *de resurrectione.*[24]

The term that is designated in *de resurrectione* 1,1 as ἐλεύθερος καὶ αὐτεξούσιος, namely ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, is even more characteristic of Hippolytus: it is found in most of the extant Greek fragments of Hippolytus' works: *ben. Jac.* 22, in *Dan.* IV 12,1; IV 58,4; in *Pss.* 17, in *Noet.* 17,3 in *Prov.* 76 and in *haer.* IV 2,1; X 4.[25] Often translated as "the word of truth" or even "the true doctrine," the context in which the term appears in *de resurrectione* and in the just-cited passages of Hippolytus' works suggests that the term ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος in fact may be pun, meant both as a epithet of Christ and as a reference to the true doctrine.[26]

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[23] I am following the numbering of the prologue to Hippolytus' *commentarium in Psalmos* edited by P. Nautin, *Le dossier d'Hippolyte et Méliton* (Paris, 1953) 167-183.

[24] Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin*, 134-135 n. 5.

[25] The edition and numbering of *Contra Noetum* followed is R. Butterworth, *Hippolytus of Rome: Contra Noetum* (London, 1977).

[26] The only authors before Hippolytus who use ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος in such a way as to possibly refer to both Christ and the true doctrine is Apollinarius of Hierapolis (apud Eusebius, *h.e.* V 16,5), and Clement of Alexandria, *prot.* 7,75,1; 11,117,4; 12,121,2. (Edition consulted is C. Mondésert, *Clement d'Alexandrie: Le protreptique*, SC 2 (Paris, 1949)). Marcovich assumes that Hippolytus' ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος of *haer.* X 4 has the same meaning as ἀληθὴς λόγος (*haer.* X 34,1) and he translates both as "true doctrine," but it

As Heimgartner himself notes, the distinctive term ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος is certainly absent from Athenagoras' *legatio*. Another linguistic similarity of *de resurrectione* with the works of Hippolytus rather than Athenagoras is its predilection for πιστοί and ἄπιστοι instead of Χριστιανοί (*leg.* 1,3; 2,1; 2,4) and pagans:[27] compare *res.* 5,2; 5,12-13; 5,15; 6,18; 8,6 to Hippolytus' *Noet.* 17,1; *Prov.* 18; 39; 75; *antichr.* 61; *Dan.* I 25, 4-5; IV 10,3; IV 50,3-4; IV 51,1 and *haer.* IX 6,1; IX 12,25. In contrast, in Athenagoras' *leg.* 24,4, ἄπιστοι refers to everyone who disobeys emperors, whether Christian or not.

Also characteristic of Hippolytus is the interjection of a fictional opponent τί οὖν ἐρεῖ τις (*res.* 7,10).[28] The use of "ἐρεῖ τις" to represent the opinion of a fictional opponent is quite common in Hippolytus' works: *antichr.* 15, *Dan.* II 20,1; II 25,4; III 22,2; IV 16,1; IV 17,8. *ben. Jac.* 13; 15; *Noet.* 15,3. But the phrase which is most characteristic of Hippolytus is *res.* 8,8: τί γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ . . . ζῷον λογικόν. This rhetorical phrase, the use of τί or another interrogative word combined with . . . ἀλλ' ἤ is so common in Hippolytus' works that it is hardly possible to list every possible instance of it, but here is a fair sample: *antichr.* 11, 12, 14, 25, 32, 64; *Dan.* I 17,2-5; II 13,2; IV 8,9; IV 30,7; IV 40,4; IV 41,5; IV 56,2; *ben. Jac.* 10; 14; 16; 21; 26; *Noet.* 4,5; 4,11; 5,2; 5,4; 15,6; 16,2; *Prov.* 55; 62; 68; 72; *Pss.* 9; 11; 12; 16.

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is in fact not clear that these expressions are identical in meaning (Marcovich, *Refutatio*, 41). Heimgartner similarly assumes, without any real evidence, that the expression ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος of *res.* 1,1 was directed against Celsus' anti-Christian tract called ἀληθὴς λόγος (Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin*, 170). At least one reviewer of Heimgartner's work has also questioned whether the ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος of *res.* 1,1 has anything to do with Celsus' ἀληθὴς λόγος (H. Lona, book review of A. D'Anna, *Pseudo-Giustino. sulla resurrezione: Discorso cristiano del II secolo*; M. Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin: Über der Auferstehung* in *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 8 (2004) 162-165).

[27] Athenagoras does not appear to use one particular word for pagans: the anti-Christian mobs are οἱ πολλοί (*leg.* 1,3-4; 15,1; 26,1), while intellectuals are Ἕλλήνες (*leg.* 29,1).

[28] This phrase comes from a tiny fragment of *de resurrectione* that Heimgartner discovered in a hitherto ignored florilegium from Mount Athos. Heimgartner has conjecturally restored it within the main body of the text at *res.* 7,10 (Heimgartner, *Pseudo-Justin*, 40-43, 131). The parallel with the cited works of Hippolytus, and particularly with *Dan.* III 22,2, suggests that perhaps the phrase should in fact be punctuated τί οὖν; ἐρεῖ τις· ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἁμαρτωλός; The interjection τί οὖν; is used commonly enough elsewhere in Hippolytus' works (*ben. Jacobi* 13; *Noet.* 4,6; *Dan.* II 35,8; *cant.* 1,12 (Greek fragment). The edition of *in cantica canticorum* used is Bonwetsch, *Hippolyts Kommentar zum Hohenlied*, TU 23,2 (Leipzig, 1902) 22).

Why have the linguistic parallels between *de resurrectione* and the works of Hippolytus, which would suggest at the very least influence if not common authorship, been ignored for so long? One probable factor is that scholars since Hans Achelis[29] have usually identified Hippolytus' treatise on the resurrection with a letter that Hippolytus addressed to the empress Mammea, several small fragments of which are extant in Greek and Syriac.[30] Achelis identified this letter to Mammea with the περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως that are among the list of works inscribed on the Roman statue. Of course those scholars who reject the theory that the statue is inscribed with Hippolytus' works must reject the identification of περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως with this letter to Mammea in any case. Yet even for those who accept that the statue's list of works are by Hippolytus, the identification of περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως with the letter to Mammea is far from certain. One reason to question the identification of Hippolytus' letter to Mammea with περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως is that the fragments from the letter are not really περὶ θεοῦ, that is, about the subject of God. In contrast, the arguments in *de resurrectione* frequently revolve around the point that because of God's peculiar characteristics, the resurrection of the flesh is possible (*res.* 1,3-4; 5,12; 6,16; 7,5-7). Conversely, according to the Syriac fragments, Hippolytus' letter to Mammea drew from Paul's letters, which focus more on Christ's than God's role in the resurrection. In fact, all the extant Greek and Syriac fragments of the letter to Mammea are more focused on Christ than God, and they do draw explicitly from Paul's letters. In contrast, *de resurrectione* does not draw explicitly from Paul's letters, as Syriac fragments claim the letter to Mammea did. For all these reasons, I suggest that those scholars who accept that the statue is inscribed with Hippolytus' works should reconsider the earlier hypothesis that another work listed there, called προτρετικὸς πρὸς Σεβηρεῖναν, is to be identified with the letter to Mammea. One point in favor of identifying this title rather than

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[29] H. Achelis, *Hippolytstudien*, TU 16,4 (Leipzig, 1897) 189-193. Johannes Quasten follows Achelis' identification of Hippolytus' letter to Mammea with the statue's inscribed title περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως (*Patrology* 2, 196-97).

[30] Several small Syriac fragments of this letter can be found in J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* 4 (Paris, 1883) 61-64. One very small fragment in Greek is given by M. Richard, "Les difficultés d'une édition des oeuvres de S. Hippolyte," *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975) 69. Theodoret very briefly quotes from it in *Eranistes* II and III where he calls it a "letter to a certain queen." Cerrato confuses the issue by failing to clarify to readers that the extant Syriac fragments of the letter to Mammea are the same fragments as the extant Syriac fragments attributed to the treatise on the resurrection (Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West*, 72, 87).

περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως with the letter, is that the extant fragments always designate the text as being addressed to a woman, rather than having an abstract title such as περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως. Conversely, *de resurrectione* is precisely the type of work that could readily be named by this sort of abstract title.

As for the question of why some fragments of Hippolytus' περὶ θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως should have been misattributed to Justin, one may remark that quite a few of Hippolytus' works, particularly in the original Greek, have come down to us in either an anonymous or a misattributed state. Presumably, misattribution often arose because of a prior state of anonymity. If, as seems likely, the majority of modern scholars are correct that the anonymous work that was read by Photius entitled περὶ τοῦ παντός is in fact by Hippolytus, this would be another case where a work by him was misattributed to Justin Martyr, for Photius notes that some scholars attribute περὶ τοῦ παντός to Justin, while others ascribe it to Josephus, to Irenaeus or to Gaius of Rome (*cod.* 48).[31] Other cases of misattributed or unattributed Greek texts by Hippolytus are: *de benedictione Jacobi*, and fragments from *de benedictione Mosis* and from a lost commentary on parts of Samuel, which were all attributed to Irenaeus;[32] Book I of *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, which was misattributed to Origen; Books IV-X of the same work, which are anonymous;[33] the Greek fragment of the *chronicon* believed to be

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[31] The majority of scholars have concluded that Hippolytus wrote περὶ τοῦ παντός because this title is inscribed on the statue that lists other works believed to be by Hippolytus (n. 4 supra), and because this work is referred to as his own in *haer.* X 5,1; X 32,5. Four clearly authentic fragments of the same περὶ τοῦ παντός that is described by Photius and that is referred to in *haer.* X 5,1; X 32,5 were published by W. J. Malley, "Four unedited fragments of the *De universo*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1965) 13-25. Those scholars who have resisted the mainstream scholarly consensus that *refutatio omnium haresium* was written by Hippolytus have had to conclude that περὶ τοῦ παντός was also not by him, and that the inscriptions of the Roman statue are not of his works. Another possible fragment of this περὶ τοῦ παντός is PG 10,796-801. On the question of its attribution to Hippolytus → A. Whealey, "Hippolytus' lost *De universo* and *De resurrectione*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 50 (1996) 244-250.

[32] P. Nautin, *Le dossier d'Hippolyte*, 34-37, especially 36 n. 2.

[33] Cerrato's claim that "the colophon" of Books IV-X of *refutatio omnium haeresium* is "ascribed to Origen" is misleading (*Hippolytus between East and West*, 94). According to Marcovich, "Origen and Origen's opinions" is written by a third hand, not the original copyist, at *haer.* X 32,1, but not at the head of any one of Books IV-X. It is not clear whether an attribution of the last seven books of *refutatio ommium haeresium* to Origen was intended by this corrector or not (Marcovich, *Refutatio*, 6; 9; 408).

by Hippolytus, and the prologue to Hippolytus' *in Psalmos*, both of which are anonymous.[34]

In conclusion, the linguistic parallels with the works of Hippolytus of Rome as well as external considerations suggest that the *de resurrectione* of Pseudo-Justin might have been written by Hippolytus or, at the very least, by someone from the same circle. Certainly the linguistic parallels with the undisputed Greek works of Hippolytus are more extensive than those found in the undisputed work of Athenagoras of Athens or indeed any other second-century Greek author. Martin Heimgartner's and Alberto D'Anna's assumption that Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* must date from the second rather than early third century can certainly be challenged, and the question of Hippolytan elements in Pseudo-Justin's *de resurrectione* merits further examination.

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[34] *De benedictione Jacobi* and *benedictione Mosis* are attributed to Hippolytus in Armenian and Georgian translations, and the prologue of *in Psalmos* is attributed to Hippolytus in one Syriac fragment. For the Greek fragment of the *chronicon* and its attribution to Hippolytus see A. Bauer, *Hippolytus Werke*, GCS 46 (Berlin, 1955).

DIE PARADOXIE ALS AUSDRUCKSMITTEL TIEFGRÜNDIGER THEOLOGISCHER GEDANKEN BEI GREGOR VON NYSSA

VON

THEODOROS ALEXOPOULOS

ABSTRACT: Saint Gregory of Nyssa is maybe the most important thinker of the fourth century whose theology had a great influence on the posterior church-fathers. A reader who makes a study of Gregory's writings will probably be struck by the astonishing frequency and regularity of the author's use of antithetic terminology. This kind of terminology is not simply a sign of eloquency, but it appears to be an other way of expressing secret truths of the faith. The antithesis becomes the means by which the theological paradox is brought to light and revealed and signifies the tendency of the writer to point to mystical experiences beyond the human intellect. It would thus appear self-evident that a study is needed of Gregory's use of this terminology, in the form of a collection of the contradictory expressions and elucidating their meaning and importance for his thought.

Der vorliegende Beitrag zielt darauf ab, eine Materialsammlung der antithetischen Aussagen, die bei Gregors Werken reichlich vorhanden sind, bereitzustellen, und eine Auslegung dieser Aussagen anzubieten. Die Verwendung dieser Art von Terminologie stellt keine Innovation Gregors dar, sondern sie ist in der frühchristlichen griechischen Theologie zu finden. Das ist das Ergebnis der Erforschung Gregors, die sich schon intensiv mit den Gedanken Gregors im Hinblick auf das erwähnte Thema beschäftigt hat.[1] Dennoch könnte man die Beobachtung anstellen, dass die Häufigkeit,

[1] Vgl. H. Lewy, *Sobria ebrietas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik*, Beihefte zur ZNW 9 Giessen 1929, bes. S. 132-136, L. Méridier, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'œuvre de Grégoire de Nysse*, Paris 1906, J. Daniélou, Mystique de la ténèbre chez Grégoire de Nysse, *DSp* 2 (1953), 1872-1885, ders. *Platonisme et théologie mystique, Doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Théologie, Études publiées sous la direction de la faculté de Théologie S.J. de Lyon-Fourrière 2), Paris 1954, W. Völker, *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker*, Wiesbaden 1955, bes. S. 164, 189, 200, 213, H. Musurillo, *From Glory to Glory. Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings*, New York 1961, M. Canévet, La perception de la présence de Dieu. A propos d'une expression de la XIe homélie sur le Cantique des

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 431-446

der tiefgründige Inhalt und die Vielheit der widersprüchlichen Ausdrücke Merkmale sind, die bei anderen Schriftstellern nicht zu beobachten sind, wie bei Gregor, und aus diesem Grund machen sie die Besonderheit und die Eigenartigkeit der Schriften Gregors aus. Genau diese Vielfalt und Blüte solcher Aussagen in Gregors Werken hat uns den Anlass gegeben, eine Sammlung der Widersprüche anzulegen, und durch eine kurze, genaue und zusammenfassende Verdeutlichung ihren Sinn darzulegen, was bis heute fehlte. Der zukünftige Erforscher Gregors wird in der Lage sein, einen Überblick dieser Formulierungen zu haben und gleichzeitig eine gründliche Erklärung, mit der jede Aussage begleitet sein wird.

Die reichliche Verwendung bei Gregor von antinomischen Aussagen, die seinen Werken eine besondere Färbung geben dient ihm dazu, seine mystische Theologie auszuformen und zu beschreiben. Das beliebte *ὀξύμωρον σχῆμα* ist nach Gregors Äußerung diejenige Art der Weisheit, die in der Verflechtung von Gegensätzen besteht: *τὸ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία διαπλοκῆς συνιστάμενον.*[2] Es handelt sich um eine Redefigur, in der sich widersprüchliche Begriffe verbinden, die jedoch sehr wohl einen logischen Sinn enthalten. Die Antithetik spiegelt eine bestimmte Geisteshaltung wider, die gerade das über alles menschliche Begreifen hinausgehende Geheimnis durch (scheinbar) miteinander unvereinbare Sätze in seiner Rätselhaftigkeit andeuten will. D.h. bei Gregor gehört die Antithetik nicht bloß zum Bereich der elocutio, es geht nicht um eine Beredsamkeit, sondern sie wird zu einem wichtigen Mittel, durch welches die theologische Paradoxie zum Vorschein gebracht und erläutert wird. Hinter der vordergründigen Bedeutung, die jedem Wortlaut entspricht steckt, wie Gregor sagt, eine verborgene Philosophie, die offenbar gemacht werden sollte,[3] so dass den fleischlich Gesinnten eine Führung zum pneumatischen und immateriellen Zustand der Seele zuteil wird.[4]

Für die Einführung einer solchen Redeweise beruft sich Gregor auf der Lehre der Kirche. Auf diesen Weg der Anwendung von antinomischen Ausdrücken hat zuerst die Kirche, durch ihre Lehre über das Geheimnis

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Cantiques. In: *Epektasis.* Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou, Paris 1977, 443-454, S.J. Denning-Boll, Gregory of Nyssa: The Soul in mystical Flight, *GOTR* 34 (1989), 99-119, F. Dünzl, *Braut und Bräutigam. Die Auslegung des Canticum durch Gregor von Nyssa,* BGBE 32, Tübingen 1993.

[2] Gr. Nyss., In Canticum Canticorum 8 (GNO VI, 255, 17-18 Langerbeck).

[3] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 3, 4-4, 1 Langerbeck).

[4] Gr. Nyss., Cant. (GNO VI, 4, 7-10 Langerbeck).

der Menschwerdung des Logos, hingewiesen.[5] Darüber hinaus hängt das Oxymoron Schema mit der Lehre vom Menschen als Scheidegrenze (*μεθόριος*)[6] zwischen dem Intelligiblen und dem Sensiblen zusammen. Der Mensch hat sowohl an der materiellen als auch an der geistigen Natur teil, indem er auf diese Weise die Gegensätze verbindet und harmonisiert.[7]

Aufgrund der Bearbeitung der Texte haben wir eine Reihe von paradoxen Aussagen gesammelt, die nach Gregor der geistigen Anleitung der Gläubigen dienen. Wir zitieren diese Formulierungen und fügen eine knappe, dennoch erläuternde Interpretation an:

Wir beginnen mit einer Formulierung, die Gregor verwendet in der Absicht, den Gegensatz zwischen der Liebe, die auf Gott ausgerichtet ist, und der erotischen Leidenschaft, die auf die Menschen bezogen ist, zu unterstreichen:

ἀνέγκλητον—ἀπαθὲς πάθος[8] (*untadelige—leidenschaftslose Leidenschaft*)

Hier handelt es sich um die erotische Zuneigung der Seele, die von Gott entzündet worden ist.[9] Der *ἔρως* wird hier auf eine geistige Ebene emporgehoben. Es ist nun der *ἀπαθής, μακάριος, θεῖος καὶ καθαρὸς ἔρως*,[10] wobei die somatische Gesinnung verlischt und das Denken allein durch das Pneuma erotisch erglüht.[11] Diese leidenschaftslose Liebe ist die wichtigste Voraussetzung für die pneumatische und unbefleckte Partnerschaft (συζυγία) der Seele mit Gott.[12] Diese Veränderung der erotischen Kraft von der körperlichen zur geistigen und immateriellen Betrachtung des Guten macht die Sinneslust (*ἡδονή*), welche die Seele erfährt, göttlich (*θεία*), selig (*μακαρία*), ungetrübt (*ἀκήρατος*) und rein (*καθαρά*).[13]

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[5] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 8 (GNO VI 255, 18-19 Langerbeck).

[6] Gr. Nyss., Vita s. Macrinae (GNO VIII, 1, 380, 20-21 Callahan).

[7] Gr. Nyss., Oratio Catechetica 6, 3 (GNO III, 4, 22, 10-13 Mühlenberg).

[8] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 23, 9-10 Langerbeck).

[9] Nach Gregor ist Gott das Ziel alles Strebens *μόνον ὀρεκτόν* (De Vita Moysis II [GNO VII, 1, 40, 24 Musurillo]), das *ἀληθῶς γλυκύ τε καὶ ἐπιθυμητὸν καὶ ἐράσμιον*, dessen Genuss jeweils Ausgangspunkt oder Brennstoff größeren, heftigeren Verlangens wird. Vgl. Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 31, 5-7-32, 3-5 Langerbeck).

[10] Gr. Nyss., De instituto Christiano (GNO VIII, 1, 40, 10 Jaeger). Vgl. auch Macr. (GNO VIII, 1, 396, 6 Woods/Callahan) und Gr. Naz., or. 4, 71 (SC 309, 184, 18 Bernardi).

[11] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 27, 12-14 Langerbeck).

[12] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 15, 13-15. 15-18 Langerbeck).

[13] Gr. Nyss., De virginitate 5 (GNO VIII, 1, 277, 21-278, 1. 10-11 Cavarnos); De

Eine Begründung für die Konzeption einer leidenschaftslosen Leidenschaft findet sich in der großen katechetischen Rede, wo Gregor zwischen einer eigentlichen und uneigentlichen Bedeutung des Wortes *πάθος* unterscheidet.[14]

ἀγαθὸν τραῦμα (*gütige Verwundung*),[15] *γλυκεῖα πληγή* (*süßer Schlag*)[16]

Diese zwei widersprüchlichen Ausdrücke mit ähnlicher Bedeutung beziehen sich auf die Auslegung Gregors zu Cant. 5, 7, wo der Text von Misshandlungen der Frau und von der Wegnahme ihres langen Umschlagtuches spricht. Die Möglichkeit einer direkten und ungehinderten Betrachtung der göttlichen Schönheit ist mit dem Ausziehen des alten Gewandes (*παλαιὸς χιτών*),[17] d.h. der Reinigung verbunden. Die Reinigung vollzieht sich allmählich, durch Fortschritte und auch durch Schläge (*πλήγματα*) und Verwundungen (*τραύματα*), welche die Seele (die Braut) zeichnen. Diese Wunden verursachen keinen Schmerz, sondern ermöglichen ein sich rühmen (*ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι* der Braut-Seele.[18] Sie sind gute (*ἀγαθὰ*) Schläge mit „pädagogischer" Wirkung, die eine Art Wachstum (*προσθήκην τινὰ*)[19] im Fortschritt nach oben bedeuten und zur Unsterblichkeit[20] führen. Für eine solche Interpretation bezieht sich Gregor auf biblische Stellen, nämlich auf Prov 23, 13-14; Deut 32, 39c-d und Ps 22, 4c. Bei allen diesen Stellen, führt das Schlagen mit dem Stock zur Heilung und erweist sich von daher als schön.

—πνευματικαὶ αἰσθήσεις (*geistige Wahrnehmungen—Empfindungen*)

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mortuis oratio (GNO IX, 67, 2-5 Heil); Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 313, 17-21 Langerbeck). Vgl. auch Cant. 13 (GNO VI, 383, 12): *ἄϋλος πόθος*.

[14] Or. cat. 16, 1 (GNO III, 4, 46, 2-6 Mühlenberg). Im eigentlichen Sinn bedeutet das *πάθος* das Böse, im uneigentlichen Sinn die Entwicklung des menschlichen Wesens. Der Zusammenhang hier bezieht sich auf die Inkarnation des Logos. Im eigentlichen, moralischen Sinn gibt es kein *πάθος* in der Menschwerdung Gottes, weil Christus völlig sündlos war und nicht in Sünden, sondern in der Menschennatur geboren wurde. Im uneigentlichen Sinn erlitt er *πάθος* durch die Veränderungen, die in seinem menschlichen Leibe vor sich gingen, aber jeder sittlichen Bewertung enthoben sind. Vgl. auch Eun. III/IV 29 (GNO II, 145, 1-12 Jaeger).

[15] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 361, 7-8 Langerbeck).

[16] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 362, 14-15 Langerbeck).

[17] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 360, 5-6 Langerbeck).

[18] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 365, 15-16 Langerbeck).

[19] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 365, 9-10 Langerbeck).

[20] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 361, 20 Langerbeck).

Der Lehre von den geistigen Wahrnehmungen liegt die Seinslehre (Zweiteilung des Seienden in geistig und sinnlich Erfassbares)[21] und die Anthropologie[22] Gregors zugrunde. Man soll den äußeren Menschen, die Gewänder aus Haut ablegen und den inneren Menschen, den Menschen, der Ebenbild Gottes ist, anziehen.[23] Beide Lehren sind für ihn in der Heiligen Schrift begründet.[24] Auf dieser Basis und in Bezug auf die Auslegung des Canticum (1, 2b-3a) entwickelt Gregor den Gedanken, dass unsere Wahrnehmung (*αἴσθησις*) von zweifacher Art ist, die eine somatisch, die andere „göttlicher" (vgl. Prov. 2, 3-5; 10). Es gibt nämlich eine Analogie zwischen Sinnesorganen des Leibes und den seelischen Betätigungen (*τὰ ψυχικὰ ἐνεργήματα*).[25] Hinsichtlich dieser Konzeption verwendet Gregor eine Reihe von Formulierungen, wie: Sinnesorgane der Seele (*αἰσθητήρια τῆς ψυχῆς*),[26] Sinnesorgane des Herzens (*αἰσθητήρια τῆς καρδιᾶς*),[27] geistige Sinnesorgane (*νοητὰ αἰσθητήρια*).[28] Des Weiteren ist auf Ausdrücke zu verweisen, wie: Auge der Seele (*ὀφθαλμὸς τῆς ψυχῆς*),[29] Sicht der Seele (*ὄψις τῆς ψυχῆς*),[30] Gehörsinn des Herzens (*ἀκοὴ τῆς καρδίας*),[31] Tastsinn der Seele

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[21] Gr. Nyss., Eun. II 572 (GNO I, 393, 17-19 Jaeger).

[22] In diesem Punkt könnte man darauf hinweisen, dass die Bedeutung des menschlichen Daseins darin zu sehen ist, dass er ein Bindeglied zwischen dem Sichtbaren und Unsichtbaren bildet. (Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Hom. opif. 16, PG 44 181B). Im Menschen ist eine spannende Harmonie und Synthese zu beobachten: ... *οὐ μονοειδής ἐστιν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις, ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοητοῦ πρὸς τὸ αἰσθητὸν συγκεκραμένου.* Gr. Nyss., De perfectione (GNO VIII, 1, 190, 19-20 Jaeger). Vgl. auch Gr. Nyss., In Ecclesiasten homiliae 8 (GNO V, 419, 9-10 Alexander); Cant. 7 (GNO VI, 241, 1-2 Langerbeck).

[23] Vgl. J. Daniélou, *Platonisme*, 229 (wie Anm. 1).

[24] 2. Kor. 2, 15; Prov. 2, 3-5.

[25] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 34, 1-6 Langerbeck): *μανθάνομεν ... ὅτι διπλῆ τίς ἐστιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ αἴσθησις, ἡ μὲν σωματικὴ ἡ δὲ θειοτέρα, ... ἀναλογία γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ψυχικοῖς ἐνεργήμασιν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σώματος αἰσθητήρια.* Diese Analogie demonstriert Gregor an der Unterscheidung von Wein und Milch, an Kuss und Salbölduft aus Cant. 1, 2-3a. Die Sinnesempfindungen, die das Canticum hier anspricht, sind geistig zu verstehende Vorgänge und werden jeweils von einer geistigen und immateriellen Kraft (*νοητὴ καὶ ἄϋλος δύναμις*) der Seele bewirkt. (GNO VI, 34, 7-18).

[26] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 4 (GNO VI, 117, 2 Langerbeck); Vgl. auch Cant. 14 (GNO VI, 400, 2).

[27] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 14 (GNO VI, 414, 5-6 Langerbeck).

[28] Gr. Nyss., De infantibus praemature abreptis (GNO III, 2, 84, 15-16 Hörner).

[29] Gr. Nyss., Cant. (GNO VI, 4,4); De infant. (GNO III, 2, 83, 1 Hörner); VM (GNO VII, 1, 97, 23-24, Musurillo).

[30] Gr. Nyss., VM (GNO VII, 1, 39, 2-3 Musurillo).

[31] Gr. Nyss., VM (GNO VII, 1, 89, 7 Musurillo).

(*ἀφὴ τῆς ψυχῆς*).[32] Mit einem bestimmten Inhalt, der auf eine geistige Ebene hinweist, sind auch die von Gregor so genanten geistigen Sinnesempfindungen des Geruchs (*ὀσφραντικὴ αἴσθησις*), als Geruch der unerreichbaren und überlegenen Gnade,[33] und des Geschmacks, der sich auf die vollkommenere Nahrung bezieht,[34] zu nennen.

Das Erwecken, das Blühen der geistigen Sinnesempfindungen setzt die Reinigung des Herzens voraus,[35] bezieht sich auf eine geistig fortgeschrittene Ebene und entspricht dem idealen ursprünglichen Zustand des Menschen, in dem es keine sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen gab und er als Nahrung die göttlichen Güter hatte.[36] Die Wiederherstellung zum Ursprünglichen (*ἡ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατάστασις*)[37] des göttlichen Bildes (*θεία εἰκών*), die im jetzigen Leben von dem Schmutz des Fleisches bedeckt ist, stellt die Hauptaufgabe des Menschen nach Gregor dar.

Auf das Erwecken der geistigen Sinneswahrnehmungen ist das antithetische Schema der nüchternen Trunkenheit (*νηφάλιος μέθη*)[38] und des wachen Schlafens (*γρηγορῶν ὕπνος*)[39] hin bezogen.

Das antithetische Schema der nüchternen Trunkenheit verbindet Gregor mit dem eucharistischen Wein, der denjenigen, die davon getrunken haben, eine ekstatische Trunkenheit, ein Heraustreten des Nous aus dem Schlechteren hin zum Besseren, verschafft.[40] Durch diese Trunkenheit wird der Seele eine Ekstase zum Göttlicheren (*πρὸς τὰ θειότερα*) hin zuteil.[41] Es handelt sich also um eine andere Art von Trunkenheit, welche den Nous von allem Sinnlichen, ja, selbst von allem Denkbaren im Bereich der geschaffenen Ordnung ablöst und ihn zur mystischen Betrachtung des Göttlicheren hinführt.

Ein ähnliches Oxymoron Schema bildet Gregor mit der Beschreibung des wachen Schlafens. Der Trunkenheit folgt ein ungewöhnlicher Schlaf (*ξένος δέ τις οὗτος ὁ ὕπνος ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς συνηθείας ἀλλότριος*). Denn

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[32] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 32, 11-12 Langerbeck).
[33] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 3 (GNO VI, 91, 8-10 Langerbeck).
[34] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 306, 16 Langerbeck).
[35] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., In inscriptiones Psalmorum, 1, 3 (GNO V, 29, 24-25 Mc Donough).
[36] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Virg. (GNO VIII, 1, 302, 5-12 Cavarnos).
[37] Gr. Nyss., Virg. 12 (GNO VIII, 1, 302, 6 Cavarnos).
[38] Gr. Nyss., Virg. 15 (GNO VIII, 1, 310, 4 Cavarnos).
[39] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 311, 14-13 Langerbeck).
[40] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 308, 18-309, 2 Langerbeck).
[41] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 310, 20 Langerbeck).

normalerweise ist der Schlafende nicht wach und der Wachende schläft nicht, sondern Schlaf und Wachen wechseln einander ab. Hier aber zeigt sich eine seltsame Mischung bzw. ein Zusammentreffen der Gegensätze (*τις . . . παράδοξος μίξις τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ σύνοδος*).[42] Gregor erinnert daran, dass der Schlaf ein Abbild des Todes ist: Während des Schlafs ist alle Sinneswahrnehmung aufgehoben.[43] Diese Beschreibung überträgt Gregor auf diejenigen, in denen nur der Geist lebt (*μόνος ὁ νοῦς . . . βιοτεύει*), ohne von den Sinnesorganen beunruhigt zu werden: Bei ihnen wird die Natur des Leibes wie im tiefen Schlaf entspannt; es erfolgt nämlich ein Einschläfern jeder somatischen Regung, wobei der Geist sich von keinen sinnlichen Vorstellungen beeindrucken lässt und frei und ungetrübt sich durch Überlegung nach oben richtet. Auf paradoxe Weise, obwohl alle Sinne, wie in einer Art von Schlaf, von Untätigkeit beherrscht werden,[44] ist die Seele auf der Hut, in einem Zustand des Wachseins, so dass sie die Begegnung mit dem Göttlichen vollziehen kann. Um den unaufhörlichen Fortschritt durchführen zu können, den Gregor als eine wachsende Annäherung an das Göttliche versteht, muss die Seele mit bloßem und ungetrübtem Denken (*γυμνῇ τε καὶ καθαρᾷ τῇ διανοίᾳ*) „wach" sein d.h. aufnahmebereit für das Erscheinen Gottes.[45]

Eine ähnliche Konzeption, die sich an die *μέθη νηφάλιος* anknüpft, ist auch bei Plotin zu finden. Durch das Bild des trunkenen *Noῦς*, der sich von allen sinnlichen und geistigen Vorstellungen befreit hat, versucht Plotin die Einung mit dem Einen zu erläutern. Diese geschieht durch das Überschreiten des Denkens,[46] durch den *νοῦς ἐρῶν*, wenn er, trunken von Nektar, außer sich gerät.[47] Die Trunkenheit der einenden Betrachtung wird

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[42] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 311, 11-18 Langerbeck).

[43] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 311, 19-312, 2 Langerbeck).

[44] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 313, 6-7 Langerbeck).

[45] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 10 (GNO VI, 314, 3-7 Langerbeck): *διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ψυχή, ὅταν μόνῃ τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος εὐραίνηται, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐγρήγορε τῶν ἐνεργουμένων καθ' ἡδονὴν δι' αἰσθήσεως, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν σωματικὴν κατακοιμήσασα κίνησιν γυμνῇ τε καὶ καθαρᾷ τῇ διανοίᾳ διὰ τῆς θείας ἐγρηγόρσεως δέχεται τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐμφάνειαν.*

[46] Vgl. Plotin, Enn. V 5, 8, (PO II, 250, 23 Henry/Schwyzer). Vgl. auch VI 7, 35 (PO III, 228, 29 Henry/Schwyzer).

[47] Vgl. Plotin, Enn. VI 7, 35 (PO II, 228, 24-25 Henry/Schwyzer). Vgl. dazu W. Beierwaltes, *Erleuchtung HWPh* 2, 1972 (712-717) 715; ders. *Selbsterkenntnis und Erfahrung der Einheit. Plotins Enneade V 3*, Frankfurt 1991, 124; T. Böhm, *Theoria—Unendlichkeit—Aufstieg. Philosophische Implikationen zu „De Vita Moysis" von Gregor von Nyssa*, SVigChr 35, Leiden / New York / Köln 1996, 93.

auch dabei höher eingeschätzt als die Nüchternheit der intellektuellen Erkenntnis.[48]

Auch die Idee des Wachseins (*ἐγρήγορσις*) ist beim Philosophen vorhanden. Die Seele, die sich von den Leidenschaften befreien will, soll alle Vorstellungen (*φαντασίαι*) gering schätzen und verachten, wie jemand, der, indem er alle Traumvorstellungen verdrängen will, die Seele, welche sie träumt, erweckt.[49] Die Reinigung (*κάθαρσις*) ist also ein Aufwachen von den unvernünftigen Bildern (*ἔγερσις ἐκ τῶν ἀτόπων εἰδώλων*).[50] Das Wachsein ist eigentlich ein Über-Denken, eine Steigerung des Denkens (*ὑπερνόησις*), jenseits des Seins, des Intellekts, jenseits des vernünftigen Lebens.[51]

ἀλάλητα[52]—*ἄρρητα*—*ἀνεκφώνητα*[53] *ῥήματα* (*unausgesprochene—unsagbare—unaussprechliche Wörter*)

ὀνόματα τοῦ ἀκατονομάστου[54] (*Namen des Unbenennbaren*)

ἓν ὄνομα γνωριστικὸν τῆς ἰδίας ἔχοντα φύσεως τὸ μόνον αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ πᾶν εἶναι ὄνομα[55] (*er [sc. Gott] hat nur einen Namen, der seine eigene Natur bezeichnet, dass er allein über jeden Namen ist*)

κλῆσις τοῦ ἀνεκφωνήτου[56] (*Ruf des Unausdrückbaren*)

Die oben erwähnten paradoxen Formulierungen sollen die Erhabenheit Gottes über jede namentliche Bezeichnung zum Ausdruck bringen. Sie erklären sich dadurch, dass Gottes Wesen[57] unsagbar bleibt, dass ein Begreifen und Verständnis von ihm ausgeschlossen ist. Die menschlichen Ausdrucks-

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[48] Vgl. M.B. v. Stritzky, *Zum Problem der Erkenntnis bei Gregor von Nyssa*, MBTh 37, Münster 1973, 73-79.

[49] Vgl. Plotin, Enn. III, 6, 5 (PO I, 342, 10-12 Henry/Schwyzer).

[50] Vgl. Plotin, Enn. III, 6, 5 (PO I, 343, 24 Henry/Schwyzer).

[51] Vgl. Plotin, Enn. VI, 8, 16 (PO III, 262, 33-263, 35 Henry/Schwyzer).... *ἡ δὲ ἐγρήγορσίς ἐστιν ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας καὶ νοῦ καὶ ζωῆς ἔμφρονος.* Dazu, J. Daniélou, *Platonisme*, 280 (wie Anm. 1); T. Kobusch, *Metaphysik als Lebensform bei Gregor von Nyssa*, in: *Gregory of Nyssa: Homilies on the Beatitudes* (SVigChr 42), H. Drobner / A. Viciano [Hgg.], Leiden 2000, (467-485) 479.

[52] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 40, 10-12 Langerbeck); ebd. 3 (85, 20; 86, 2).

[53] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 11 (GNO VI, 326, 14 Langerbeck).

[54] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 6 (GNO VI, 181, 20 Langerbeck).

[55] Gr. Nyss., Eun. I 683 (GNO I, 213, 13 Jaeger).

[56] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 357, 9 Langerbeck).

[57] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Eun. II 102 (GNO I, 256, 23-25 Langerbeck): *τὸν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας λόγον ὡς οὔτε δυνατὸν χωρηθῆναι οὔτε τι φέροντα τοῖς πολυπραγμονοῦσι τὸ κέρδος ἄρρητον ἀφῆκαν καὶ ἀνεξέταστον.* Vgl. auch ebd. III/V, 54 (GNO II, 179, 23-27 Jaeger).

mittel bzw. die Sprache erweisen sich als unausreichend, das Göttliche zu umschreiben. Gregor fragt sich: Wie kann man den, den man außerhalb jedes Erkennungsmerkmals (*παντὸς γνωριστικοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἐξώτερος*) findet, mit einer begrifflichen Bezeichnung (*διά τινος ὀνοματικῆς σημασίας*) umfassen? Zwar ersinnt der Mensch alle möglichen Namen zur Bezeichnung des unaussprechlich Guten, aber alle Aussagekraft eines Wortes versagt und erweist sich als geringer denn die Wahrheit (*ἡττᾶται δὲ πᾶσα φραστικὴ λόγου δύναμις καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐλάττων ἐλέγχεται*).[58] Gregor befürwortet gleichermaßen eine kataphatische Theologie und keinen sterilen Apophatismus, der in sich Gefahr läuft, zu einem Agnostizismus zu führen. Der festen Überzeugung für die Nützlichkeit und Wertigkeit der bejahenden Theologie liegt die Lehre von Energien[59] Gottes zugrunde. Positive und negative Methoden sind gleichwertig.[60] In diesem Punkt unterscheidet sich Gregor von Plotin und dem Verfasser des Corpus Areopagiticum, die der Apophasis gegenüber der Kataphasis einen deutlichen Vorrang zuerkennen.[61] Dennoch muss man festhalten, dass Gregor hinsichtlich der Unerkennbarkeit und der Unnennbarkeit Gottes etliche Grundbegriffe der negativen Theologie aus der neuplatonischen Tradition in sein christliches Lehrgebäude eingebaut hat, ohne sie verblassen zu lassen.[62]

ὁ γὰρ ἀνιὼν πάντως οὐχ ἵσταται καὶ ὁ ἑστὼς οὐκ ἀνέρχεται, ἐνταῦθα δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἑστᾶναι τὸ ἀναβῆναι γίνεται . . .[63] (*Derjenige, der aufsteigt, bleibt auf jeden Fall nicht stehen, und derjenige, der stehen bleibt, steigt wieder nicht auf. In diesem Fall aber erfolgt der Aufstieg durch das Stehen*)

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[58] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 357, 18, 358, 3 Langerbeck).

[59] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Cant. 11 (GNO VI, 334, 7-9 Langerbeck): . . . *ὅρον ποιεῖται τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν μόνην τὴν μέχρις ἡμῶν κατιοῦσαν, ἧς διά τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν αἰσθανόμεθα.* Vgl. auch Ad Ablabium, Quod non sint tres dei (GNO III, 1, 44, 7-9 Mueller); De beatitudinibus hom. 6 (GNO VII, 2, 141, 25-27 Callahan).

[60] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Eun. II 137 (GNO I, 265, 19-21 Jaeger).

[61] Plotin fordert uns immer wieder auf, „alles abzustreifen" (*ἄφελε πάντα*). Vgl. Enn. V 3, 17, (PO II, 233, 38 Henry/Schwyzer). Vgl. Ps.Dion.Areop. Div.Nom. 13, 3 (PTS 33, 230, 1-2 Suchla). Dennoch muss man die folgende Einschränkung machen, dass nämlich Dionysios Areopagites auch die Wichtigkeit und Würde der Kataphasis anerkennt, was bei Plotin nicht der Fall ist.

[62] Vgl. S.R.C. Lilla, *Neuplatonisches Gedankengut in den Homilien über die Seligpreisungen Gregors von Nyssa*, SVigChr 68, Leiden / Boston 2004, 84. Dort sind auf den Seiten 75-85 alle negativen Grundbegriffe zu finden, die Gregor verwendet und die auf die platonische Tradition zurückzuführen sind.

[63] Gr. Nyss., VM (GNO VII, I, 118, 4-5 Musurillo).

Dieses Paradoxon von Stehen und Bewegung legt sich Gregor nahe anlässlich der Auslegung von Ex 33, 22: *στήσω γάρ σε ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας*. Es gibt danach, so Gregor, eine Wechselbeziehung zwischen Stehen und Bewegen, bei der sich das Stehen nicht als logisches und existenzielles Ende der Bewegung erklären lässt, sondern als unabwendbares Prinzip der ausgewählten Richtung.[64] Um es noch deutlicher zu machen: Stehen bedeutet die Festigkeit und Unveränderlichkeit im Guten: *je mehr man im Guten fest (παγίως) und unveränderlich (ἀμεταθέτως) fixiert ist, desto mehr schreitet man auf dem Weg der Tugend fort.*[65] Es handelt sich nicht um eine Untätigkeit (*ἀπραξία*), weil schon das Gute erworben worden ist, sondern eben deshalb, weil die Seele auf das Gute fixiert ist und weil es als unendlich und als unerschöpflich spendende Quelle[66] von Gütern konzipiert ist, richtet sie sich auf Es (d.h. das Gute) hin, indem sie ihr Verlangen (*ἐπιθυμία*)[67] nach Ihm, ohne zu wanken, bewahrt. In dieser Hinsicht ist die Wechselbeziehung zwischen *πέρας* und *ἀρχή*, zwischen *ἔξοδος* und *εἴσοδος* der Seele zu interpretieren. Das Ende (*πέρας*) im Aufstieg wird nur als ein noch weiteres Fortschreiten, als das Erreichen einer noch höheren Stufe in der Tugend, nicht als endgültiges Erreichen Gottes betrachtet, und eben deshalb wird es zum Anfang des Hingeleiten zu dem, was jenseits (des Erreichten) liegt (*τὸ πέρας τῶν προδιηνυσμένων ἀρχὴ γίνεται τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα χειραγωγίας*).[68] Unter demselben Blickwinkel wird das Ausgehen von dem, worin wir uns befinden, zum Eingang in die höheren Güter (*ἡ ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐσμεν ἔξοδος ὑπερκειμένων ἀγαθῶν εἴσοδος γίνεται*).[69]

διὰ θανάτου ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἀνίσταται (*die Seele aufersteht durch Tod aus dem Tod*)[70]

Es gibt nach Gregor drei Arten des Todes: Die erste ist der natürliche Tod, d.h. die Auflösung des Körpers,[71] weil ein Jedes, das zu sein beginnt und endet, aus dem Nichtseienden seinen Anfang nimmt und im

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[64] Vgl. T. Dolidze, *Der ΚΙΝΗΣΙΣ—Begriff der griechischen Philosophie bei Gregor von Nyssa*, in: *Gr. of N. Homilies on the Beatitudes* (SVigChr 42), 442.

[65] Gr. Nyss., VM (GNO VII, 1, 118, 7-8 Musurillo).

[66] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Cant. 11 (GNO VI, 321, 6-25 Langerbeck).

[67] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., VM (GNO VII, 1, 117, 20-24 Musurillo).

[68] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 6 (GNO VI, 177, 19-178, 1; 179, 1-2 Langerbeck).

[69] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 354, 1-2 Langerbeck). Gregor beruft sich auf Ps. 120, 8: *"Κύριος φυλάξει τὴν ἔξοδόν σου καὶ τὴν εἴσοδόν σου"*. Vgl. auch (GNO VI, 357, 1-2).

[70] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 347, 6-7 Langerbeck).

[71] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Eun. III/VII 50 (GNO II, 232, 20-25 Jaeger).

Nichtseienden endet.[72] Die zweite Art betrifft den geistigen Tod, der in der freiwilligen (*ἑκούσιος*)—Entfernung (*ἀπομάκρυνσις*)—Entfremdung (*ἀποξένωσις*) von Gott besteht.[73] Es ist nämlich der Bruch mit der Gemeinschaft (*κοινωνία*) mit Gott.

Die dritte Art bezieht sich auf die Abtötung der Sünde. Nachdem sich die Seele durch die Neigung zur Bosheit mit dem Tod vertraut gemacht hat und vom Ausharren im Guten abgewichen ist,[74] muss sie sich vom Bösen entfernen und wieder auf den Bahnen des Guten verharren. Diese Wiederausrichtung auf das Gute hin muss die Frucht einer freien Entscheidung sein.[75] Gregor sagt kennzeichnenderweise: „Zweifellos kann man sich nicht im seligen Leben befinden, ohne für die Sünde ‚tot' geworden zu sein".[76] Der Wechsel (*ἀντιμετάστασις*) von Leben und Tod entsteht also durch Teilhabe und Beraubung (*διὰ μετουσίας τε καὶ στερήσεως*), weil der, der getötet wurde für das Gute, für des Schlechte lebt, und der, der ein Toter in der Bosheit geworden ist, wieder zur Tugend auflebt.[77]

> *τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς εἷς ὅρος ἐστίν, τὸ ἀόριστον*[78] (*der Tugend ist nur eine Grenze eigentümlich, die Grenzenlosigkeit*)

Gregor beweist die Grenzenlosigkeit der Tugend durch folgenden Gedankengang: Jedes Gute hat von Natur aus keine Grenze, sondern wird nur von der Setzung des Gegenteils begrenzt. Wie zum Beispiel das Leben durch den Tod begrenzt, und das Ende des Lebens zum Anfang des Todes

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[72] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Eun. II 578 (GNO I, 395, 9-11 Jaeger): *πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχήν τε καὶ τελευτὴν ἔχον τοῦ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἄρχεται καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν καταλήγει.*

[73] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Refutatio confessionis Eunomii (GNO II, 385, 19-26 Jaeger): *διπλοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου συγκρίματος, καταλλήλως καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐνεργεῖται ὁ θάνατος, τῆς διπλῆς ζωῆς ἐνεργούσης τῷ νεκρουμένῳ τὴν στέρησιν. σώματος μὲν γάρ ἐστι θάνατος ἡ τῶν αἰσθητηρίων σβέσις καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὰ συγγενῆ τῶν στοιχείων διάλυσις· ψυχὴ δέ, φησίν, ἡ ἁμαρτάνουσα αὐτὴ ἀποθανεῖται· ἁμαρτία δέ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθινή τε καὶ μόνη ζωή.* Vgl. auch Eun. III/VI 77 (GNO II, 213, 8-14 Jaeger): *πολύσημος δὲ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἔννοια ... ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νοερᾶς φύσεως ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκείωσις ἡ ἀληθής ἐστι ζωὴ καὶ ἡ τούτου ἀπόπτωσις θάνατον ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα.* Dazu, K. Batsikouras, *Ἡ ἔννοια τοῦ θανάτου κατὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Γρηγόριο Νύσσης*, Θεολογία καὶ Ἱστορία 13, Athen 1999, 135-178.

[74] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 15 (GNO VI, 458, 12-13 Langerbeck): *ἐπειδὴ τῷ θανάτῳ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν κακίαν σχέσεως οἰκειωθεῖσα, τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ διαμονῆς ἀπερρύη.*

[75] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 344, 7-11 Langerbeck).

[76] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 351, 12-13 Langerbeck).

[77] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 351, 16-352,1 Langerbeck).

[78] Gr. Nyss., VM (GNO VII, 1 4, 18 Musurillo).

wird, ebenso wird das Aufhören der Tugend zum Anfang des Bösen.[79] Im Rahmen seiner positiven Theologie bezeichnet Gregor Gott als die vollkommenste Tugend (*παντελὴς ἀρετή*).[80]

μέτρον τῆς θείας φύσεως ἡ ἀπειρία ἐστὶν[81] (*Maß der göttlichen Natur ist die Unendlichkeit*)

Als *ἄπειρον* bezeichnet Gregor das, was von keiner Grenze umschrieben ist und weder Anfang noch Ende kennt.[82] Dies sind kennzeichnende Merkmale des Seienden.[83] Ähnliche Konzeptionen sind auch bei Gregor von Nazianz[84] zu finden und knüpfen an die platonische Tradition an. Das erste Prinzip, das absolut negative Eine der ersten Hypothese des Parmenides, bleibt über jedes *πέρας* erhaben, indem es von nichts begrenzt ist.[85]

οὗ ἡ εὕρεσίς ἐστιν αὐτὸ τὸ ἀεὶ ζητεῖν[86] (*dessen Auffinden das immerwährende Suchen selbst ist*)

Die Formulierung entspricht dem wichtigen Gedanken der „Epektasis", der die Mystik Gregors von Nyssa stark prägt. Nach Gregor kann Gott nur das Ziel allen Strebens sein (*μόνον ὀρεκτόν*),[87] was ein unendliches Fortschreiten zu Ihm verursacht. Der Versuch des Menschen, Gott zu erreichen, wird als eine immer weitere geistige und moralische Verbesserung im Guten und als ein progressus in infinitum betrachtet, wobei der eigentliche, aus dem Suchen sich ergebende Gewinn das Suchen selbst ist:

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[79] Gr. Nyss., VM I (GNO VII, 1, 3, 17-18; 4, 2 Musurillo).

[80] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 36, 5 Langerbeck).

[81] Gr. Nyss., Eun. II 70 (GNO I, 246, 18 Jaeger).

[82] Gr. Nyss., Eun. III/VII 33 (GNO II, 227, 1-2 Jaeger): *μάταιον ἄρα τὸ ἄπειρον ἀρχῇ καὶ τελευτῇ περιγράφειν· τὸ γὰρ περιεγραμμένον ἄπειρον εἶναι οὐ δύναται.*

[83] Gr. Nyss., Eun. II 578 (GNO I, 395, 5-9 Jaeger): *ἐν διαστηματικῇ τινι παρατάσει θεωρεῖσθαι τὰ ὄντα... ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος περιγραφῇ ἐντὸς γίνεται τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπόψεως, ἐπίσης καθ' ἑκάτερον πέρας τῷ μὴ ὄντι περιγραφόμενα.*

[84] Gr. Naz., or. 38, 7, (SC 358, 116, 23-24 Moreschini/Gallay): *καὶ τοῦτο πάντη καταληπτὸν αὐτοῦ μόνον ἡ ἀπειρία* (wörtlich übereinstimmend mit or. 45, 3, PG 36, 628A).

[85] Parm. 137d 4-8; Phil. 30c 4-5. Was Plotin betrifft, vgl. Enn. V 5, 10, (PO II, 354, 18-19 Henry/Schwyzer). Vgl. auch V 5, 11 (PO II, 356, 3-4); VI 7, 17 (PO III, 235, 15-16); VI 7, 32 (PO III, 253, 15). Über den Begriff der Unendlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa uf dem Hintergrund der antiken Philosophie s. die grundlegenden Arbeiten von: E. Mühlenberg, *Die Unendlichkeit Gottes bei Gregor von Nyssa. Gregors Kritik am Gottesbegriff der Klassischen Metaphysik*, FKDG 16, Göttingen 1966; T. Böhm, Theoria (wie Anm. 47).

[86] Gr. Nyss., Eccl. 7 (GNO V, 400, 21 Alexander).

[87] Gr. Nyss., VM II (GNO VII, 1, 40, 24 Musurillo).

τὸ τοῦ ἐκζητῆσαι κέρδος αὐτὸ τὸ ζητῆσαι ἐστιν.[88] Andere Formulierungen, die auf dieselbe Konzeption hinauslaufen, sind die folgenden:

> τὸ ἀεὶ προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν... τουτέστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς τοῦ ποθουμένου ἀπόλαυσις[89] (*das ständige Fortschreiten im Suchen... d.h. der wahre Genuss des Ersehnten*)
>
> ὁ ἰδεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἐπιθυμῶν, ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ αὐτῷ ἀκολουθεῖν ὁρᾷ τὸ ποθούμενον, καὶ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ θεωρία ἐστὶν ἡ ἄπαυστος πρὸς αὐτὸν πορεία[90] (*wer Gott zu sehen verlangt, sieht den Ersehnten dadurch, dass er ihm immerzu folgt. Die Schau seines Angesichts ist das unaufhörliche auf ihn Zugehen*)
>
> τοῦτό ἐστιν ὄντως τὸ ἰδεῖν τὸν θεόν, μηδέποτε τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κόρον εὑρεῖν[91] (*das ist das eigentliche Sehen Gottes, nie eine Sättigung des Verlangens zu finden*)
>
> Προϊὼν δὲ ὁ νοῦς..., ὅσον προσεγγίζει μᾶλλον τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοσοῦτον πλεῖον ὁρᾷ τὸ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἀθεώρητον. Καταλιπὼν γὰρ πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον... ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνδότερον ἴεται, ἕως ἂν διαδυῇ καὶ τῇ πολυπραγμοσύνῃ τῆς διανοίας πρὸς τὸ ἀθέατόν τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτον κἀκεῖ τὸν θεὸν ἴδῃ· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ ἀληθής ἐστιν εἴδησις τοῦ ζητουμένου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ μὴ ἰδεῖν, ὅτι ὑπέρκειται πάσης εἰδήσεως τὸ ζητούμενον, οἷόν τινι γνόφῳ τῇ ἀκαταληψίᾳ πανταχόθεν διειλημμένον. Διό φησι καὶ ὁ ὑψηλὸς Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐν τῷ λαμπρῷ γνόφῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος, ὅτι "θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε..."[92] (*Indem der Geist voranschreitet... und der Anschauung immer näher kommt, um so mehr sieht er also, je mehr er sich der Schau nähert, dass die göttliche Natur unsichtbar ist. Denn indem er die gesamte Erscheinungswelt hinter sich lässt,... dringt er immer tiefer ins Innere, bis er unter vielfältiger geistiger Anstrengung zum Unsichtbaren und Unfassbaren gelangt und dort Gott schaut. Denn darin liegt die eigentliche Erkenntnis des Gesuchten und dann das Sehen im Nicht-Sehen, dass das Gesuchte alle Erkenntnis übersteigt, wie durch Finsternis durch seine Unbegreiflichkeit auf allen Seiten abgeschlossen. Deshalb, sagt der erhabene Johannes, der in diese lichte Finsternis eindrang; „Niemand hat Gott je gesehen..."*)
>
> θεωρία τῶν ἀοράτων[93] (*Betrachtung der Unsichtbaren*)
>
> τὸ θεώμενον καὶ μὴ βλεπόμενον[94] (das betrachtend Geschaute und nicht Gesehene)

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[88] Gr. Nyss., Eccl. 7 (GNO V, 401, 1-2 Alexander).

[89] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 369, 23-370, 2 Langerbeck).

[90] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 12 (GNO VI, 356, 12-16 Langerbeck).

[91] Gr. Nyss., VM II (GNO VII, 1, 116, 17-18 Musurillo).

[92] Gr. Nyss., VM II (GNO VII, 1, 86, 20-87, 11 Musurillo).

[93] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 6 (GNO VI, 181, 5 Langerbeck). Vgl. Ps. I, 7 (GNO V, 44, 3 Mc Donough).

[94] Gr. Nyss., Beat. 3 (GNO VII, 2, 104, 24-25 Callahan).

ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῳ τῷ δύνασθαι καταληφθῆναι γινωσκομένη[95] (sc. *ἡ θεία φύσις* [*allein in der Unmöglichkeit, erfasst zu werden, erkannt*])

ὁ ἐν τῷ θείῳ γνόφῳ ὀξυωπῶν (sc. *ὁ Μωυσῆς*)[96] *καὶ βλέπων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀόρατον·* (*. . . Mose, der im göttlichen Dunkel Scharfsicht beweist und in ihm das Unsichtbare sieht*)

ἐντὸς τῶν ἀοράτων γίνεται[97] (*hält er sich im Bereich des Unsichtbaren auf*)

πρὸς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας παραδυεὶς[98] (*taucht in das Unzugängliche der göttlichen Mystagogie ein*)

Diese widersprüchlichen Ausdrücke bergen eine hohe Theologie in sich, die auf zwei Ideen basiert, nämlich auf dem Gedanken der Unbegreiflichkeit und gleichzeitig der Erfassbarkeit Gottes, die auf den ersten Blick im Widerspruch zueinander zu stehen und sich auszuschließen scheinen.

Nach Gregors Auffassung besteht die höchste Würdigung für den Menschen in der Schau Gottes,[99] und diejenigen, die dessen würdig werden, sind nur die, die reinen Herzens sind.[100] Die Schau Gottes bezieht sich einzig auf einen bestimmten „Aspekt" der Gottheit, nämlich die Wirkungen Gottes.[101]

Hinsichtlich der *οὐσία* ist ein deutliches Sehen ausgeschlossen. Das göttliche Wesen, wie es an sich ist, entzieht sich schlechthin allen Zugriffen der Vernunft und des begreifenden Denkens.[102] Das besagt also die These von der Unerkennbarkeit Gottes, die Gregor in allen Werken entfaltet. Beim Paradox der lichten Finsternis—des Sehens im Nicht-Sehen lässt sich eine parallele Zunahme des Wissens und des Nichtwissens nach der feinen Beobachtung H. U. v. Balthasars[103] feststellen. Das Wissen verbindet sich

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[95] Gr. Nyss., Eun. I 373 (GNO I, 137, 5-6 Jaeger). Vgl. Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 37, 2-3 Langerbeck).

[96] Gr. Nyss., Ps. I, 7 (GNO V, 44, 18-19 Mc Donough).

[97] Gr. Nyss., VM I (GNO VII, 1, 22, 6 Musurillo).

[98] Gr. Nyss., VM I (GNO VII,1, 22, 7-8 Musurillo) Vgl. auch VM (GNO VII, 1, 88, 20-21; 113, 21). Vgl. Ps. I, 6 (GNO V, 41, 18 Mc Donough).

[99] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Virg. (GNO VIII, 1, 343, 3 Cavarnos).

[100] Gr. Nyss., Virg. 23 (GNO VIII, 1, 343, 10 Cavarnos).

[101] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Beat. 6 (GNO VII, 2 141, 25-27 Callahan): *ὁ γὰρ τῇ φύσει ἀόρατος ὁρατὸς ταῖς ἐνεργείαις γίνεται ἔν τισι τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιώμασι καθορώμενος.*

[102] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., De hominis opificio 11 (PG 44, 156A): *Οὐκοῦν ἓν τῶν περὶ τὴν θείαν φύσιν θεωρουμένων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκατάληπτον τῆς οὐσίας . . .* Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Cant. 1 (GNO VI, 37, 13 Langerbeck); Vgl. auch Cant. 3 (GNO VI, 86, 13); Eun. II 67 (GNO I, 245, 19 Jaeger).

[103] *Présence et pensée. Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de Grégoire de Nysse*, Paris 1942, 79.

mit dem, was von der Gottheit offenbart wird, d.h. den Wirkungen, das Nichtwissen mit dem, was immer in sich verborgen bleibt, d.h. der *οὐσία*. Dieser Gedanke wird veranschaulicht durch ein kennzeichnendes Bild Gregors, in dem die Braut, d.h. die Seele, von der göttlichen Nacht umfasst wird: Der Bräutigam findet sich zwar ein, wird aber nicht sichtbar (*παραγίνεται μὲν οὐ φαίνεται δέ*). Er gibt der Seele allerdings eine Art Empfindung seiner Gegenwart (*αἴσθησιν μέν τινα δίδωσι . . . τῆς παρουσίας*), entzieht sich aber dem deutlichen Begreifen (*ἐκφεύγει δὲ τὴν ἐναργῆ κατανόησιν*), indem er sich in der Unsichtbarkeit seiner *φύσις* verbirgt.[104] Dieses Nicht-Wissen, das mit der *οὐσία* zusammenhängt, ist nicht negativ zu beurteilen, d.h. als Ungelehrigkeit, als Verdunkelung oder Verwirrung der Seele aufzufassen. Dieses Nicht-Wissen ist, wie Maximos der Bekenner wohl ganz im Sinne Gregors sagen kann, auch eine (andere) Art des Erkennens (*εἶδος γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ γνωριστικόν*).[105] Sie sei ein lobenswürdiges Nicht-Wissen, weil es sich der Tatsache bewusst werde, dass es alles Unbegreifliche über Gott ignoriere.[106]

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[104] Gr. Nyss., Cant. 11 (GNO VI, 324, 8-12 Langerbeck): Text übers. von F. Dünzl: *Bräutigam, Die Auslegung des Canticum durch Gregor von Nyssa*, BGBE 32, Tübingen 1993, 165-166. Über die Unfassbarkeit Gottes, bes. S. 291-328.

[105] Max. Schol in Div. Nom. II, 4 PG 4, 216D-217A.

[106] Ebd. IV, 2 PG 4, 264A. Diese paradoxe Spannung zwischen Erkennbarkeit und Ignoranz ist auch bei anderen Denkern bezeugt, wie z.B. bei *Plotin*, der sagen kann: *Οὕτω δὴ καὶ νοῦς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καλύψας καὶ συναγωγὼν εἰς τὸ εἴσω μηδέν ὁρῶν θεάσεται οὐκ ἄλλο ἐν ἄλλῳ φῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτό μόνον καθαρόν ἐφ' αὑτοῦ ἐξαίφνης* (Enn. V 5, 7 [PO II, 248, 34 Henry/Schwyzer]; vgl. auch VI 7, 36 [PO III, 230, 19 Henry/Schwyzer], und dazu W. Beierwaltes, *Ἐξαίφνης oder: Die Paradoxie des Augenblicks*, PhJ 74, 1966/67, 271-283; ders. Art. *Erleuchtung*, HWPh 2, Basel/Stuttgart 1972, 712-717) *φανέν* (Enn. V 5, 7 [PO II, 248, 30-34 Henry/Schwyzer]); *οὔτε γὰρ ἔρχεται οὔτε ἄπεισιν* (sc. *τὸ φῶς*) *οὐδαμοῦ ἀλλὰ φαίνεταί τε καὶ οὐ φαίνεται* (ebd. 8 [(248, 2-4]); *τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . μακαρίαν διδὸν αἴσθησιν καὶ θέαν . . .* (Enn. VI, 7, 35 [PO II, 229, 36-38 Henry/Schwyzer]); bei *Basilius von Caesarea: ὅσῳπερ ἂν δόξῃ προκόπτειν ἐπί τὴν γνῶσιν, τοσούτῳ πλέον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀθενείας αἰσθήσεται* (Hom. 15, 1 [PG 31, 464]; Hom. *De Fide* 1 [PG 31, 684C]); *εἴδησης ἄρα τῆς θείας οὐσίας ἡ αἴσθησις αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκαταληψίας* (Ep. 234, 2 [PG 32, 869C]); bei *Gregor von Nazianz*, der den Elias—nicht Gottes Wesen, sondern nur seine Präsenz (*τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσίαν*) erfassen lässt (Or. 28, 19 [SC 250, 138, 1-4 Gallay]); bei *Ps. Dionysius Areopagita: Κατὰ τοῦτον ἡμεῖς γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπέρφωτον εὐχόμεθα γνόφον καὶ δι' ἀβλεψίας καὶ ἀγνωσίας ἰδεῖν καὶ γνῶναι τὸν ὑπὲρ θέαν καὶ γνῶσιν αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ ἰδεῖν μηδὲ γνῶναι—τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ ὄντως ἰδεῖν καὶ γνῶναι . . .* (MTh 2 [PTS 36, 145, 1-3 Ritter]; vgl. dazu R. Roques, Contemplation, Extase et Tenèbre selon le Pseudo-Denys, *DSp* 2, 1952, 1885-1911; W. Völker, *Kontemplation und Extase bei Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, Wiesbaden 1958, 210-217; J. Vanneste, La théologie mystique du pseudo-Denys L'Aréopagite, *StP* 5, 1962, 401-415).

πῶς ἔρχεται ὁ ἀεὶ παρὼν[107] (*wie [gesagt werden kann], er komme, der ewig [bei uns] ist*)

Nach H. v. Balthasars Auffassung weist die Stelle auf eine Präsenz hin, die nie aufgehört hat, immer anzukommen. Es sei das Mysterium der unerforschlich fließenden Quelle, die in jedem Moment etwas anderes sei, so dass wir sie nie als Ganzes sehen können.[108] W. Völker deutet die Stelle anders: Es solle nur zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, dass Gottes Wesen uns verschlossen bleibe.[109]

Eine dritte Deutung der Stelle wäre unseres Erachtens, dass Gregor auf die Anwesenheit Gottes in allen Menschen durch seine Energien—auf Gnade hinweist. Die Ankunft des Herrn verweist auf ein persönliches Ereignis, das den „inneren Menschen"[110] berührt. Es geht um die Aneignung (*οἰκείωσις*) des Göttlichen durch das Fortschreiten in der Tugend. Denn was theoretischem Begreifen seinem Wesen nach unzugänglich, unberührbar und schlechterdings entzogen ist, das wird durch die Reinheit der Tugenden erfassbar.[111] Der Herr ist bei uns angekommen, soweit wir uns mit Ihm vertraut gemacht, soweit wir Ihn in uns selbst haben; nicht etwas über Gott zu wissen, sondern ihn in sich selbst zu haben macht selig: . . . *οὐ τὸ γνῶναί τι περὶ θεοῦ μακάριον . . . ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ σχεῖν τὸν θεόν.*[112]

Kerkyras 72, 11363 *Athen*, Greece

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[107] Gr. Nyss., In Illud Quatenus uni ex his fecistis mihi fecistis (GNO IX, 112, 13-14 Heck).

[108] Vgl. *Présence et Pensée* (vie Anm. 103), 131-132, Er knüpft an das Bild in Cant. 11 (GNO VI, 321, 7-22 Langerbeck).

[109] Vgl. *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker*, Wiesbaden 1955, 191.

[110] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., *De creatione hominis (Sermo primus)*, (GNO Supplementum, 13, 4-5 Hörner), Leiden 1972: *ἕνα τὸν φαινόμενον καὶ ἕνα τὸν κεκρυμμένον τῷ φαινομένῳ . . ., τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον.* Dazu, T. Kobusch, *Metaphysik* (wie Anm. 51) 471; S.R.C. Lilla, *Neuplatonisches Gedankengut*, (wie Anm. 62) 15-72.

[111] Vgl. Gr. Nyss., Cant. 3 (GNO VI, 89, 16-90, 3 Langerbeck). Vgl. auch (GNO VI, 90, 12-16): . . . *αἱ γὰρ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἐκείνης καὶ θείας ἀρετῆς ἀκτῖνες τῷ κεκαθαρμένῳ βίῳ . . . ὁρατὸν ποιοῦσιν ἡμῖν τὸ ἀόρατον καὶ ληπτὸν τὸ ἀπρόσιτον, τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κατόπτρῳ ἐνζωγραφοῦσαι τὸν ἥλιον.*

[112] Gr. Nyss., Beat. 6 (GNO VII, 2, 142, 13-15 Callahan).

LA PIÉTÉ VÉRITABLE : DE L'*EUTHYPHRON* DE PLATON À LA PIÉTÉ GNOSTIQUE DANS LE LIVRE 7 DES *STROMATES* DE CLÉMENT D'ALEXANDRIE*

PAR

TATJANA ALEKNIENĖ

ABSTRACT: The *Euthyphro* is not one of the most famous of Plato's dialogues. Nevertheless, because of its specific subject, '*eusebeia*', it exerted a definite influence in the philosophical tradition. This is also visible in the first part of book 7 of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*, where it is argued that only the gnostic is truly pious. The article treats a number of passages in which references to the *Euthyphro* have not received a satisfactory attention from modern scholars.

L'*Euthyphron*, le premier dialogue selon l'arrangement tétralogique de l'œuvre de Platon,[1] n'a pas reçu une place de choix dans le programme de l'école platonicienne ; les citations ou les allusions à cet écrit ne sont pas entrées dans une « anthologie » des textes choisis de Platon, comme ceux du *Phèdre*, du *Phédon*, du *Banquet* et d'autres dialogues célèbres de cet auteur. Néanmoins, le bref *Euthyphron* a laissé sa trace dans l'histoire de la philosophie et dans la littérature grecque ancienne en général : les Grecs cultivés se souviennent, jusqu'aux âges avancés de l'époque byzantine, des mots,[2] de l'intrigue et de la mise en scène particulière de cet ouvrage.[3] Au quatrième

* J'exprime ma vive reconnaissance à M. Alain Le Boulluec pour avoir lu mon article et me faire des utiles suggestions.

[1] Cf. Albinus, *Introduction* 4,5-14 ; Diogène Laërce, *Les vies des philosophes* 3,57-58 ; *Anonymi Prolegomena* 25,10-20.

[2] Cf. *Scholia in Aristophanis Vespas*, ad 846a, l. 16-20 ; *Scholia in Demosthenem*, ad *Or.* 18, 201 ; *Scholia in Aelium Aristidem* 164,6,7, l. 1-5 Tett Jebb. Les lexicographes s'y réfèrent pour préciser la signification et le bon usage des mots en attique, cf. Timée, *Lexicon*, s.v. δίκη, θής, χρείη ; Thomas Magister, *Ecloga nominum et verborum Atticorum*, s.v. δίκη, θής ; *Scholia in Lucianum*, ad 51,29,9-13.

[3] Cf. Choricius, *Or.* 41,1,2 : τοῦτο οὖν, ὦ φιλότης, ἐννοήσας τὸ ἔπος – οὐ βραχὺ γὰρ ὄνειδος μέμψις Ὁμηρική – ἐς τόδε αὖθις ὑμᾶς ἀγείρω τὸ θέατρον. οὐ γὰρ εὖ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτωνος Εὐθύφρων πεποιηκέναι ἀτελῆ περιδὼν εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ὃν ὑπὲρ τοῦ, ὅ τί ποτε εἴη τὸ ὅσιον, διεξῄει τῷ Σωφρονίσκου. ὀρθῶς ἄρα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπέπληξεν ὁ Σωκράτης καὶ

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siècle après J.-C., Jean Stobée en tire quelques textes pour les chapitres de contenu éthique et pédagogique de son *Anthologie*.[4] Les philosophes sont surtout intéressés par les définitions « techniques » de la « piété » (εὐσέβεια, ὁσιότης) et de la « justice » (δικαιοσύνη, δίκαιον), ainsi que par la distinction que le Socrate du dialogue propose de faire entre ces deux vertus fondamentales. Les philosophes platoniciens répètent les suggestions du protagoniste qu'ils considèrent comme la doctrine positive de Platon, tout en soulignant l'importance de la division proposée.[5] Il semble que la discussion de l'*Euthyphron* soit à l'origine de la définition stoïcienne très populaire, qui affirme que la « piété » est « une science du soin des dieux » (εὐσέβεια . . . ἐπιστήμη θεῶν θεραπείας).[6] Cette définition est ébauchée dans le texte des *Définitions* platoniciennes : **εὐσέβεια** δικαιοσύνη περὶ θεούς· δύναμις θεραπευτικὴ θεῶν ἑκούσιος· περὶ θεῶν τιμῆς ὑπόληψις ὀρθή· **ἐπιστήμη τῆς περὶ θεῶν τιμῆς**. Les fragments du traité *Sur la piété* de Philodème de Gadara contiennent les traces d'une polémique épicurienne contre la définition de la piété suggérée par Socrate.[7]

On ne s'étonnera probablement pas de voir que les principales notions et les définitions de l'*Euthyphron* sont remises en cause à l'époque où la notion de la « piété » (εὐσέβεια, θεοσέβεια, ὁσιότης) est redevenue un objet de réflexion approfondie et de polémique dans un milieu de plus en plus « hétérogène » du point de vue religieux, et chez les auteurs qui sont les participants conscients de cette nouvelle discussion.

Ainsi Philon d'Alexandrie appelle-t-il la piété (εὐσέβεια, ὁσιότης) la vertu supérieure (ἡγημονίς) à toutes les vertus,[8] la plus belle et la première dans

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οἷα, ἔφη, ποιεῖς, ὦ ἑταῖρε ; γελοῖον γὰρ ἀτελὲς εἶναι δημιουργῷ φιλοτέχνημα. Psellos, *Or.* 14,115-119 : εἰ δέ γε τῷ τρίτῳ ἐμβαίης ταῖς τρισὶν ἀντιστρόφοις κεφαλαῖς (προικί, φημί, δημοσίῳ καὶ δανειστῇ), οὐκ ἂν πολλάκις περιαχθείης στρεφόμενος καὶ ἀντιστρεφόμενος καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐθύφρων ὑπὸ τῶν Σωκρατικῶν λόγων ἀνθελιττόμενος;

[4] *Anth.* 2,31 (Περὶ ἀγωγῆς καὶ παιδείας), 110e ; 3,4 (περὶ ἀφροσύνης), 95-96 ; 3,31 (περὶ αἰδοῦς), 18 ; 4,5 (περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὁποῖον χρὴ εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα), 20 ; 4,25 (ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς γονεῖς τῆς καθηκούσης τυιμῆς καταξιοῦσθαι παρὰ τῶν τέκνων, καὶ εἰ ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς πειστέον), 35.

[5] Cf. *Syriani scholia ad Hermogenis librum* Περὶ στάσεων, 4,731,16 *sqq* (= *Syriani commentarium ad Hermogenis librum* Περὶ στάσεων, 173,24 *sqq*).

[6] Cf. *SVF* (Chrysippe), *fr. logica et physica* 1017,3-4, *fr. moralia* 264,27-8 ; 273,7 ; 604,4-9 ; 608 ; Andronicus de Rhodes, *De passionibus* 7,2,9 ; Plutarque, *Aem. Paul.* 3,3 ; Clément d'Alexandrie, *Strom.* 2,5,21,4 ; Jamblique, *De vita Pythagorica* 16,69 ; 33,229.

[7] Philodème, *De pietate*, fr. 25 ; l'*Euthyphron* (Πρὸς τὸν Εὐθύφρονα) est aussi mentionné dans le fr. 34.

[8] *De specialibus legibus* 4, 135, *De virtutibus* 95 ; cf. aussi *De spec. leg.* 2, 63.

leur « chœur » vénérable,[9] et il se réfère, quoiqu'il ne la mentionne pas explicitement, dans le *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* 55-56, à la discussion de la notion de « soin » (θεραπεία) des dieux, menée par Socrate dans la dernière partie du dialogue (13a-15b).[10] Philon rapporte la définition de la θεραπεία comme « soin » (tel le « soin » des animaux), qui profite à l'« objet » soigné (*Quod deterius* 55,1-3, cf. *Euthyphron* 13a-c) et, tout en suivant le modèle de Socrate, précise que dans le cas de la θεραπεία θεοῦ, la notion sous-jacente serait plutôt celle du « service », ὑπηρεσία, comme le service que les esclaves accomplissent auprès de leurs maîtres (56,1-3, cf. *Euthyphron* 13c-d).

Cependant, la pensée de Philon qui encadre la référence platonicienne semble être bien différente de celle présupposée par la stratégie du dialogue : tandis qu'Euthyphron essaye en vain d'expliquer à son « élève » exigeant quel travail *utile* les gens pieux peuvent accomplir, en rendant service aux dieux (13d-15b),[11] Philon assure d'emblée que seul en profite celui qui vénère le Père de l'univers et sa sagesse (*Quod deterius* 54). Il souligne que l'analogie avec le service des esclaves auprès de leurs maîtres, exploitée dans le dialogue, n'est pas non plus tout à fait convenable, car les maîtres ont effectivement besoin d'un tel service, qui leur est par conséquent réellement utile, mais Dieu n'a besoin de rien, et la pensée affectueuse est la seule chose que ses serviteurs peuvent lui offrir.[12] En revanche, leur propre profit sera grand, s'ils prennent soin de devenir connus de Dieu.[13] L'Euthyphron du dialogue exprime également un doute, en ce qui concerne la pertinence de la notion de l'utilité, quand il s'agit des dons que les humains apportent à leurs dieux (15a5-6) ; cependant, sa position reste plutôt traditionnelle, quand il réaffirme que les dons pieux visent, avant tout, à *être agréables aux dieux* (15a9-b6).[14] Il est évident que la réflexion de Philon va bien au delà

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[9] *De spec. leg.* 2, 259.

[10] A ma connaissance, jusqu'à présent, aucun commentaire édité du *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* n'a révélé cette référence implicite au texte platonicien.

[11] Euthyphron ne répond pas à la question de savoir quelle est cette noble œuvre que les dieux accomplissent aidés de leurs serviteurs pieux (13d-14c) et laisse Socrate avec une nouvelle définition de la piété comme « une science du sacrifice et de la prière » (14c5-6), laquelle évolue, à son tour, vers la notion d'un certain art de commerce (14c8 *sqq*) ; cependant le thème de l'utilité n'est pas abandonné (cf. 14e10-15a6).

[12] *Quod deterius* 56,5-6 : οὐδὲν ἔξω φιλοδεσπότου γνώμης παρέξουσι.

[13] *Ibid.* 56,7-8 : μεγάλα δ' αὐτοὺς ὀνήσουσι γνωρισθῆναι θεῷ προμηθούμενοι. La même pensée est exprimée dans le *De spec. leg.* 2,259 : ἡ δ' <. . .> ὁσιότης πολὺ πλέον (*sc.* que toutes autres vertus) ἐστὶν ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἀγώνισμα καὶ ἆθλον, παρέχουσα καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τοῖς τούτων παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις εὐπραγίας ἀναφαιρέτους.

[14] Cette affirmation ramène les interlocuteurs au point de départ de leur discussion et

de la définition stoïcienne répandue, et s'inspire du contexte plus large de la discussion platonicienne.

Plus d'un siècle plus tard, c'est au tour de Numénius, un platonicien intéressé par la pensée religieuse « barbare », de prêter attention à l'échange de Socrate avec Euthyphron et à la critique des notions de la religion grecque classique qui s'y trouvait dissimulée. Eusèbe de Césarée, après avoir cité le texte de l'*Euthyphron* 5e6-6c7, qui lui sert à prouver que les histoires de la théologie grecque ne comportent que des histoires abominables, rapporte les mots de Numénius qui « éclaire l'intention (*sc.* de l'auteur du dialogue) dans son ouvrage *Sur les secrets de Platon* » : Platon aurait trouvé un moyen de dire une vérité déplaisante sur la théologie des Athéniens, sans avoir à subir pour cela le sort de Socrate, qui a été mis à mort pour une pareille franchise. C'est Euthyphron, un « fanfaron et niais, piètre théologien s'il en fut », qui, dans l'écrit de Platon, évoque tout ce que Platon lui-même aurait à reprocher à la théologie de ses compatriotes : « des luttes intestines, des incestes de parents avec leurs enfants », « des festins où ceux-ci étaient mangés », « leurs vengeances de ces forfaits sur des pères, ou celles de frères sur des frères et autres crimes pareils ».[15] Au dire d'Eusèbe donc, Numénius aurait discerné dans le texte de l'*Euthyphron* une critique de la théologie hellénique tout à fait semblable à celle que les chrétiens lui adressaient si souvent,[16] eux qui prenaient de plus volontiers le Socrate des dialogues pour un précurseur de la vraie foi et de la véritable piété, condamné comme athée par la multitude des Grecs, incités par leurs mauvais démons.[17]

Pendant les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne, la situation des chrétiens, avec leur piété inouïe, qui passait pour le pire athéisme auprès des adeptes

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Euthyphron, épuisé, renonce à reprendre une joute dialectique avec l'infatigable Socrate.

[15] Eusèbe, *Preparatio evangelica* 13,4,4-5,2 = fr. 23, des Places. La traduction citée est celle de l'édition des *Fragments* de Numénius par Édouard des Places.

[16] Comme É. des Places observe à ce propos, « On croirait entendre Athénagore ou Justin ; c'est à se demander si Eusèbe n'a pas prêté à Numénius une énumération qu'il rencontrait partout en lisant les apologistes ses devanciers et dont la *Préparation* elle-même offre des exemples ». Il ajoute, cependant, qu'une telle critique « était un lieu commun dès Euripide ».

[17] Cf. Justin, *Apologie* 1,5,3. 46,3 ; 2,7,3. C'est avant tout le Socrate de l'*Apologie* qui a nourri une telle image de Socrate « proto-chrétien » et « proto-martyr » chez les apologistes chrétiens. Mais la position du Socrate de l'*Apologie* découle naturellement, au moins dans l'ensemble des œuvres de Platon elles-mêmes, de celle qui se laisse déjà deviner dans l'*Euthyphron*, qui peut, par conséquent, être considéré comme une « ouverture » ou une « introduction » à l'autre ouvrage.

de la culture grecque et romaine, était en effet tout à fait comparable à celle de Socrate et à sa nouvelle piété philosophique, à la fin du V-ème siècle avant J.-C. Paradoxalement, maintenant les chrétiens avaient souvent à se défendre devant les fidèles élèves du même Socrate, qui prenaient la place des spectateurs athéniens dans ce nouveau procès sur la piété. La réflexion de Clément d'Alexandrie, dans la première partie du livre 7 des *Stromates* vise à montrer aux philosophes que seul le gnostique chrétien est véritablement pieux ; elle illustre parfaitement ce paradoxe, ainsi que la pertinence du dialogue platonicien sur la piété.

L'auteur annonce en effet dans les toutes premières lignes de ce livre 7 : « Il est temps maintenant pour nous d'établir auprès des Grecs le fait que seul est réellement pieux (θεοσεβής) le gnostique ; ainsi les philosophes, en apprenant ce qu'est le chrétien véritable, réprouveront-ils leur propre ignorance, eux qui persécutent imprudemment et à la légère le Nom et qui traitent sans raison d'athées ceux qui connaissent le vrai Dieu ».[18] Clément ajoute qu'il conviendra, à son avis, pour des raisons pédagogiques, « d'user avec les philosophes des arguments (τοῖς λόγοις) assez clairs » qu'ils pourront comprendre « grâce à l'entraînement déjà reçu de leur propre culture », et de réserver pour plus tard et aux personnes mieux préparées les références scripturaires.[19] L'exposé qui suit abonde effectivement en allusions aux notions des philosophes grecs,[20] à celles des textes de Platon tout d'abord. Les notes fournies par Alain Le Boulluec à sa traduction[21] précisent en plusieurs endroits « la nature de ces références, qui correspondent à l'intention exprimée dans le prologue : persuader les philosophes 'grâce à l'entraînement reçu de leur propre culture' (1,1,2) ».[22] En se référant aux études de F. Solmsen et de D. Wyrwa, A. Le Boulluec, dans la notice de l'Introduction, attire l'attention sur le cas du recours au livre 10 des *Lois* de Platon[23] ; d'autres références platoniciennes sont indiquées et discutées dans les notes à sa traduction. Les propos et les images de la *République*, celles du *Phèdre*, du *Phédon*, du *Philèbe* et du *Théétète* y tiennent une place de choix. Quant à l'*Euthyphron*, aucune allusion à ce texte n'est

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[18] *Strom.* 7,1,1,1. Je cite la traduction d'Alain Le Boulluec de sa récente édition du livre 7 des *Stromates* dans la collection des *Sources Chrétiennes* (n° 428, 1997).

[19] *Strom.* 7,1,1,2-3.

[20] Bien que les références à l'Écriture n'en soient évidemment pas absentes.

[21] Voir n. 18.

[22] *Introduction*, 13.

[23] *Ibid.*, 13-15.

signalée dans l'*Index des auteurs anciens* (l'*Apologie de Socrate* n'y est pas citée, non plus), bien qu'une note à la traduction suggère qu'on puisse voir dans les mots de Clément une réplique implicite au paradoxe soulevé par Socrate dans ce dialogue.[24]

Faut-il en conclure qu'un excellent connaisseur de la littérature grecque, l'auteur des *Stromates*, a choisi de ne pas tenir compte de la première et de la plus longue discussion philosophique de la notion de « piété » dans une œuvre de son penseur grec préféré, et cela, dans une démonstration sur la piété, destinée aux philosophes grecs et formulée en un langage qui leur est familier ? Un tel constat paraît peu probable, et une relecture attentive de toute cette partie du livre 7,[25] visant à repérer la présence et l'influence du dit texte platonicien, donne une impression fort différente, car on peut constater que le dialogue de Socrate avec Euthyphron est souvent sous-jacent, bien qu'en filigrane,[26] à cet exposé sur la nature de la piété véritable du chrétien gnostique. Il en est, en effet, question, à côté des nouveaux thèmes importants de la piété chrétienne,[27] de la notion de « soin » (θεραπεία), de celle de « service » (ὑπηρεσία, ὑπηρετικὴ θεραπεία), de l'utilité du service (ὑπηρετικὴ ὠφέλεια) d'un dévot du Dieu, de ce qui est *agréable* à Dieu (θεοφιλής, χάρις), ainsi que de la nature de l'échange entre le Dieu bienfaiteur et un pieux croyant. Le traitement de tous ces motifs constitutifs de la discussion de Clément présuppose d'une façon assez tangible les questions et les paradoxes soulevés dans l'entretien de Socrate avec le devin Euthyphron. On peut, en outre, observer d'emblée que les réponses avancées par Clément prennent en considération les déclarations plus positives et personnelles sur le même sujet que Socrate fait pendant son procès

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[24] Note 1 à la page 42 au texte de *Strom.* 7,1,2,1. L'*Euthypron* n'est pas, non plus, mentionné dans l'étude de Dietmar Wyrwa, *Die christliche Platonaneignung in den Stromateis des Clemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin—New York 1983), sans doute parce que l'auteur de cet ouvrage a choisi une stratégie discutable, qui consiste à ne tenir compte (sauf exceptions peu nombreuses) que des citations *explicites* de l'œuvre de Platon dans les *Stromates* (*op. cit.*, 4).

[25] Le sujet de la première partie du livre 7 des *Stromates* est annoncé explicitement (c. 1,1,1), et les résultats de l'exposé sont formulés à la fin du chapitre 9 (9,54,4) ; le propos principal est rappelé au c. 7,41,3, et une conclusion préliminaire est proposée au c. 3,16,1: « Le gnostique est donc pieux (εὐσεβής) . . . » et au c. 7,47,3 : « Oui, nous l'avons prouvé, seul est religieux (εὐσεβής) le gnostique ».

[26] Par ailleurs, toutes les références platoniciennes de cette partie du livre 7 des *Stromates*, ainsi que la plupart des références scripturaires qui créent son tissu sont implicites.

[27] Notamment une réflexion sur l'excellence du maître du gnostique, le Fils de Dieu (c. 1,2,1-3 ; c. 2,5-9) ou un exposé sur le rôle éminent de la prière (c. 7,42,1-44,5).

de l'impiété, tel que celui-ci est « enregistré » par Platon dans l'*Apologie de Socrate*.

Tout d'abord, il faut répéter que le point de départ lui-même de la discussion du livre 7 des *Stromates* est assez comparable à la situation dramatique de l'*Euthyphron* (et à celle de l'*Apologie*) : dans les deux cas l'auteur vise à fonder et à défendre par son analyse un nouveau type de piété, qui passe pour impiété (ἀσέβεια) ou athéisme auprès des dévots de la religion traditionnelle ; il faut reconnaître que les vues de l'Euthyphron du dialogue, malgré toutes ses extravagances, sont beaucoup plus conformes aux idées communément reçues que les opinions inouïes du Socrate ἄτοπος. Dans le cas de la défense menée par Clément, il s'agit de la piété de toute une nouvelle « race » de croyants, dont il prend en charge la défense. Il se propose donc « de montrer que seul le gnostique est dévot et pieux (ὅσιόν τε καὶ εὐσεβῆ), car il rend au vrai Dieu un culte digne de Lui ; or ce qui est digne de Dieu implique l'amitié de Dieu et l'amour pour Dieu, τῷ θεοπρεπεῖ δὲ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ἕπεται καὶ φιλόθεον ».[28] Par la notion de ce qui est « cher à Dieu », θεοφιλές, la discussion de Clément rejoint celle de l'*Euthyphron*, où « ce qui est cher aux dieux » est proposé par Euthyphron comme première définition formelle de la piété (*Euth.* 6e10-7a1 : ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς προσφιλὲς ὅσιον, τὸ δὲ μὴ προσφιλὲς ἀνόσιον), réfutée par Socrate (7a-11a), pour revenir ironiquement à la fin du dialogue (15b-c), qui par conséquent s'avère être pris dans une sorte de *circulus vitiosus*. A. Le Boulluec, qui note qu'une telle allusion est probable,[29] suppose en même temps avec raison qu'en parlant du « τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ φιλόθεον » Clément se rappelle probablement un tour caractéristique de la pensée de Philon d'Alexandrie.[30]

Après avoir désigné la voie de la pieuse connaissance, qui passe par le Fils vers son Père, « l'être le plus auguste et absolument le plus bienfaisant », Clément reprend le thème de la piété gnostique pour dire que « le service (θεραπεία) de Dieu consiste donc pour le gnostique à se soucier constamment de son âme (ἡ συνεχὴς ἐπιμέλεια τῆς ψυχῆς)[31] et à s'occuper de ce qui

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[28] *Strom.* 7,1,2,1.

[29] P. 42, n. 1 : on peut voir dans l'addition de φιλόθεον « une réplique aux sarcasmes de Socrate contre la définition du „pieux" comme „ce qui est cher aux dieux", θεοφιλές (*Euthyphron* 10d-11b) ».

[30] A. Le Boulluec indique les textes du *De Abrahamo* 50 et du *De virtutibus* 184.

[31] Ici, il faut corriger la traduction dans les *Sources Chrétiennes* : « Le service de Dieu consiste donc pour le gnostique à garder constamment son âme attentive » etc. Cf., plus loin, c. 3,16,1 : εὐσεβὴς ἄρα ὁ γνωστικός, ὁ πρῶτον ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμελόμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν πλησίον. Cette fois, la traduction dans l'édition des *SC* est exacte (« Le gnostique est donc

est divin en lui en vertu de l'amour continuel ».[32] Si la deuxième partie de cette définition fait allusion à un célèbre texte du *Timée*,[33] la première résume clairement le *credo* de Socrate exprimé dans son discours de défense pendant le procès de l'« impiété » : son service auprès de Dieu consistait à importuner les concitoyens en leur rappelant sans cesse qu'ils devaient avant tout se soucier de leur âme pour la rendre la meilleure possible (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς ὅπως ὡς ἀρίστη ἔσται)[34] et non pas de leurs richesses ou de leur réputation. Si Socrate souligne, à l'occasion, l'utilité publique de son action,[35] il commence évidemment par lui-même ce travail d'« amélioration » de l'âme (cf., par exemple, *Phédon* 69d). Clément, de son côté, précise un peu plus loin que le gnostique pieux, qui commence par s'occuper de lui-même (ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιμελόμενος), répand ensuite ses soins à son prochain, « pour que nous nous améliorions le plus possible (ἵν' ὡς ἄριστοι γενώμεθα) ».[36]

Après avoir évoqué pour la première fois la notion de « soin » divin (θεραπεία), Clément ajoute des précisions, dont l'arrière-plan est constitué par le même texte de l'*Euthyphron* 12e-14a, que nous avons déjà trouvé impliqué dans le *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* de Philon.[37] La réflexion de Clément est plus complexe. Il commence par résumer l'analyse sémantique de Socrate, en expliquant que le « soin » destiné aux hommes peut viser à les améliorer ou à les servir, ἡ μὲν βελτιωτική, ἡ δὲ ὑπηρετική.[38] Clément ajoute des exemples de « soins » qui améliorent (la médecine pour le corps, et la philosophie pour l'âme) et de ceux qui rendent service, – ainsi les parents et les supérieurs tirent profit du service (ὑπηρετικὴ ὠφέλεια) de leurs enfants et de leurs sujets.[39] Clément étend son analyse à la structure hiérarchique de l'Église pour affirmer que les presbytres y « préservent l'image de l'amélioration (τὴν βελτιωτικὴν . . . εἰκόνα), et les diacres celle de la soumis-

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pieux, *qui s'occupe* d'abord *de lui-même* . . . » etc., – c'est moi, qui souligne) ; une note, en outre, est ajoutée (p. 75, n. 6), qui renvoie à 1,3,1, – cela aurait dû inciter le traducteur à modifier sa traduction précédente. Cf. aussi *Strom.* 4,23,152,3 : θεὸν γὰρ ὁ θεραπεύων ἑαυτὸν θεραπεύει. ἐν οὖν τῷ θεωρητικῷ βίῳ ἑαυτοῦ τις ἐπιμελεῖται θρῃσκεύων τὸν θεὸν.

[32] *Strom.* 7,1,3,1.

[33] *Timée* 90c.

[34] *Apologie de Socrate* 30b1-2 ; la même pensée est formulée au 29d-e et, plus loin, au 31b.

[35] Cf. *ibid.* 30d-31b.

[36] *Strom.* 7,3,16,1.

[37] Cf. *supra* n. 10-13.

[38] *Strom.* 7,1,3,2. Cf. *Euth.* 12e-13d.

[39] *Strom.* 7,1,3,3.

sion (τὴν ὑπηρετικήν) ».[40] Quant au gnostique lui-même, sa fonction est double, comme celle des anges : s'il est assistant (un « diacre ») de Dieu, il fournit aux hommes une vision qui les améliore, comme s'il était chargé « d'éduquer pour redresser les hommes (ὅπως ἂν καὶ παιδεύειν ᾖ τεταγμένος εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπανόρθωσιν). Car seul est pieux celui qui est bel et bien soumis sans défaillance à Dieu dans son soin des choses humaines (περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐξυπηρετῶν τῷ θεῷ) ».[41]

Il est difficile, à ce point de l'exposé de Clément, de ne pas se rappeler la fameuse déclaration de Socrate, qui annonce que, à son avis, jamais ses concitoyens n'ont connu rien de plus bénéfique que son service auprès de Dieu (τὴν ἐμὴν τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσίαν), qui consistait à les inciter de se soucier avant tout de leur âme, pour qu'elle devienne la meilleure possible (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι . . . τῆς ψυχῆς ὅπως ὡς ἀρίστη ἔσται).[42] La réponse de Clément à la question insistante de Socrate, laissée sans issue dans le dialogue de l'*Euthyphron* (« quelle est l'œuvre que le service aux dieux peut bien servir à produire ? »)[43] est donc différente de celle avancée par Philon d'Alexandrie,[44] et, d'autre part, très proche de l'esprit et de la lettre de la « confession » socratique. Il est aussi intéressant d'observer qu'une telle lecture « croisée » des textes de l'*Euthyphron* et de l'*Apologie* fait de Clément un devancier (ignoré, semble-t-il) d'un âge vénérable de ces nombreux savants du XX-ème siècle qui cherchaient justement dans le monologue de l'*Apologie* les réponses positives aux apories « pédagogiques » de l'*Euthyphron*.[45]

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[40] *Ibid.* 3.

[41] *Ibid.* 4. Cf., en outre, *Strom.* 7,3,13,2 : le gnostique parfait s'assimile au Grand Prêtre lui-même par le culte rendu à Dieu (διὰ πάσης τῆς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν θεραπείας), « qui tend au salut des hommes en vertu de la sollicitude de la bienfaisance à notre égard, c'est-à-dire par le service (sacré), λειτουργία, l'enseignement et la charité en acte » et c. 9,53,5 : le rôle du gnostique est celui d'éducateur ami de l'homme et ami de Dieu, φιλανθρώπου καὶ φιλοθέου παιδευτοῦ. Autrement dit, l'amour pour le Dieu est apparent dans son amour aux hommes ; cf. *ibid.* : « et cela pour manifester la vérité de ses paroles, pour exercer en acte l'amour pour le Seigneur ».

[42] *Apologie* 30a-b.

[43] *Euthyphron* 13e, traduction de Louis-André Dorion (Platon, *Lachès, Euthyphron.* Traduction inédite, introduction et notes par L.-A. Dorion, GF-Flammarion, Paris 1997).

[44] Cf. *supra* n. 12 et 13.

[45] L.-A. Dorion expose cette position dans l'*Introduction* à sa traduction, 228-229. Il précise (n. 126) que « sauf erreur, le mérite d'avoir proposé ce rapprochement avec *Apologie* 30a revient à J. Socher (in *Über Platons Schriften*, Munich, 1820, p. 62). Depuis lors, plusieurs commentateurs ont emboîté le pas à Socher », et il ajoute une dizaine de références aux études savantes depuis l'article de W. A. Heidel (1900) jusqu'à celui de R. Weiss (1994).

Après avoir introduit une comparaison entre les fruits de l'art de l'agriculture, avec ses soins des plantes, et ceux de la piété du gnostique (celle-ci obtient une récolte excellente dans les hommes, qui par elle sont parvenus à la foi et à la connaissance pour être sauvés),[46] Clément revient sur les notions de « celui qui est cher à Dieu », θεοφιλής, et « qui aime Dieu », φιλόθεος. Il insiste sur leur réciprocité, ainsi que sur le rôle décisif de la notion du « convenable » (θεοπρέπεια, θεοπρεπής) : pour être cher à Dieu et pour savoir l'aimer, on doit en avoir une connaissance appropriée et suivre une conduite qui s'y accorde.[47] Socrate dans l'*Euthyphron* n'accepte pas la notion du θεοφιλές comme une définition possible du « pieux », car, selon lui, l'état du θεοφιλές dépend du fait d'être aimé par les dieux, tandis que le pieux – Euthyphron en convient – est aimé des dieux du fait d'être pieux, et non l'inverse.[48] Clément trace une autre ligne de dépendance entre les notions concernées : c'est en ayant la connaissance du vrai Dieu que l'on est capable de lui rendre un service convenable, pour être aimé de Dieu et pour l'aimer.[49] C'est sans doute pour cette raison que la piété *gnostique* est inégalable. Le principe de la représentation convenable de Dieu comme une condition de la véritable piété[50] n'est pas posé explicitement dans l'*Euthyphron*, bien qu'il soit impliqué dans la discussion de ce dialogue,[51] comme dans tout le discours éthique dans l'œuvre de Platon.

La question de la nature du service rendu à Dieu est liée, dans la réflexion de Clément, comme déjà dans le dialogue de Platon, à celle de la part utile qui revient à Dieu le Bienfaiteur par excellence dans la relation *d'échange* avec son serviteur humain.[52] Dans la discussion entre Socrate et Euthyphron cette deuxième question remplace la première, car l'interlocuteur de Socrate se montre incapable de définir le caractère de l'assistance utile des pieux humains auprès de leurs divins maîtres. Dans l'exposé de Clément les deux thèmes se complètent et s'enrichissent mutuellement : si

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[46] *Strom.* 7,1,3,5.

[47] *Ibid.* 6.

[48] *Euth.* 10c-11a. Cette objection est avancée contre une définition révisée d'Euthyphron (9c8-e2), une fois écartés les problèmes soulevés par le caractère du polythéisme grec classique, qui n'exclut pas que les dieux ne s'accordent pas à propos des notions éthiques.

[49] *Strom.* 7,1,2,1.

[50] Cf. aussi *Strom.* 7,7,38,1.

[51] Cf., par exemple, les propos de Socrate dans *Euth.* 6a-c, qui cachent une critique de l'image traditionnelle des dieux grecs. La même attitude critique à l'égard du polythéisme traditionnel amène Socrate à réfuter la première définition du « pieux » comme ce qui est « cher aux dieux » (*Euth.* 7a-9c).

[52] Cf. *Euth.* 14d-15a.

le gnostique rend un service convenable à Dieu en se sauvant lui-même et en sauvant tout autre homme, c'est une meilleure offrande à celui qui effectivement n'a besoin de rien, mais donne à tous toutes choses ; « seul en effet notre salut fait plaisir à Dieu ».[53] Ainsi « le fils se rend agréable à son père bon (χαρίζεται) en se montrant lui-même vertueux et semblable à son père, et le gouverné au gouvernant ».[54] L'œuvre principale de l'homme est d'obéir à Dieu, « et le moyen de lui plaire est de donner son accord » à ses commandements du salut. « Le bienfaiteur prend l'initiative de la bonté active, et celui qui l'a accueillie avec ardeur dans les dispositions convenables et qui a gardé les commandements, c'est un fidèle ; mais celui qui, dans la mesure du possible, répond (ἀμειβόμενος) par l'amour à la bonté active, est désormais un ami.[55] Or une seule réponse des hommes est vraiment ajustée (μία δὲ ἀμοιβὴ κυριωτάτη) : faire ce qui plaît à Dieu ».[56]

Les mots grecs ἀμοιβή / ἀμειβόμενος désignent ce qu'on donne en retour et un acte de récompense. Dans le dialogue de l'*Euthyphron* Socrate, après avoir forcé l'interlocuteur à reconnaître que les relations entre les dieux et leurs dévots rappellent l'art du commerce (ἐμπορική . . . τις τέχνη), soulève une question ironique concernant le profit (ὠφελία) que les dieux peuvent tirer d'un tel « commerce » : « Les dons qu'ils font sont manifestes aux yeux de tout le monde, car nous n'avons rien de bon qu'ils ne nous aient donné. Mais en quoi profitent-ils de ce qu'ils reçoivent de nous ? Ou bien leur sommes-nous à ce point supérieurs, pour ce qui est du troc (πλεονεκτοῦμεν κατὰ τὴν ἐμπορίαν), que nous recevons d'eux tous les biens, tandis qu'eux n'en reçoivent aucun de nous ? ».[57] La réflexion de Clément s'inscrit bien dans la ligne de la discussion de Socrate avec Euthyphron, tout en reprenant la pensée fondamentale du texte de l'*Évangile selon saint Jean* 15,9-17, où Jésus invite les amis à garder son commandement principal, celui de s'aimer les uns les autres comme lui-même, aussi aimé par son Père, les a aimés. Répondre à l'amour divin et aux bienfaits divins veut dire donc aimer les autres. On peut concevoir, par conséquent, que Clément trouve dans ces mots de l'Évangile la réponse chrétienne à l'aporie socratique.

Étant confronté à la question de Socrate que nous venons de citer, l'Euthyphron du dialogue retourne à sa définition précédente (cf. 14b), pour

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[53] *Strom.* 7,3,14,5-6.

[54] Cf. *Euth.* 15a-b.

[55] Cf. *Jn* 15,9-15. La notion du φίλος peut rappeler la réflexion antérieure sur θεοφιλής et φιλόθεος.

[56] *Strom.* 7,3,21,1-3.

[57] *Euth.* 14e-15a. Traduction de L.-A. Dorion.

rappeler que, à son avis, les dons que nous offrons aux dieux sont « le respect, les marques d'honneur et <. . .> l'attention à leur plaire (τιμή τε καὶ γέρα καί . . . χάρις) ».[58] La réponse de Clément intègre parfaitement toutes ces notions : « Une seule réponse des hommes est vraiment ajustée : faire ce qui plaît à Dieu. Et le maître et Sauveur reçoit comme un produit qui lui serait propre <. . .> les actes qui rendent service aux hommes et les corrigent,[59] en sa faveur et pour son honneur (εἰς ἰδίαν χάριν τε καὶ τιμήν) ; mais il considère les fautes commises contre ceux qui croient en lui comme des gestes d'ingratitude et des outrages à son propre égard ».[60] La suite du texte devient beaucoup plus cohérente, si l'on accepte la correction d'O. Stählin pour lire ἄλλην au lieu de ὅλην du manuscrit[61] : « C'est pourquoi il n'y a pas d'autre réponse (διόπερ ἄλλην τοσοῦδε οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἀμοιβήν) digne du salut pour payer sa dette envers le bienfait du Seigneur ».[62] Telle serait donc la seule réponse appropriée (μία . . . ἀμοιβὴ κυριωτάτη) que les hommes devraient adresser à leur Dieu.[63] Autrement dit, « faire ce qui plaît à Dieu »[64] exige qu'on travaille pour le profit, c'est-à-dire pour la correction et l'amélioration des hommes.[65] Cette pensée correspond bien à la déclaration de Socrate, qui assure avoir servi de la même façon son Dieu.[66] Il serait plus difficile de trouver dans les textes de Platon un pendant de la deuxième affirmation de Clément, selon laquelle le mauvais traitement des hommes

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[58] *Euth.* 15a9-10.

[59] Je crois qu'il faut modifier de cette façon la traduction dans les *SC* : « les bienfaits des hommes et leurs efforts pour se corriger » pour τὰς ὠφελείας τε καὶ ἐπανορθώσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Même grammaticalement, le génitif après ἐπανορθώσεις est habituellement celui de l'objet, et non pas du sujet ; seule exception, dans l'œuvre de Clément, peut-être *Strom.* 2,10,47,2. La pensée sous-jacente de l'*Evangile selon saint Jean*, ainsi que la symétrie du raisonnement (on rend l'hommage à Dieu en aidant ses hommes, comme on l'outrage, quand on cause dommage à ses fidèles) corroborent cette impression de l'ordre grammatical. Finalement, on peut tenir pour décisif le parallèle avec le texte précédent du c. 1,3,4 : ἀνθρώποις δὲ τὴν βελτιωτικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος θεωρίαν (il s'agit du gnostique), ὅπως ἂν καὶ παιδεύειν ᾖ τεταγμένος **εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπανόρθωσιν**. Le rappel de la définition précédente, apparue pour la première fois dans une réflexion fondée sur la division sémantique de l'*Euthyphron* (voir c. 3,1,2), montre, en outre, que l'auteur n'a pas oublié la même discussion platonicienne.

[60] *Strom.* 7,3,21,4.

[61] Par ailleurs, ὅλην . . . ἀμοιβήν semble être à peine possible. Le Boulluec n'accepte pas la correction de Stählin.

[62] *Strom.* 7,3,21,5.

[63] Voir c. 3,21,3.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *Ibid.* 4-5.

[66] Cf. *Apologie* 29d-30b, 31a-b.

croyants revient à outrager leur Seigneur.[67] Plus loin,[68] Clément souligne le caractère synergique,[69] libre et volontaire (ἑκουσίως καὶ προαιρετικῶς) de la bienfaisance providentielle de Dieu et du service salutaire de l'homme.[70]

Nous pouvons donc conclure, semble-t-il, que les notions et les questions du dialogue platonicien sur la piété ont exercé une influence perceptible sur l'exposé de la première partie du livre 7 des *Stromates*, destiné à convaincre les gens de culture philosophique grecque « que seul est réellement pieux le gnostique ». On peut supposer que la visée de l'auteur, qui reprend les points importants du texte de l'*Euthyphron* pour sa discussion de la nouvelle piété chrétienne et gnostique, est au moins double : il peut effectivement parler le langage que les philosophes grecs comprennent, tout en leur proposant des réponses neuves (même si elles retiennent certains éléments des affirmations avancées par Socrate lui-même dans son *Apologie*), qui dépassent avec une assurance impressionnante les limites aporétiques de la discussion platonicienne de la même notion. Clément pourrait en outre de cette façon rappeler aux philosophes grecs l'histoire peu sereine de la naissance de leur propre notion de la piété philosophique.

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[67] *Strom.* 7,3,21,4. 6.

[68] *Strom.* 7,7,42,1-8. 48,4-7.

[69] Cf. c. 7,48,4 : ὡς δὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς ὑγείαν παρέχεται τοῖς συνεργοῦσι πρὸς ὑγείαν, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀίδιον σωτηρίαν τοῖς συνεργοῦσι πρὸς γνῶσίν τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν. On peut supposer que « la coopération pour la connaissance et pour la rectitude des actions » désigne, à côté du travail intérieur du gnostique, celui qui est destiné à son prochain.

[70] Cf. aussi c. 7,42,7-8.

Appendice

La comparaison que Madame Tatjana Aleknienė développe avec l'*Euthyphron* et avec l'*Apologie de Socrate* de Platon améliore considérablement la compréhension du début du livre VII des *Stromates* de Clément ; elle permet aussi de rectifier ma traduction en deux endroits. Je persiste cependant à défendre en 21, 4 la leçon du manuscrit L, ὅλην, avec J. Mayor (dans son commentaire de 1902), suivi par A. Brontesi, *La Soteria in Clemente* (Rome, 1972, p. 419) et par G. Pini (traduction italienne des *Stromates*, Rome, 1985, note de la p. 901), pour les raisons suivantes:

1) C'est la *lectio difficilior*. La correction de Stählin, ἄλλην, produit un texte très convenu, et l'on verrait mal un copiste substituer ὅλην à ἄλλην.
2) Clément, comme il le fait souvent, a pu vouloir modifier le thème qu'il trouvait esquissé dans l'*Euthyphron*. T. Aleknienė a raison de noter qu'il a ajouté l' « affirmation selon laquelle le mauvais traitement des hommes croyants revient à outrager leur Seigneur ». Ce n'est pas la seule modification introduite par Clément. Si faire ce qui plaît à Dieu est la « seule réponse des hommes . . . vraiment ajustée » (ou « appropriée »), elle n'est pas pour autant « entière », « complète », « totale », elle ne comble pas entièrement la dette, puisqu'elle offre en échange au Seigneur « un résultat qui d'une certaine manière lui est apparenté ». Cette idée ne se trouve pas non plus dans l'*Euthyphron*, et c'est à elle que correspond en 21, 5 le διόπερ ; la première affirmation de 21, 4 présente en effet « les actes qui rendent service aux hommes et les corrigent » « comme (καθάπερ ἄν) un produit qui serait propre » au maître et Sauveur. Dans le même contexte, Clément a commencé par dire : « Le bienfaiteur (divin) prend l'initiative de la bonté active . . . » (21, 2).

Ainsi une traduction littérale de 21,5 serait-elle : « C'est pourquoi il n'est pas possible de fournir une rétribution complète d'un don si grand (τοσοῦδε), proportionnée au salut, pour le bienfait qui vient du Seigneur ». L'expression redondante insiste sur le don qui vient de Dieu (le salut). Aucune réponse humaine ne peut « rétribuer » entièrement le salut accordé par Dieu, qui est son bienfait, son don « si grand ». La réponse (ἀμοιβή) a beau être κυριωτάτη, « vraiment appropriée », elle n'est pas ὅλη, « complète ». C'est même parce qu'elle est κυριωτάτη, parce qu'elle appartient parfaitement au Seigneur (jeu possible sur κύριος ; cf. *Strom.* 6, 15, 126, 3-127, 1) qu'elle ne peut être, du côté humain de l'échange, ὅλη, « complète ». Je maintiens la traduction que j'ai donnée de ce passage dans *SC* 428.

Alain Le Boulluec

A CHRISTIAN MOSAIC AND A JEWISH MIDRASH[1]

BY

JOSEPH GEIGER

Some years ago attention has been drawn to a mosaic from Syria: the dedicatory inscription belongs to a hospital and is dated to CE 511, the picture represents the twins Romulus and Remus, identified by their names, being suckled by the she-wolf.[2] One can hardly do better than quote Peter Brown:[3]

> It is an unexpected echo in a distant Eastern province of the legend of the founding of Rome. The imperial associations of *Roma Invicta*, of Unconquered Rome, usually connected with the image have been lost. In a Christian hospital, the suckling wolf of Rome has been transmuted, rather touchingly, into an emblem of care for the helpless.

A thorough study of the iconography of the Roman she-wolf[4] does not reveal anything similar, though examples can be found as remote as Tadjikistan and apparently as late as ca. CE 600.[5] Nor does the philological discussion point to parallels.[6] These can be found in rather unexpected quarters.

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[1] I am indebted to Prof. Menahem Kahana for his generous help; I alone am responsible for the remaining oversights and inaccuracies.

[2] Discussion in G.W. Bowersock, "The Rich Harvest of Near Eastern Mosaics", *JRA* 11 (1998) 696 with references to earlier publications ('December' for 'April' must be a typo); colour plates of the mosaic in *Syria* 64 (1987) 327 and in G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown, O. Grabar, *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge Mass. and London 1999), pl. 8.

[3] P. Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (*The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures*, Hanover and London 2002), 35.

[4] C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana. Recherches d'iconographie et essai d'interpretation, Études de phil., d'arch. et d'hist. anc. 18, Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome*, Bruxelles-Rome 1979.

[5] Ibid. ii. 58, no. 149, fig. 86.

[6] O. Zwierlein, "Die Wölfin und die Zwillinge in der römischen Historiographie", *Lucubrationes Philologae. Band 2: Antike und Mittelalter*, hrsg. R. Jakobi, R. Junge, C. Schmitz (*Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 72, Berlin-New York 2004), 155-203 (= Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften G 386, Paderborn 2003); at 174

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Vigiliae Christianae 60, 461-463

Recently I had opportunity to refer to the story of Romulus and Remus in Rabbinic literature in the context of the identification of the misnamed 'Pyramid of Remus' (viz., the pyramid of Cestius) and the now demolished 'Pyramid of Romulus' near the Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome.[7] At the end of my collection of Rabbinic sources I added two that were only marginally relevant to the subject under discussion.[8] I now print these again in reverse order and bring the first text here in a somewhat wider context.

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Midrash Rabbah on Esther 1:9 (3.2):

The text starts with Ps. 10:14, in a reply to the wicked: 'Thou hast seen it; thou beholdest mischief and spite, to requite it with thy hand: the poor commiteth himself unto thee; thou art the helper of the fatherless' and goes on to quote Ps. 68:6 (5): 'A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows, is God in his holy habitation'. The text comments:[9] 'An orphan you helped—two orphans who were left him, RWMYWS and RWMYLWS, You permitted the she-wolf to give them suck and in the end they stood up and built two great *tsrifin*[10] in Rome.'

The second text, *Shocher Tov* (Midrash on Psalms) 10 (6) also comments on Ps. 68:6 (5) and appears to be secondary to the previous one: 'He will raise you RWMWS and RWMYLWS, who were reared by their mother, and He occasioned them a she-wolf that shall give suck, and she gave them suck, and they stood up and built two great *tsrifin* in Rome.'

Here, too, the story of the she-wolf and the twins is made into an example of God's mercy on the helpless. Both these Jewish texts are late compilations, but embody a great amount of early material,[11] so that there is no telling whether the Christian or the Jewish version is the earlier, and of

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we are reminded that already ancient authors pointed out the melodrama and the fiction in the story.

[7] J. Geiger, "The Tombs of Remus and Romulus: an Overlooked Source and its Implications", *Athenaeum* 92 (2004) 245-254.

[8] For the sake of completeness I add another reference, though also hardly relevant, but revealing of the different aspects of the Sages' attitude to the myth. *GenRabbah* 49.9 (Theodor-Albeck ii 511): 'R. Juda said: When You wanted to judge Your world you gave it into the hands of two, RWMWS and RWMWLWS, so that if one of them wanted to do a thing his partner hindered him.' Note that here, too, the 'correct' order of the names is maintained, for which cf. my paper (n. 7).

[9] I quote from the best witness, Ms. Cambr. Add. 495.

[10] On the meaning of this word, 'pyramid', see my paper (n. 7).

[11] See G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*[2] (Edinburgh 1996) 323, 319. There is nothing in the texts quoted that obviously points to a late date.

course we are entirely in the dark as to the source of the mosaicist or of the commissioner of the work.[12] Should one assume pure coincidence or rather influence, and if so, in which direction?[13] In the present stage of our knowledge, we cannot tell. Nonetheless, it is only appropriate to point out that Ephrem Syrus, and presumably circles around him, were well acquainted with Jewish exegetical traditions.[14]

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[12] Bowersock, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), may well be right that the source was a manuscript—which I take in its context as any written source, not necessarily a work of literature.

[13] The thorough discussion of Zwierlein (n. 6) hardly allows for the possibility that there was a common pre-Christian and pre-Jewish source.

[14] Perhaps best demonstrated by T. Kronholm, *Motifs from Genesis 1-11 in the Genuine Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian with Particular Reference to the Influence of Jewish Exegetical Tradition, Coniectanea Biblica OT Series* 11, Lund 1978; see now also the excellent survey by A. Kamesar, s.v. 'Church Fathers, Rabbinic Midrash and', section 'The Early Syriac Fathers', in J. Neusner, A.J. Avery-Peck (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Midrash* (Leiden 2005), 25-27.

REVIEWS

Lutz Mechlinsky, *Der* modus proferendi *in Augustins* sermones ad populum (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. Neue Folge, 1. Reihe: Monographien: 23. Band), Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh 2004, 291 pp., ISBN 3-506-71784-7, € 38 (pb).

Even a quick glance at H.R. Drobner's bibliography on Augustine's *sermones ad populum* will make clear that these texts have rarely been approached as independent entities.[1] More often, they have been viewed as a storehouse of information from which one could draw when studying broader problems, which could be historical, theological, exegetical, philosophical, or literary. Only now and then does one come across a publication that analyses one or more sermons as (an) independent text(s), appreciating their individual structure and complexity. L. Mechlinsky's book, which constitutes a slightly revised version of a doctoral dissertation defended in 2003 at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, proves that a thorough and text-centred analysis of individual sermons can yield fruitful results.

Apart from some model speeches that were dictated and therefore did not originate within a liturgical context,[2] all of St Augustine's preserved sermons derive from the stenographic accounts of homilies which he actually pronounced. It is generally acknowledged that these homilies were mostly improvised on the basis of a preceding meditation (a meditation which sometimes could have been written down). Both this oral character[3] and the pastoral intent of Augustine's sermons explain their stylistic simplicity

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[1] Cf. H.R. Drobner, *Augustinus von Hippo:* Sermones ad populum. *Überlieferung und Bestand. Bibliographie—Indices* (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 49), Leiden 2000.

[2] *In ps.* 67, 71, 77, 78, 81, 82, 87, 89, 104, 105, 107, 108, 118, 135; 150; *Io. eu. tr.* 55-124 and 20-22 (now *serm.* 126A-C). Cf. H. Müller, *Enarrationes in psalmos.* A. *Philologische Aspekte*, in: *Augustinus-Lexikon* 2 (1996-2002), 804-838 (esp. 830-832); M.-F. Berrouard, *Introduction aux homélies de saint Augustin sur l'évangile de saint Jean* (*Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité* 170, Paris 2004), 177-200; C. Weidmann, *Vier neue Predigten des Augustinus* (*http://homepage.univie.ac.at/clemens.weidmann*).

[3] On the oral character of Augustine's sermons, now see H. Marti, *Lateinische Predigten zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit*, in: *Museum Helveticum* 62 (2005), 105-125.

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and straightforwardness, the major features of which are short paratactic sentences, parallelism, antithesis, isocolon, rhyme, etc. Despite this simplicity, however, Augustine's sermons often strike the reader by their 'raffinierte Formgebung' (E. Norden).[4]

In his general introduction, Mechlinsky contrasts Norden's evaluation with two differing views on the rhetorical quality of Augustine's homilies (pp. 16-17): (1) according to the first—Mechlinsky refers to the works of J.B. Schneyer and W. Schütz[5]—Augustine's improvisation resulted in speeches the disposition of which is not always well-balanced: the bishop of Hippo is thought to have been carried away too often by the bright ideas that occurred to him while preaching; (2) Augustine is often said to have avoided the use of *clausulae* in his sermons and to have replaced them by other rhythmic elements such as alliteration, assonance and rhyme (in this case Mechlinsky envisages especially the work of W. Schütz and K.-H. Uthemann).[6] Mechlinsky's own contribution to the debate consists in reinforcing Norden's judgement by means of a rhetorical analysis of four *sermones ad populum* and this continuously referring to Augustine's statements about the *modus proferendi* of the Christian message in the fourth book of *De doctrina christiana*: 'Die vorliegende Arbeit will nun auch die rednerische Praxis Augustins in den *sermones ad populum* vor dem Hintergrund seiner theoretischen Äusserungen in doctr. chr. 4 untersuchen und fragen, ob sich die von Norden allgemein festgestellte "raffinierte Formgebung" im Einzelfall wirklich belegen lässt.' (p. 19)[7]

The four analysed sermons have been selected using two criteria (p. 19): (1) Mechlinsky has selected homilies with a disposition which has not been determined by the biblical texts commented on: starting from a verse taken from the preceding lectures, they all deal with a theological *quaestio* in a

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[4] Cf. E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*. Vol. II (Berlin-Leipzig 1918[3]), 537.

[5] Cf. J.B. Schneyer, *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt* (Freiburg 1969), 80-81; W. Schütz, *Geschichte der christlichen Predigt* (Berlin 1972), 39-40.

[6] Cf. W. Schütz, *l.c.*; K.-H. Uthemann, *Augustins Predigten—eine neue Sprache, eine kulturelle Wende*, in: L.J. Engels-H. Hofmann (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. Band 4. *Spätantike, mit einem Panorama der byzantinischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1997), 305-310 (esp. 307-308; 310).

[7] Mechlinsky compares his method of analysis with the one deployed in G.W. Doyle, *St. Augustine's Tractates on the Gospel of John Compared with the Rhetorical Theory of* De doctrina christiana (Chapel Hill 1975) and H. Müller, *Theory and Practice of Preaching: Augustine*, Enarrationes in psalmos *and* de doctrina christiana, in: *Studia Patristica* 38 (2001), 233-237.

way that is independent from the structure of these lectures; in this sense they differ from those Augustinian homilies that work through a pericope verse by verse (the *enarrationes in psalmos*, the *tractatus in euangelium Iohannis* and a few *sermones ad populum* [e.g. 153-156]); (2) the selected sermons all belong to the large corpus of Augustine's polemical speeches; each of them is directed against one of the four most important dissentient groups Augustine fought against as a priest and bishop: *serm.* 12 was spoken against the Manichees (possibly before Augustine's episcopal consecration), 266 against the Donatists (dated around 405), 240 against the pagans (after 415), and 181 against the Pelagians (416 or later).

The corpus of the book consists of four chapters, each of which analyses one sermon in an identical way. A short introduction discussing date, liturgical setting and doctrinal context of the sermon at hand is followed by its Latin text and an accurate German translation. Next follows a detailed analysis of the sermon's disposition. In each case, Augustine is shown to have carefully constructed his speech in accordance with the classical scheme *prooemium—narratio/propositio—argumentatio/reprobatio—peroratio.* The next part of Mechlinsky's treatment of each sermon is formed by a selective, lemmatically structured commentary which discusses all kinds of topics: theological issues, characteristics of the Christian idiom, Augustine's biblical text, questions of punctuation, etc. Finally, a fundamental analysis of the *modus proferendi* or the interplay between form and content concludes the discussion. In this part, the application of the classical *clausulae* receives special attention.[8]

Central to each chapter of the corpus are parts three and five, in which Mechlinsky intends to counter the afore mentioned claims about the so-called unbalanced structure of Augustine's sermons and the assumed absence of classical *clausulae* from them. The same concern emerges from the last sentences of the concluding chapter: 'In ihrer je unterschiedlichen argumentativen Ausrichtung und Konzeption liessen also alle von uns untersuchten *Sermones* den Willen zu einer gezielten rhetorischen Formgebung erkennen, einschliesslich einer ansprechenden Rhythmisierung der für die *persuasio* besonders bedeutenden Stellen. Eine Unausgeglichenheit der Gedankenführung war nur im Einzelfall zu bemerken. Obwohl alle vier Predigten unüberhörbare Merkmale der Mündlichkeit aufweisen und

[8] Mechlinsky's analyses of Augustine's use of *clausulae* are based on O. Zwierlein, *Augustins quantitierender Klauselrhythmus*, in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 138 (2002), 43-70.

anscheinend nicht schriftlich vorbereitet wurden, scheint in jedem Fall eine geplante Disposition konsequent umgesetzt zu werden, wobei Augustin durch seine abwechslungsreiche Stilisierung von *prooemium, narratio, argumentatio* und *peroratio* durchaus dem Ideal des christlichen Redners entspricht, das er selbst in doct. chr. 4 nach beinahe 40 Jahre pastoraler Praxis entworfen hat' (pp. 259-260).

A general critical remark on Mechlinsky's book concerns the contrast between its title and actual content. For in spite of its title (*Der* modus proferendi *in Augustins* sermones ad populum) the book deals with the *modus proferendi* of only four homilies (with occasional references to the *modus proferendi* of a few other sermons). In this way the reader obtains a lot of information about four individual homilies, but remains in the dark about whether their 'raffinierte Formgebung' can be considered as representative of the large corpus of Augustine's *sermones*. Moreover, a comparison with sermons of a different type (dictated sermons, unprepared sermons, exegetical sermons of the type excluded by Mechlinsky's first criterion of selection, etc.) could have put forward the specific nature of the *modus proferendi* of the sermons analysed. Apart from this general criticism, one can also point to the sometimes too selective character of the commentary,[9] to some occasional mistakes,[10] as well as to the limited value of the edition

[9] In the commentary on *serm.* 181,2-5, e.g., a more thorough discussion of the different ecclesiological positions ascribed to Augustine's pelagian opponents would not have been out of place. In his treatment of *serm.* 181,6, Mechlinsky could have pointed to the important role played by liturgy and liturgical prayer in Augustine's anti-pelagian writings and homilies in general (cf. J.-A. Vinel, *L'argument liturgique opposé par saint Augustin aux Pélagiens*, in: *Questions liturgiques* 68 [1987], 209-241).

[10] Two examples: (1) In n. 303 on p. 160, Mechlinsky consents without further argument with Kunzelmann's hypothesis according to which Paulinus of Nola was staying at Carthage when he requested Augustine for the (now lost) letter *de resurrectione* which is referred to in *epist.* 121,14 and 149,2 (cf. A. Kunzelmann, *Die Chronologie der Sermones des heiligen Augustinus*, in: *Studi Agostiniani* [*Miscellanea Agostiniana* 2, Rome 1931], 417-520 [esp. 499]). This hypothesis has been refuted long since (see e.g. O. Perler, *Les voyages de saint Augustin* [*Études Augustiniennes*, Paris 1969], 314 n. 3; D.E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola. Life, Letters, and Poems* [*The Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 27, Berkeley 1999]). (2) On p. 139, it is suggested that in Hippo the psalmody preceding homilies as a rule was antiphonal. According to specialists in the field, however, homilies were usually preceded by a responsorial singing of psalms (cf. A. Zwinggi, *Der Wortgottesdienst bei Augustinus* (I), in: *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 20 [1970], 92-113 [esp. 101-103]; M. Schrama, *Prima lectio quae recitata est. The Liturgical Pericope in Light of Saint Augustine's Sermons*, in: *Augustiniana* 45 [1995], 141-175 [esp. 154-156]).

of sermon 266 (cf. below). With these remarks, however, I do not want to detract from the merits of Mechlinsky's book. For the time being, only few *sermones ad populum* have been studied with the same rigour as numbers 12, 266, 240 and 181.

Appendix: the edition of sermon 266 (pp. 98-104)
Mechlinsky's translation and discussion of sermons 12, 240 and 181 are based on the Latin texts edited in volume 41 of the *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* (*serm.* 12) and volume 38 of the *Patrologia Latina* (*serm.* 240 and 181; *PL*). However, Mechlinsky chose to thoroughly revise the version of sermon 266 as edited in the *PL*.

Sermon 266 was first published in 1586 on the basis of one single manuscript representative of the so-called *collectio Carthusiana*, an ancient collection of augustinian sermons.[11] This manuscript subsequently was lost and, as a consequence, the *editio princeps* was the only source of the Maurist edition of the sermon (1683; reprinted in *PL* 38, cc. 1225-1229). Recently, however, a new representative of the *collectio Carthusiana* came to light: the famous codex *Mainz Stadtbibliothek I 9*. As it has been indicated by François Dolbeau in 1996, this manuscript offers a version of sermon 266 containing several authentic phrases that must have been absent from the manuscript used for the *editio princeps* (ff. 81^{v}-83).[12] Mechlinsky's own collations have yielded 73 significant variant readings between the *PL*-edition (*maur*) and the Mainz-codex (*M*). They have all been listed in a critical apparatus.

In reconstructing the archetype of *maur* and *M*, Mechlisky has not taken into account an important criterion for choosing between differing variant readings, viz. the testimony of two other manuscript sources that were unknown to the Maurists and equally contain sermon 266: *Montecassino Badia 17* (C^{1}, pp. 262-267) and *Napoli Biblioteca Nazionale Vienn. Lat. 14* (C^{2}, ff. 20-22). Both manuscripts represent another ancient collection of Augustinian sermons—the *collectio Campaniana*—and are independent from the *collectio Carthusiana*.[13] As a consequence, in case of contradiction between *M* and *maur*, one has to give preference to the reading confirmed by $C^{1.2}$. A verification (on the basis of microfilms) has shown that most of the variants

[11] Cf. P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (*Instrumenta patristica* 12, Steenbrugge-Den Haag 1976), 202-203.

[12] Cf. F. Dolbeau, *Le sermonnaire augustinien de Mayence (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9): analyse et histoire*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 106 (1996), 5-52 (esp. 23-24).

[13] Cf. P.-P. Verbraken, *o.c.*, 209-210.

accepted by Mechlinsky are confirmed by $C^{1.2}$ (including the important additions signalled by Dolbeau on the sole basis of the Mainz-codex). In some cases, however, preference has been given to the wrong variant reading (the line-numbers in the following apparatus refer to Mechlinsky's edition):[14]

> 6 quia *maur*] qui *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 7 tres *maur*] enim *praem. M* $C^{1.2}$ || 10 solemnitatem *maur*] solemniter *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 10 aduentus *maur*] aduentum *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 33 quod ut *maur*] quod *M, om.* $C^{1.2}$ || 45 sed *maur*] sunt *M* $C^{1.2}$ (Accipite et tenete: diuina exempla sunt, eloquia Dei sunt) || 53 in *maur*] *om. M* $C^{1.2}$ || 78 de se ipso propheta *maur*] propheta de se ipso *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 80 aguntur *maur*] agerentur *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 85 manus *maur*] manum *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 86-87 hominum-hominem *maur*] esset spiritus dei in hominum potestate *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 97 ille *maur*] *om. M* $C^{1.2}$ (*inter* aliquis *et* prorsus *interpunxerunt* $C^{1.2}$) || 106 exauditas *maur*] et *praem. M* $C^{1.2}$ || 109 inter *maur*] *om. M* $C^{1.2}$ || 118 pulsatus est *maur*] pulsatur *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 126 et^2 *maur*] *om. M* $C^{1.2}$ || 144 per *maur*] quasi *praem. M* $C^{1.2}$ || 145 gens *maur*] gentes *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 162 malus *maur*] male *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 162/163-164 manducat indigne iudicium sibi manducat qui manducat indigne non manducat indignum *M*] manducant (manducat $C^{1.2}$) indigne iudicium sibi manducant (manducat $C^{1.2}$) et bibunt (uiuit C^{1}, bibit C^{2}) quia manducant (manducat $C^{1.2}$) indigne non manducant (manducat $C^{1.2}$) indignum (indignum *om. maur*) *maur* $C^{1.2}$ || 180 fecisti caue *maur*] facis time *M* $C^{1.2}$ || 183 in *maur*] melius *praem. M* $C^{1.2}$.

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[14] The words *in-manus* on l. 57 are not present in the extant manuscripts. They are the result of a dittography on the part of the editor himself. C^2 contains some phrases which do not figure in *M maur*: 105 praedicatur] erat uir religiosus ac timens deum faciens elemosinas multas plebi et orans deum frequenter *add.* C^2 || 142 ostendit^2] neminem communem aut immundum dicere hominem? nimirum cum ille esuriens respexit ad discum in quo erant omnia animalium genera munda et immunda et dictum est ei: macta et manduca. et cum ille diceret: numquam commune aut immundum commedi, dictum est ei: quae deus mundauit tu ne immunda dixeris. petro autem loquente ad eos: cecidit spiritus sanctus super omnes qui audiebant uerbum *add.* C^2 || 157 est] tuum esse dicis? et *add.* C^2 || 167 est^2] ei qui acceperit malum est *add.* C^2. Probably, these phrases are not authentic, for they are lacking in C^1 too.

Matthieu Smyth, *La liturgie oubliée. La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'Occident non romain.* Préface par Marcel Metzger. Postface par Miquel dels Saints Gros i Pujol (Série Patrimoines: Christianisme), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2003, 665 pp., ISBN 2-204-06943-4, € 70 (pb).

Le but de cet ouvrage, présenté comme thèse de doctorat en histoire à l'université Marc-Bloch de Strasbourg, est de tirer de l'oubli un domaine souvent négligé par les historiens de la liturgie ancienne occidentale, celui des traditions liturgiques occidentales non romaines, notamment celles pratiquées en Gaule avant la romanisation carolingienne. L'étude de Smyth se fonde sur la conviction que ces traditions méritent d'occuper une place beaucoup plus centrale dans la recherche sur l'histoire de la liturgie occidentale, conviction qu'il illustre par un des éléments qui sont au coeur de la liturgie chrétienne, la prière eucharistique. Tout au cours de son étude, il essaie de montrer, d'une part, que les différentes versions occidentales non-romaines de cette prière remontent à un substrat ancien commun à tout l'Occident non romain et, d'autre part, que ce substrat a été le mieux conservé en Gaule. Partant de cette conviction, il essaie d'exhumer ce fonds ancien à travers les couches plus tardives qui sont accessibles à nous dans des sources datant des époques mérovingienne et carolingienne.

La première partie du livre consiste avant tout en une présentation raisonnée et fort documentée de toutes les sources littéraires qui, selon Smyth, peuvent servir à la reconstruction de la prière eucharistique de 'type gallican' (pp. 30-181). Ce qui frappe d'emblée, c'est le très large éventail de critères sur lesquels est basée la sélection de la documentation. En traitant de la période la plus ancienne (4e-5e siècles), Smyth n'hésite pas à prendre en considération un texte provenant d'Afrique (de Fulgence de Ruspe) ou même la prière eucharistique, fort apparentée au canon romain, qui est citée dans le *De sacramentis* d'Ambroise. À partir de la période franque, caractérisée par une codification des traditions liturgiques et dont datent les sacramentaires les plus anciens, son champ d'enquête tend à devenir plus restreint, mais il n'en inclut pas moins les sources milanaises et celtes (excluant cependant les livres liturgiques wisigothiques qui présentent des points de contact avec les sources gallicanes, mais sont toutefois censées d'avoir subi trop d'influences tardives). Étant donné que les frontières entre la Gaule et les régions limitrophes étaient assez floues et qu'il y a eu beaucoup d'influences réciproques entre les différentes Églises, cette approche paraît justifiable. Plus sujette à discussion est pourtant la propension marquée de l'auteur à classer la grande variété des sources sous le

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dénominateur commun de la liturgie 'de type gallican'. Cette approche pourrait risquer de nous conduire à une harmonisation hâtive de la pluralité des traditions liturgiques étudiées et je me demande si l'auteur échappe toujours à ce danger. Pour me borner à un seul exemple, est-ce qu'une comparaison des documents gallicans avec les sources celtes – très rares et en outre difficiles à situer géographiquement – nous permet de conclure que la liturgie celtique ancienne était 'essentiellement identique à celle de la Gaule' (p. 55)? En effet, cette hypothèse pourrait gagner en plausibilité si un des témoins principaux des traditions liturgiques de la Gaule, le *Missale Gothicum*, provenait d'un milieu monastique celtique (en Bourgogne), comme le suggère Smyth à la suite, entre autres, de Germain Morin. Mais même si cette hypothèse se révélait fondée – ce qui est loin d'être sûr –, on ne saurait pas quelle conclusion en tirer concernant la relation entre les liturgies gauloise et celte. Est-ce qu'effectivement le substrat incontestablement gaulois du *Gothicum* (ainsi Smyth, p. 80) était apparenté aux traditions celtes avec lesquelles les supposés moines celtiques étaient familiers ou est-ce que ceux-ci avaient plutôt abandonné ces traditions pour adopter celles de la région où ils avaient élu domicile? D'une façon plus générale, il convient de rappeler ici une des lois de l'évolution liturgique formulées par A. Baumstark – dont, entre parenthèses, le nom est systématiquement mal orthographié par l'auteur comme Baumstarck – qui dit qu'en matière de liturgie, le mouvement se portait en général de la variété vers l'uniformité plutôt que l'inverse (A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, Chevetogne 1953, p. 18). À part le danger d'une harmonisation excessive et hâtive, un historien s'irritera de la façon extrêmement négative dont, tout au cours du livre, sont qualifiés les développements ultérieurs subis par le supposé substrat primitif de la liturgie de 'type gallican'. En parlant de ces développements, Smyth n'hésite pas à se servir de termes tendancieux tels que 'démantèlement' (p. 12), 'goût baroque' (des *illationes* hispaniques) (p. 64), 'déclin' (titre du ch. III) etc., alors que l'ancien fonds primitif est caractérisée comme étant 'authentique, fruit de la latinité la plus achevée' (p. 90). À mon avis, ce genre de qualifications trahissent une tendance discutable à idéaliser le stade le plus ancien de la supposée liturgie 'de type gallican', ce qui n'est pas sans rappeler la façon également douteuse dont maint historien a glorifié 'l'esprit de la liturgie romaine', en l'opposant à sa déchéance dans le monde franco-germanique. Pour éviter tout malentendu, ces remarques ne veulent rien enlever à la valeur de la présentation fort documentée, très claire et complète, de toutes les sources relatives à la liturgie latine non romaine antérieure à la diffusion des sacra-

mentaires grégoriens. Les pages consacrées à la description de celles-ci constituent une excellente initiation à l'étude scientifique de ces documents qu'on peut recommander à tout historien ou liturgiste qui essaie de s'y retrouver dans cette jungle.

En plus de cette longue présentation des sources, la première partie contient une description – bien lisible et reflétant en général l'état de recherche – de l'*ordo missae* gallican (pp. 183-225), ainsi qu'une transcription et un essai de traduction des textes des prières auxquelles il sera fait référence dans la deuxième partie de l'ouvrage (pp. 261-307). Entre ces deux chapitres, on trouve une esquisse historique très instructive décrivant les différentes étapes que, d'après Smyth, les traditions liturgiques latines non occidentales ont parcouru à partir de l'émergence d'un christianisme latin en Afrique proconsulaire jusqu'à la romanisation des traditions gallicanes à l'époque carolingienne (pp. 227-259). Une attention particulière y est prêtée au rôle joué par l'homilétique de l'Italie du Nord des IVe et Ve siècles et par des évêques provençaux des Ve et VIe siècles, aux développements survenus en Espagne wisigothique ainsi qu'au rôle joué par le monachisme celtique – que Smyth estime avoir été considérable (voir plus haut) – et par l'Église franque qui aurait eu tendance à réduire le christianisme à une orthopraxie rituelle (sic!) (p. 253).

Dans la deuxième partie, Smyth essaie d'abord de dégager des sources préservées le substrat latin ancien qui, d'après lui, devrait remonter à l'époque prénicéenne, celle de l'acculturation par l'Occident latin d'une ancienne euchologie hellénophone (cf. p. 14). Pour atteindre cet objectif, il étudie d'abord en détail les prières préservées dans les sources, en accordant une attention particulière aux variantes (parfois nombreuses), aux structures et aux thèmes rencontrés, et en les comparant, si cela paraît être éclairant, à des prières provenant d'ailleurs, soit de Rome, soit de l'Orient. Le résultat de cette approche est en général convaincant et même remarquable. À travers ces analyses approfondies et soigneuses se dessinent peu à peu les contours d'un rite archaïque dont le noyau est constitué d'une action de grâces adressée au seul Dieu Père pour l'envoi de son Fils, accompagnée d'un acte d'offrande et souvent d'une recommandation du sacrifice, et authentifiée par un récit d''institution non scripturaire', précurseur du récit intégral (matthéen), rencontré dans les sources plus tardives. Ce noyau était précédé d'une *oratio communis* (intercessions), d'un baiser de paix et de la lecture des diptyches (cette récitation des noms des offrants et des morts commémorés se rattachait pourtant primitivement à l'acte d'offrande et a donc été déplacée vers l'avant). La partie centrale était suivie d'une prière,

d'habitude intitulée *post mysterium* et préparatoire à la communion, dans laquelle on demandait à Dieu le Père de bénir le sacrifice de louange par l'infusion de son Esprit. Ce rite ne présente pas seulement une ressemblance étonnante avec le canon romain (abstraction faite de la position du récit de l'institution qui divise les intercessions en deux), mais également avec le noyau ancien de l'anaphore de Marc (manuscrit Strasbourg 254) et avec plusieurs autres prières eucharistiques orientales.

Dans les deux derniers chapitres, Smyth essaie de retracer les racines de ce fonds commun ancien et de le relier aux grandes étapes de l'histoire de la liturgie. Cette entreprise le mène d'abord aux traditions liturgiques prénicéennes d'Afrique du Nord (pp. 487-518) que Smyth considère comme le berceau de la liturgie occidentale non-romaine, et ensuite à des stades orientaux encore plus anciens et même à la période des origines (pp. 461-86). Pour ce qui est des liens avec l'Orient, Smyth se rend compte que la seule liturgie eucharistique offre un point d'ancrage trop faible pour montrer leur existence. C'est pourquoi il essaie de renforcer son argumentation en recourant à d'autres rites liturgiques tels que le baptême, les onctions pré- et postbaptismales, et la fête pascale. À vrai dire, cette dernière partie de son argumentation est celle qui m'a convaincu le moins. Concernant précisément la liturgie eucharistique, les parallèles avec les sources africaines sont effectivement très frappants, au point d'étayer la thèse des racines africaines déjà formulée par le liturgiste catalan Jordi Pinell, et ce, bien qu'il reste encore de nombreuses questions à leur égard. Par contre, la relation précise entre, d'une part, les traditions occidentales non-romaines, telles que celles de la Gaule et de l'Espagne, et, d'autre part, celles de l'Orient reste beaucoup plus difficile à déterminer. Certaines des hypothèses sur lesquelles il se base, concernant, par exemple, le baptême, restent entachées d'incertitude. En outre force est de constater que certaines influences orientales alléguées par Smyth datent incontestablement d'une période plus tardive – cela vaut par exemple pour l'Epiphanie en tant que commémoraison des tria miracula (468-469) – et qu'en conséquence, on ne peut en tirer aucune conclusion sur la 'période des origines'. Il n'y a pas de doute que la liturgie 'de type gallican' ait subi des influences provenant de l'Orient. Mais à quelle période faut-il les attribuer? Au deuxième ou au cinquième siècle? De quelle partie de l'Orient s'agit-il? De l'Asie Mineure? De la Syrie? De l'Égypte? De Jérusalem? Comment ces traditions orientales se sont-elles répandues vers l'Occident? Par l'intermédiaire d'évêques d'origine orientale, tel qu' Irénée? Par des moines? Par des pèlerins venant de Jérusalem? (voir pour la question de l'origine de la

liturgie gallicane – en particulier, les fêtes des saints, la longue introduction d'Els Rose dans sa récente édition du *Missale Gothicum, Corpus Christianorum* CLIX D, Turnhout 2005, 189-328).

Ces remarques et ces questions ne préjugent en rien de mon admiration pour ce travail de pionnier, riche, documenté et innovateur, d'un grand intérêt aussi bien pour l'étude des traditions liturgiques oubliées de la Gaule que pour la recherche sur l'eucharistie paléo-chrétienne.

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Marcello Del Verme, *Didache and Judaism. Jewish Roots of an Ancient Christian-Jewish Work*, New York-London: T&T Clark International 2004, XV + 291 pp., ISBN 0-567-02541-1, US$ * (pb).

This book, an English translation of an Italian monograph, is inspired by a twofold concern. First, the Didache is considered and interpreted in the light of early Judaism, with its community viewed as still embedded within Judaism, and, second, an attempt is made to find fitting categories in order to appropriately portray the world in which the Didache originated. Since the Judaism of the Second Temple period consisted of a plurality of orientations, movements and groups, it would not be right to explain the text of the Didache by referring to Judaism in general. A more precise description of the group(s) underlying the Didache is needed. The book therefore explores established institutions, rituals and practices behind the Didache and considers the way these are "sedimented" in the text. The role and function attributed to these institutions in the Didache—including the community of goods (Did 4:8), fasting (8:1), and the "firstfruits" (13:3-7)—will help to more closely identify the type of the "Christian Judaism" of the Didache within contemporary strands of Judaism.

Chapter 1 presents a detailed overview of scholarly literature: this chapter entitled '*Status quaestionis*: defining terms and perspectives starting from an annotated bibliography' covers a full third of the book's text (5-111). It surveys, and comments on, the noteworthy editions, versions, translations and commentaries of the Didache as well as a number of correlated texts. It further presents some 600 works focussing on the origins of Judaism and Christianity and devotes many pages to studies of the Didache itself.

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One might pause for a moment and consider the fact that Del Verme is indebted to Italian scholars like Paolo Sacchi and, especially, to Gabriele Boccaccini. Boccaccini is a well-known author who in various publications endeavours a fresh reconstruction of the early history of Judaism of the period 300 BCE to 200 CE which he calls "Middle Judaism." He reconstructed the trajectories of Zadokite, Enochic, and sapiential traditions. The Zadokite tradition (after having been modified by sapiential traditions) ushers in the post-70 emergence of Rabbinism, while the Enochic tradition underlies the larger Essene movement, of which the more radical Qumran faction is considered to be a splinter group.

Del Verme's book for the most part accepts Boccaccini's hypothesis of an Enochic Judaism developing into two factions. The more radical group is represented by the Essenes, who lived in a small community at Qumran, produced the sectarian literature, and were wiped out in the year 68, during the war with the Romans. The mainstream or less extreme branch of this movement, which continued to exist after the destruction of the Qumran Community, produced other surviving literature, including the final version of the Epistle of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Similitudines of Enoch. This Enochic tradition is continued in Christianity and, so Del Verme believes, "will have survived in some groups and/or communities of that 'Christian Judaism' characteristic of the Didache." (24).

Chapter 2 deals with a famous institution connected with the Two Ways section in the first six chapters of the Didache. It discusses the practice of the community of goods in Qumran which is echoed in Did. 4:8. Closer investigation, however, reveals that, at variance with Qumran doctrine and custom, the sharing of financial and material resources in the Didache community is associated with the practice of charity towards the needy, including the foreigner and the stranger. In this respect, the Didache differs from the brethren in the monastic settlement in the desert, who practised common ownership and focussed on the needs of their own members only. Del Verme therefore attaches this form of charity in Did 4:8 to the other variety of the Essenes in the villages and towns of Judaea, who were not required to surrender their property and provided help to needy strangers. The ethical model qualifying the Two Ways reflects a practice within the mainstream Essene movement.

Chapter 3 focusses on the identification of the "hypocrites" in Did 8:1-2. The disparaging term "hypocrites" represents the feelings of animosity in the Didache community against its adversaries. Various suggestions have been made to answer the question regarding the identity of these "hypocrites."

Del Verme's solution may not be particularly groundbreaking, but it provides an interesting clarification. He considers the problem raised here as a calender conflict. The Essenes fostered the solar calender, while the Pharisees lived according to the lunar or luni-solar calender. The group of ὑποκριταί criticized in Did 8 was of Pharisaic origin, while those reproaching them were of Essene/Enochic descent. The argument, then, is about the question of fasting in a context of Jewish rival groups adhering to the same Jesus movement. In the new communal situation of Christian Judaism, both movements were in search of their own identity. The Christian Jews retaining the Enochic tradition (represented by the editor of the Didache) accused the ὑποκριταί of being dissidents (185) by considering Monday and Thursday eligible for days of fasting as they "perpetuated the ancient Pharisaic error ('hypocrisy')." They preferred the festival days of Wednesday and Friday to be the fast days on account of their particular importance in the ancient solar calender.

Unfortunately, Del Verme's interpretation of the term "hypocrite" (ὑποκριτής) as "dissident" is less compelling. He finds support for this assumption in Matthew's gospel, in a discussion about the practice of tithing. In Matt 23:23, Jesus labels the Pharisees as ὑποκριταί, which mainly comes down to saying one thing and doing another. Del Verme, however, contends that in this verse the "ambiguity and deceitfulness of ὑποκριταί is missing" (157). He considers them to be "poor interpreters of the Torah" (*ibid.*) and to have "failed in their role as interpreters of the Law" (162). But why then would Jesus in the beginning of the pericope with reference to the Pharisees recommend: "so practise and observe whatever they tell you, but not what they do; for they preach, but do not practise" (23:3)?

Chapter 4 explores an institution central to religious and social life of the early Jewish communities and still existing within the bounds of Christian communities. The section 13:3-7 presents a specific regulation for the support of the prophets by detailing the "firstfruits" (ἀπαρχαί). The section reveals direct personal knowledge of corresponding practices in contemporary Jewish communities where these Jewish offerings were still being made after 70 CE. The term ἀπαρχαί appears to contain a wide range of meanings with respect to Jewish practice of the Didachist's own time including money, clothes and chattels. The custom of paying ἀπαρχαί on all possessions reflects Jewish contemporary regulation but never became widespread, and was observed by strict and pious Jews in particular.

Chapter 5 is somewhat different from the preceding chapters in that it does not concentrate on conventional institutions or practices but attempts

to define what specific Jewish traditions have been resumed, used and rewritten in the apocalyptic text of Did. 16. First, it is argued that the text of this final chapter circulated as a conclusion of the Two Ways tractate (Did. 1-6). The connection of Did 16 with the Two Ways helps to ideologically situate Did 16 in the Enochic-Essene and Qumranic milieus. Because the Two Ways section, especially in its parallel passages of Barnabas 18:1-2 and Doctrina 1:1, expounds dualistic ideas, the apocalyptic text of Did. 16 is apparently rooted in Enochic tradition. But can we really say that Did 16 ever was the conclusion of the Two Ways? It seems unlikely, since the Didache's rendering of the Two Ways' conclusion lacks any eschatological preoccupation, while its version in Doctrina 6:4-5 cannot have contained more than an eschatological tinge at most. Furthermore, the eschatological appendix in Did 16 barely shares any verbal affinities with the eschatological conclusion of the Two Ways in Barnabas.

While one may appreciate the care with which Del Verme insightfully examines selective passages regarding institutions reflected in the Didache, some critical questions do arise. First, Del Verme does not offer a sustained reading of the Didache. Instead, he presents a selection of passages reflecting institutions that became deposited in the Didache text which, he is assured, provide a reliable window for catching sight of the community's distinctiveness. But do the arguments not exceed and overreach the scant evidence from the comparatively small sections of the primary text? Why not discuss—in addition to a community of goods, fasting, and "firstfruits"—the practices of baptism (Did 7), prayer (Did 8), thanksgiving (Did 9-10), purity (Did 14), and reproof (Did 15:3)? Why not broaden the subject to Jewish halakhic debates in general, since the Didache provides us with traditional statements which are very much like the concerns in the legal Jewish texts?

Second, why are Pharisaic-rabbinic parallels of the earlier layers in the Didache excluded from examination? According to Del Verme, the usage of Rabbinic literature does not yield adequate results (80; cf. 120; 145; 220). Admittedly, the attestation of rabbinic material is late but this does not necessarily mean that the customs that come down to us are late, as parallels in rabbinic sources may often be older than the first citation in which they are now found. When dealing with the Two Ways treatise, for example, one cannot ignore the important parallels found in the refined ethics of a particular type of rabbinic literature, that is, in an early layer of Derekh Erets tractates. Incidentally, I may also briefly respond to Del Verme's suggestion twice over that the recent monograph on the Didache by the late David Flusser and myself makes "indiscriminate use of Rabbinic

literature" (p. 80; cf. p. 145). I fail to understand the charge, as we have attempted to provide an appropriate framework within contemporary Judaism for the origin and transmission of the Two Ways.

Third, does the view of the Didache as embedded in Judaism not have its limitations? Del Verme proposes Syria as the likely candidate for the provenance of the Didache. But it is precisely in Syria, and particularly in Antioch, that a mixture of different peoples, religions and traditions was found. Why does he never even think about Gentiles being present in the Didache community? This would be in keeping with the character of the manual in general, which obviously was composed for the initiation of Gentiles into the community, as becomes clear from the long title of the Didache ("Doctrine of the Lord [brought] to the Nations by the Twelve Apostles") and the rules concerning baptism.

These critical remarks aside, Del Verme offers much food for thought. He does so with an admirable display of scholarship, considering publications in a wide range of languages, including German, French and Italian. The strength of the book lies in its vivid, creative, and sympathetic framing of the Didache within its Jewish context. A close and careful reading proves illuminating and challenging.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Arator: *Aratoris Subdiaconi Historia Apostolica. Cvra et stvdio A.P. Orbán*, Pars I + Pars II (Corpvs Christianorvm, Series Latina CXXX + CXXX A), Turnhout: Brepols Publishers 2006, 584 + 695 S., ISBN 2-503-01301-5 + 2-503-01303-1 , € 255 + 300 (Leinen).—Neueste und eindrucksvolle Ausgabe in der bewährten CCL-Reihe: 'Unsere neue Edition der Historia apostolica von Arator gründet sich auf alle bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts (= dem Höhepunkt der Glossierungstätigkeit in den Arator-Handschriften) mit Glossen und Kommentaren versehenen Arator-Hss., und ist zweigliedrig: geboten wird einerseits eine kritische Edition der Historia apostolica mit einem ausführlichen Quellenapparat, welche hinsichtlich der Ausgabe von McKinlay (CSEL 72, Wien 1951) und Perugi (Roma 1911) manche Verbesserungen aufweist, und andrerseits eine erste kritische Ausgabe der mittelalterlichen Glossen und Kommentare zu Arators Historia apostolica. Der kritischen Edition der Historia apostolica und der mittelalterlichen Glossen und Kommentare geht eine eingehende Einführung voraus über Arators Leben und Werk, das Fortleben der Historia apostolica im Mittelalter, Arator als Schulautor, die Historia apostolica und die Schulautoren-Codices, die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Arators Historia apostolica, die Testimonia usw. Die Ausgabe schließt mit einem Appendix zu den Quellen der Historia apostolica, einem Index Biblicus, Index Auctorum und einem Verzeichnis der althochdeutschen Glossen.'

Asgeirsson, Jon Ma., April D. DeConick, and Risto Uro (eds.), *Thomasine Traditions in Antiquity. The Social and Cultural World of the Gospel of Thomas* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 59), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, xix + 307 pp., ISBN 90-04-14779-9, € 95 /US$ 128 (hardback).—Fine collection of twelve essays on the early Christian writings attributed to Thomas, the *Gospel of Thomas* in particular. A lengthy *VC*-review will be published soon.

Augustinus, *De trinitate*: Augustinus van Hippo, *Over de Drie-eenheid*. Ingeleid en vertaald door T.J. van Bavel, Leuven: Peeters 2005, 483 pp., ISBN 90-429-1584-6, € 28 (cloth with jacket)—Highly valued Dutch translation by the eminent specialist from the Augustinian Historical Institute at Leuven-Heverlee.

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Also available online – www.brill.nl

Bergmann, Sigurd, *Creation Set Free. The Spirit as Liberator of Nature*, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2005, xvii + 388 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2224-X, US$ 38.00 / £ 22.99 (pb).—The author 'creatively rethinks the discipline of theology in light of the global environmental crisis. He opens up an extraordinary dialogue between previous ecological theologies and church father Gregory of Nazianzus. Through the neglected topics of sociality, motion, suffering, and the Spirit, Bergmann brings to light Gregory's thought on the liberation of creation'. Indeed a surprising book, translated (from the German translation of the original Norwegian) by Douglas Stott, and with a Foreword by Jürgen Moltmann. The subtitle of the German edition of the book directly runs 'The Trinitarian Cosmology of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Horizon of an Ecological Theology of Liberation'.

Brakke, David, Michael L. Satlow, and Steven Weitzman (eds.), *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 2005, vi + 268 pp., ISBN 0-253-21796-2, US$ 24.95 (pb).—Thirteen studies on what—after the focus on themes like 'asceticism', 'the body', 'continuity and change', or 'the rhetoric of . . .'—seems to have become a new trendy topic of research: 'the self'. Here the umbrella term gave rise to a number of more or less original studies that (without any inspiration of e.g. Foucault or Ricoeur) might also have been published as studies on anthropology, biography, the discovery of the individual, or simply 'St Paul's Romans 7' or 'the beastly body in rabbinic sources'. From the rich contents the following contributions may interest the student of 'patristics': Patricia Cox Millar, 'Shifting Selves in Late Antiquity' (15-39); Susan Ashbrook Harvey, 'Locating the Sensing Body: Perception and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity' (140-162); Georgia Frank, 'Dialogue and Deliberation: The Sensory Self in the Hymns of Romanos the Melodist' (163-179); Guy G. Stroumsa, 'From Master of Wisdom to Spiritual Master in Late Antiquity' (183-196, a learned and wide-ranging contribution indeed, at the same time indicating that an in-depth comparison of the spiritual role of the Talmudic sage or rabbi with the Christian monastic spiritual guide still remains a *desideratum*); David Brakke, 'Making Public the Monastic Life: Reading the Self in Evagrius Ponticus' *Talking Back*' (222-233); Edward Watts, 'The Student Self in Late Antiquity' (234-251). Helpful Subject Index (though without e.g. Harnack, 190, and biblical names apparently at random) and extensive Source Index.

Busch, Peter, *Das Testament Salomos. Die älteste christliche Dämonologie, kommentiert und in deutscher Erstübersetzung* (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der

Wissenschaften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 153), Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter 2006, XII + 322 S., ISBN 3-11-018528-8, € 88 (Geb.).—Eindrucksvolle und schön ausgestattete Ausgabe: Vorwort, ausführliche Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar, Literaturverzeichnis, Stellenregister.

Dunn-Wilson, David, *A Mirror for the Church. Preaching in the First Five Centuries*, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2005, xiv + 224 pp., ISBN 0-8028-2866-3, US$ 22.00 / £ 13.99 (pb).—Well-researched and clearly written overview of preaching during the first five centuries of church history.

Éphrem de Nisibe, *Hymnes pascales*. Introduction, traduction du syriaque et notes par François Cassingena-Trévedy (Sources Chrétiennes 502), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2006, 334 p., ISBN 2-204-08155-8, € 29 (broché).

Ferguson, Everett, *Church History*. Volume One: *From Christ to Pre-Reformation. The Rise and Growth of the Church in the Cultural, Intellectual, and Political Context*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan 2005, 544 pp., ISBN 0-310-20580-8, US$ 29.99 / UK£ 17.99 / CAN$ 42.99 (casebound).—A well-researched and very clearly written introduction in the church's first 1300 years, by a widely known expert of early christianity, thus being an excellent handbook for undergraduates, fine reading for graduates, and even refreshing reading for experts.

Ferguson, Thomas C., *The Past is Prologue. The Revolution of Nicene Historiography* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 75), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2005, xiii + 226 pp., ISBN 90-04-14457-9, € 103 / US$ 139 (hardback).—Ch. I: Introduction: The Beginning of the End of the 'Arian' Controversy; II: The Eusebian Prelude: Be True to Your School; III: The *Chronicon Paschale* and non-Nicene Historiography; IV: Rufinus of Aquileia and the Beginnings of Nicene Historiography; V: Other Voices, Other Rooms: The *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius; VI: Conclusion: The Revolution of Nicene Historiography; Bibliography; Appendix: Fragments from a Non-Nicene Chronicler; Index. This book 'approaches church histories as narrative myths of community origins produced by worshipping communities standing in continuity to local schools of thought'.

Gregory, Andrew F. & Christopher M. Tuckett (eds.), *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, xiii + 375 pp., ISBN 0-19-926782-0, £ 55 (hardback with jacket); Andrew F. Gregory & Christopher M. Tuckett (eds.), *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, xvii + 506 pp., ISBN 0-19-926783-9, £ 65,00 (hardback with jacket).—Two

impressive collections of the best recent studies on the Apostolic Fathers, mainly being the first-fruits of an ongoing Oxford project on the New Testament and the Second Century. Volume I: Gregory & Tuckett, Introduction and Overview; Part I: *The Text of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*: 1. Bart D. Ehrman, Textual Traditions Compared: The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers; William L. Petersen, Textual Tradition Examined: What the Text of the Apostolic Fathers tells us about the Text of the New Testament in the Second Century; J. Keith Elliott, Absent Witnesses? The Critical Apparatus to the Greek New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers; Part II: *The Textual Transmission and Reception of the Writings that later formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*: Gregory & Tuckett, Reflections on Method: What constitutes the Use of the Writings that later formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers?; Tuckett, The *Didache* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; Gregory, *1 Clement* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; Paul Foster, The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; Michael W. Holmes, Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; James Carleton-Paget, The *Epistle of Barnabas* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; Gregory & Tuckett, *2 Clement* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; Joseph Verheyden, The *Shepherd of Hermas* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament; (select) Bibliography; (incomplete) Indices; Volume II: Gregory & Tuckett, Introduction and Overview; Part I: *Paul in the Apostolic Fathers*: Andreas Lindemann, Paul's Influence on 'Clement' and Ignatius; Part II: *Gospel Traditions in the Apostolic Fathers*: Helmut Koester, Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century; Arthur J. Bellinzoni, The Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers: An Overview; Part III: *Christology in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*: Thomas G. Weinandy, The Apostolic Christology of Ignatius of Antioch: The Road to Chalcedon; Frances Young, Wisdom in the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament; Part IV: *Church, Ministry, and Sacraments in the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*: John Muddiman, The Church in Ephesians, *2 Clement*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; David F. Wright, The Apostolic Fathers and Infant Baptism: Any Advance on the Obscurity of the New Testament?; Carsten Claussen, The Eucharist in the Gospel of John and in the *Didache*; Alistair Stewart-Sykes, Prophecy and Patronage: The Relationship between Charismatic Functionaries and Household Officers in Early Christianity; Part V: *The Didache*: John S. Kloppenborg, *Didache* 1.1-6.1, James, Matthew, and the Torah; Jonathan A. Draper, First-fruits and

the Support of Prophets, Teachers, and the Poor in *Didache* 13 in Relation to New Testament Parallels; Clayton N. Jefford, Social Locators as a Bridge between the *Didache* and Matthew; Part VI: *Ignatius*: Charles E. Hill, Ignatius, 'the Gospel', and the Gospels; David M. Reis, Following in Paul's Footsteps: *Mimēsis* and the Power in Ignatius of Antioch; Harry O. Maier, The Politics and Rhetoric of Discord and Concord in Paul and Ignatius; Allen Brent, Ignatius and Polycarp: The Transformation of New Testament Traditions in the Context of Mystery Cults; Part VII: *Polycarp, Letter to the Philippians*: Peter Oakes, Leadership and Suffering in the Letters of Polycarp and Paul to the Philippians; Paul A. Hartog, The Opponents of Polycarp, Philippians, and 1 John; Part VIII: *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*: Boudewijn Dehandschutter, The New Testament and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*; Michael W. Holmes, The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the New Testament Passion Narratives; (select) Bibliography; (incomplete) Indices.

Hägg, Henny Fiskå, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, xii + 314 pp., ISBN 0-19-928808-9, £ 45,00 (clothbound with book jacket).

Horst, Pieter W. van der, *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 196), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006, X + 352 pp., ISBN 3-16-148851-2, € 99 (cloth with jacket).—Impressive collection of essays in which not only early Judaism, but also early Christianity plays an important part. With excellent indices and an author's bibliography (1970-2006).

Inowlocki, Sabrina, *Eusebius and the Jewish Authors. His Citation Technique in an Apologetic Context* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity / Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 64), Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, XX + 337 pp., ISBN 90-04-14990-2, € 99 /US$ 129 (hardback).—Introduction; Ch. I: Sources and Method; II: The Citation Process in Greek Antiquity and in the *Apodeixis*; III: The Citations of Non-Jewish Authors in the *Apodeixis*; IV: The 'Hebrews' and the 'Jews' according to Eusebius: The Jewish Author's Status in the *Apodeixis*; V: The 'travail de la citation' in the *Apodeixis*: The Case of the Jewish Author's Citations; VI: Eusebius' Use of the Jewish Author's Citations in the *Apodeixis*; Conclusion; Bibliography; Indices.

Kessler, Edward & Neil Wenborn (eds.), *A Dictionary of Jewish-Christian Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press + Cambridge Centre for the Study of Jewish-Christian Relations 2005, xxix (incl. seven maps) + 507 pp., ISBN 13-978-0-521-82692-1/0-521-82692-6, £ 120 (US$ 195)

(hardback with jacket).—A highly useful and original dictionary, compiled under the auspices of the Cambridge Centre for the Study of Jewish-Christian Relations. Deals with a wide range of topics and thus explores and defines the many factors that characterize the mutual relationship between Judaism and Christianity. As could be expected, many church fathers and other persons from the first CE centuries are dealt with in separate entries (Apostolic Fathers, Athanasius, Augustine, Chrysostom, Constantine, Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem etc., though not Ambrose, Clement of Alexandria, etc.), and under more general headings like 'Adversus Judaeos literature', 'Alexandria', 'Church Fathers', 'Early Church'. This is a groundbreaking work indeed and it contains several jewels of concise and reliable information (e.g. 'Mysticism' by Bernard McGinn, and many entries by the editor Edward Kessler). The description of some entries, however, is rather sketchy (e.g. 'Gnosticism') or partly unreliable (e.g. 'Augustine': inaccurate dates of composition of books; curious and partly erroneous references to *doctr. chr.*, some *epistulae*, and *enarrationes*—not 'Ennarationes'—*in Psalmos*). The Bibliography at the end of the book is extensive, dense and rather arbitrary in its main division between 'Bible', 'theology' and 'history': brief references to bibliographical matters at the end of each entry would have greatly enhanced the usefulness of this fine reference tool.

Krueger, Derek (ed)., *Byzantine Christianity* (A People's History of Christianity, Volume 3), Minneapolis: Fortress Press 2006, XX + 252 pp., ISBN 0-8006-3413-6, US$ 35 (cloth with jacket).—Ten superb and very accessibly written chapters on Byzantine Christianity from the vantage point of people's history (i.e., stressing the religious lives of the ordinary faithful, their pious practices, self-understandings as Christians, etc.): Derek Krueger, 'Introduction: The Practice of Christianity in Byzantium'; Ch. I. Jaclyn Maxwell, 'Lay Piety in the Sermons of John Chrysostom'; II. Vasiliki Limberis, 'The Cult of the Martyrs and the Cappadocian Fathers'; III. Georgia Frank, 'Romanos and the Night Vigil in the Sixth Century'; IV. James C. Skedros, 'Shrines, Festivals, and the "Undistinguished Mob"'; V. Sharon E.J. Gerstel, 'The Layperson in Church'; VI. Nicholas Constas, 'Death and Dying in Byzantium'; VII. Charles Barber, 'Icons, Prayer, and Vision in the Eleventh Century'; VIII. Brigitte Pitarakis, 'Objects of Devotion and Protection'; IX. Peter Hatlie, 'The Religious Lives of Children and Adolescents'; X. Alice-Mary Talbot, 'The Devotional Life of Laywomen'. Written by the best specialists from the USA (and one from France), the beautifully designed and carefully edited book also contains a

considerable number of original photographs (+ ten full-colour plates), and all this for the incredible price of only 35 US$! Pp. 25 and 29 indicate that the translation of some passages from Chrysostom's Homilies on Matthew is taken from the NPNF-series: fortunately, this has been done with the desired alterations (if necessary, meantine better translations could have been quoted; in the main body of the article, the authoress provides her own and fine translations); the abbreviation FOTC (p. 22) is puzzling and not in the list of Abbreviations (221-222): one may read FC (or FaCh) = Fathers of the Church, and add this to the said list.

Laird, Martin, *Gregory of Nyssa and the Grasp of Faith. Union, Knowledge, and Divine Presence* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, xi + 240 pp., ISBN 0-19-926799-5, £ 60 (hardback).—Reprint of the 2004 edition, originally a University of London (Heythrop College) doctoral thesis. In conversation with the opinons of B. Pottier, W. Völker and E. Mühlenberg, among others, this finely written and well-researched study stresses Gregory's notion of faith as a faculty of apophatic union with God. 'Gregory values faith for its ability to unite with God, who remains beyond the comprehending graps of mind. A close examination of the relationship between faith and mind shows Gregory bestowing on faith qualities which Plotinus would have granted only to the "crest of the wave of intellect". While Gregorian faith serves as the faculty of apophatic union with God, faith yet gives something to mind. This dimension of Gregory's apophaticism has gone largely unnoticed by scholars. At the apex of an apophatic ascent faith unites with God the Word; by virtue of this union the believer takes on the qualities of the Word, who speaks (logophasis) in the deeds and discourse of the believer'. The author states convincingly that Gregory not only proposes a 'mysticism of darkness', but also—and no less—a 'mysticism of light'. The Index, compiled by Meg Davies ('Registered Indexer, Society of Indexers') is very helpful, but does not always list the rich amount of items consistently (no mention is made of e.g. Bonaventure, p. 198, so the reader will fail to notice L.'s pertinent remark; 'Augustine 67-8' does suggest that there is a continued treatment of the church father's opinion, but he is only mentioned in passing on p. 68). In the Bibliography one misses A. Jensen on Thekla (quoted p. 161); further one should read N. Brox for B. Brox (51, omitted in the Bibliography as well) and Mansfeld for Mansfield (176). The study 'The Spiritual Guide' has been written by I. Hadot (correct on p. 45), and not by P. Hadot (222).

Maximus the Confessor and His Companians. Documents from Exile. Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes by Pauline Allen and Bronwen

Neil (Oxford Early Christian Texts), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, xvi + 210 pp., ISBN 0-19-829991-5, $ 125 (hardback).—A model of a book, reprint of the original 2002 edition: *Introduction*: I. The Monothelite Controversy and its Christology; II. Conciliar Background to Monenergism; III. Biographical Documents; IV. The Text Tradition; V. Note on the Translations; Maps; *Texts* [i.e. original Greek and Latin] *and Translations*: 1. Record of the Trial; 2. Dispute at Bizya; 3. Letter of Maximus to Anastasius; 4. Letter to the Monks of Cagliari; 5. Letter of Anastasius Apocrisarius to Theodosius of Gangra; 6. Commemoration; 7. Against the People of Constantinople. Notes; Bibliography; Indexes.

Melanchthons Briefwechsel, Band T 7, Texte 1684-1979 (1536-1537), bearbeitet von Christine Mundhenk unter Mitwirkung von Heidi Hein & Judith Steiniger, Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: frommann-holzboog 2006, 613 S., ISBN 3-7728-2368-8, € 279 (Geb.).—Neuer und eindrucksvoller Band der kritischen und kommentierten Gesamtausgabe von Melanchthons Briefwechsel, mit sehr sorgfältigen Quellennachweisen patristischer Autoren wie Ambrosius, Athanasius, Augustin, Ausonius, Basilius, Cyprian, Eusebius, Fulgentius, Gregor von Nazianz, Hieronymus, Johannes Damascenus, Sokrates Scholasticus, Theodoret.

Murray, Robert, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, London-New York: T&TClark 2006, xvi + 395 pp., ISBN 0-567-03082-2, £ 25,00 (pb).—Second edition of a famous classic in its field, with a (for the most part) newly written Introduction, Additional Notes to most of the seven Chapters and the Second Part, and updated Indices. A masterpiece both of erudition and precision, the work also has some minor imperfections: the important concept of *bêma* (e.g. p. 18) is not listed in the Index of Greek words; the fresh information on the Manichaean Psalmbook and its editions (27-28 and nn. 128-131) is incomplete and, in actual fact, outdated; new references like those to more recent publications of Edmund Beck (e.g. 348, n. to p. 337 para. 4) are full of errors (cf. Föôbus for Vööbus in the previous n.). However, a new generation of students may be grateful to both the author and the new publisher for having made available this seminal and still fascinating book.

Oort, Johannes van, *Het Evangelie van Judas. Inleiding, Vertaling, Toelichting*, Kampen: Uitgeverij Ten Have 2006, 191 pp. + four full-page and full-colour National Geographic photos, ISBN 90-259-5725-0, € 19.90 (cloth with jacket).—Dutch translation of the recently discovered Coptic text of the 'Gospel of Judas', with rather extensive introduction, and commentary facing the translation pages. Main characteristics: division of the text into

two main parts (Part I: three scenes during three days of revelation imparted by Jesus to Judas and the other disciples; Part II: Jesus' esoteric revelation to Judas alone); explanation and commentary mainly from the background of Jewish esoteric and (Sethian) gnostic traditions.

Peterson, Erik, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther und Paulus-Studien.* Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Hans-Ulrich Weidemann (Ausgewählte Schriften, Band 7), Würzburg: Echter Verlag 2006, XCVI + 468 S., ISBN 3-429-02835-3, € 58 (gebunden mit Schutzumschlag).—Akribische Ausgabe der Vorlesungen Petersons über 1Kor und von einigen kleinen Paulus-Studien aus den Jahren 1915-1950, mit eindrucksvoller Einleitung und durchgehender Kommentierung. Aus neutestamentlicher und patristischer Sicht sind Petersons Ausführungen noch immer wertvoll und dann und wann sogar von großem Gewicht. Nachwort von Barbara Nichtweiß.

Reynier, Chantal, *Paul de Tarse en Méditerranée. Recherches autour de la navigation dans l'Antiquité (Ac 27-28,16)*, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2006, 288 p., ISBN 2-204-07930-8, € 28 (broché).— Étude détaillée et originelle du texte d'Actes 27—28, 16, en particulier comme témoin majeur pour l'histoire de la navigation dans l'Antiquité.

Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Tome I (Livres I-II). Texte grec de L. Parmentier et G.C. Hansen (GCS, NF 5, 19983) avec annotation par J. Bouffartigue. Introduction Annick Martin. Traduction Pierre Canivet. Revue et annotée par Jean Bouffartigue, Annick Martin, Luce Pietri et Françoise Thelamon (Sources Chrétiennes 501), Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 2006, 530 p., ISBN 2-204-08023-3, € 45 (broché).

Vinzent, Markus, *Der Ursprung des Apostolikums im Urteil der kritischen Forschung* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 89), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2006, 480 S., ISBN 3-525-55197-5, € 79,90 (Geb.).—Gründliche Untersuchung in neun 'Teilen': I. Die vorkritische Phase; II. Die Anfänge der kritischen Forschung; III. Das Apostolikum historisch untersucht; IV. Die Differenzierung zwischen Glaubensregel, Symbol und Schrift und die Verordnung der Glaubensregel; V. Glaubensbekenntnisse als Taufbekenntnisse von westlichen und östlichen Kirchen; VI. Zur Vorgeschichte der altrömischen Formel und zu deren Weiterentwicklung im fünften Jahrhundert und später; VII. Stufen der Bekenntnisgenese; VIII. Die heutige *opinio communis*—interrogatorische und deklaratorische Bekenntnisse; IX. Die Infragestellung der *opinio communis*—das Romanum—ein markellisch-photinisches Produkt; Anhang; Bibliographie; Register.

Watt, Jan van der en Francois Tolmie, *Apokriewe Ou en Nuwe Testament. Verlore boeke uit die Bybelse tyd*, Vereeniging, SA: Christelike Uitgewersmaatskappy

2005, 791 pp., ISBN 1-77000-192-1, R 199.96 (hardback).—Translation of a great number of apocryphal writings into South-African, including (first) translations of a whole range of the so-called New Testament Apocrypha and a selection of the Apostolic Fathers (1 Clement, Letter of Polycarp; Martyrdom of Polycarp; Didachè; Ad Diognetum).

Wessel, Susan, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy. The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, xiv + 365 pp., ISBN 0-19-926846-0, £ 66 (hardback).—Reprint of the 2004 edition, originally a—finely researched and clearly written—Princeton dissertation. 'In contrast to previous scholarship, she [sc. Susan Wessel] concludes that Cyril's success in being elevated to orthodox status was not simply a political accomplishment based on political alliances he had fashioned as opportunity arose. Nor was it a dogmatic victory, based on the clarity and orthodoxy of Cyril's doctrinal claims. (. . .) it was Cyril's strategy in identifying himself with the orthodoxy of the former bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, in his victory over Arianism, in borrowing Athanasius' interpretive methods, and in skilfully using the tropes and figures of the second sophistic (. . .)'. With some misspellings in names (e.g. Bartélink for Bartelink; van Ort for Van Oort) and titles (A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, not: Kirchen; other misspellings in German and French titles of books s.v. Mühlenberg, Nacke and T.J. van Bavel, among others). Supplemented by a fine translation of the homilies that Cyril of Alexandria delivered in Ephesus during the summer of 431 in an Appendix (303-319), and by a detailed Index.

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(1) Contributions should be submitted in duplicate and be accompanied by a disk. Both WordPerfect and Microsoft Word are accepted word-processing programs. ASCII-formatted disks are also accepted. Contributions submitted should not have been published elsewhere.

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Gregory of Nyssa, *De hom. opif.* 24 (PG 44,212D) – Greg.Nyss. *Hom. opif.* 24 (PG 44,212D).
Tertullian, *Adv.Marc.* 4,28,1 – Tert. *Adv.Marc.* 4,28,1.

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ISSN 0042-6032 (print version)
ISSN 1570-0720 (online version)

This journal is printed on acid-free paper.

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